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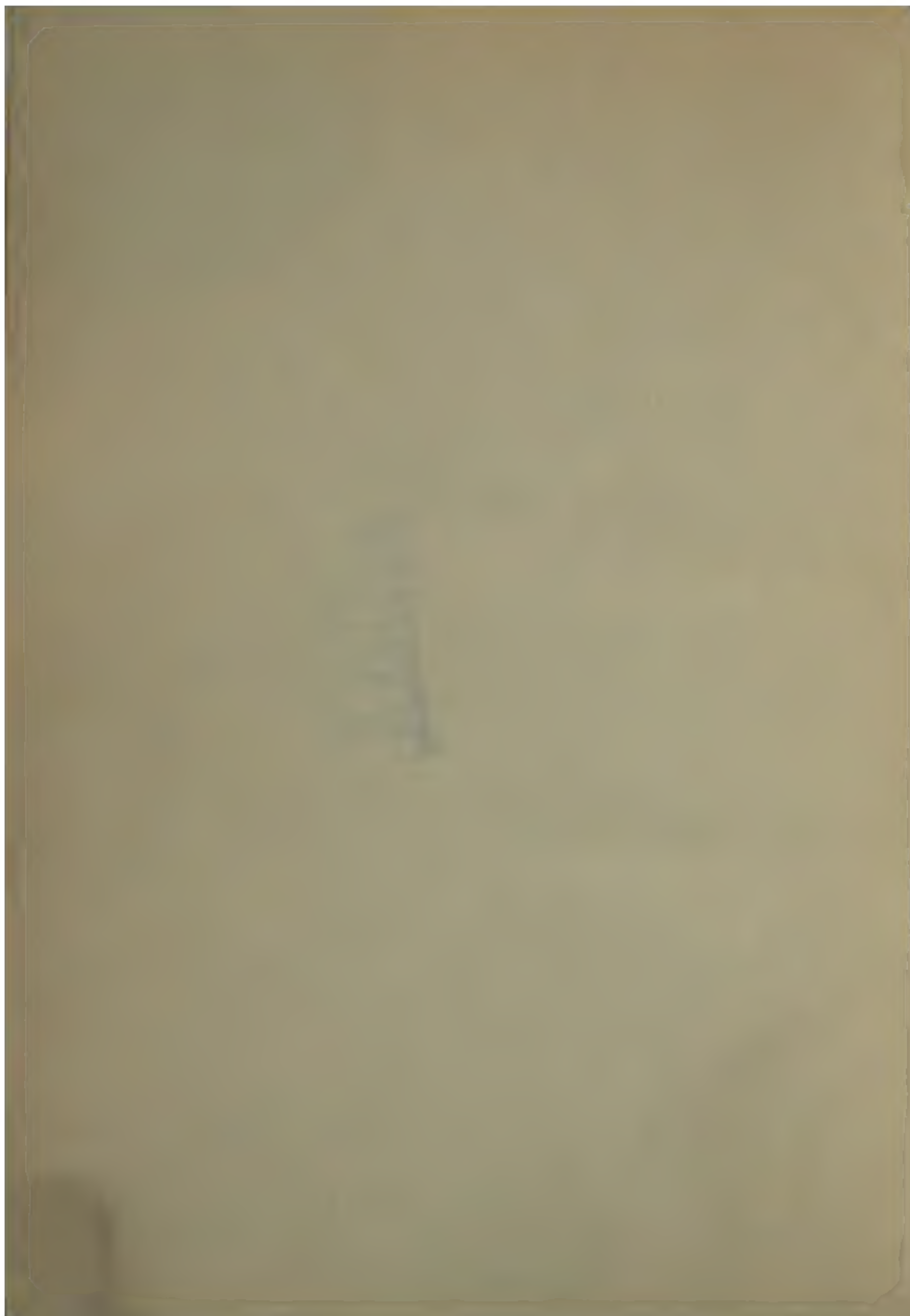
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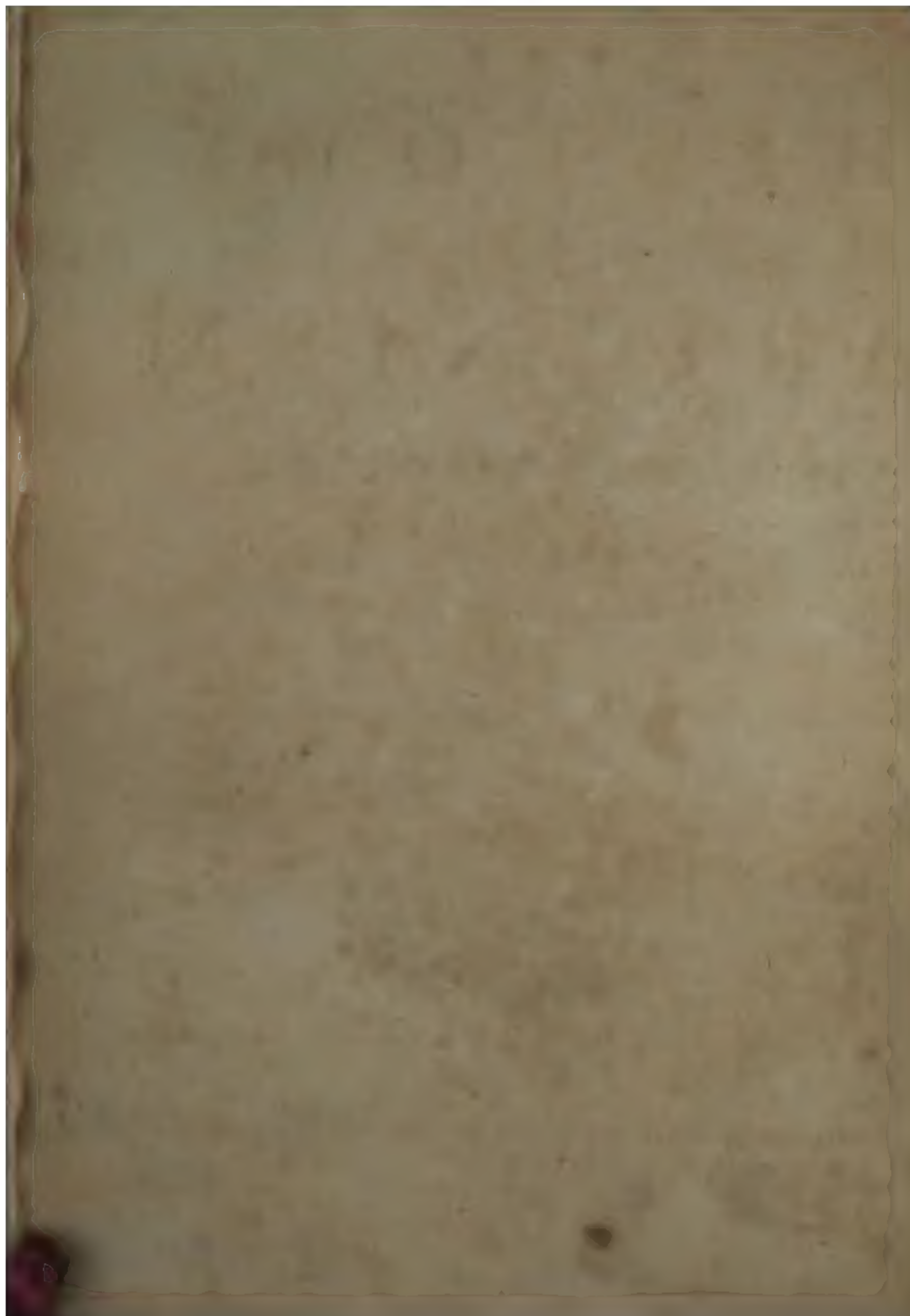
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INDEX



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THE
HISTORY
OF
ARIANISM

By M.^{Junia} MAIMBOURG;

SHEWING

Its Influence upon CIVIL AFFAIRS: And the Causes of
the Dissolution of the Roman EMPIRE.

V O L. II.



L O N D O N,

Printed by W. ROBERTS on *Lambeth-hill*, 1729.

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THE
HISTORY
OF
ARIANISM.

PART II.

BOOK VII.



WHILST Theodosius was labouring with so much resolution and success to destroy Arianism in the East, the Empress Justina was using her utmost endeavours to restore it in the West, and trying all means of being revenged for the affronts which she imagined that she had received of St. Ambrose, who continued to oppose her designs. (a) As she was invested with the authority of young Valentinian, who, at that time, was yet under her Government, though he was then seventeen years of

A. D.
383.

(a) Idal.

B

age,

A. D. age, she was resolved in order to satisfy her passion, to manifest
 383. her power by edicts and open force: But the strange revolution, which hapened in the Empire by the revolt of the tyrant Maximus, and the deplorable death of Gratian, obliged her to suspend her rage, and disguise her intentions, till such time as she had secured her own and her Son's fortune: (b) Maximus, who was a Spaniard born, and claimed affinity with Theodosius, commanded the Roman Forces in England, where he found means to insinuate himself so far into the minds of the Soldiers, and take advantage of the dislike they had to Gratian, that they proclaimed him Emperor. The people of Germany and Gaul soon followed this example, and acknowledged the tyrant, being furiously provoked against Gratian, because he preferred the Alani and other Barbarians to the Roman soldiers; he intrusted them with his secrets, conferred his favours on them, and was even so condescending as to take delight in dressing himself often after their manner. By this conduct, he became so odious to his people, that Maximus had no sooner entered into Gaul, but the greatest part of the army went over to him; so that this unfortunate Prince, finding himself forsaken, was forced to retire to the Alps for safety, being attended only by three hundred horse. But seeing that all the passes were guarded by people, whom he did not dare to confide in, he came back to Lyons, where he was surprized and killed by Count Andragatius, general of the horse, whom Maximus had sent in pursuit of him; and this was done in a treacherous manner, because that Gratian looked on him as one of his best friends, and consequently did not mistrust him. Thus falling unhappily into the hands of this infamous traytor, he was barbarously massacred on the twenty fourth of September, in the sixteenth year of his Empire, and the twenty third of his age.

He was a Prince whom the Pagans themselves did allow to be most accomplished, in all the perfections both of body and mind, he was of a noble stature, and extremely handsome, his Eyes were bright and spritely, his complexion exceeding fair, the features

(b) Zos. l. 4. Pac. in Pan. Theod. Victor. cap. 11. Sozo. lib. 7. cap. 13.

Zosim. l. 4. Sozr. l. 5.

of his face were beautiful, and his mind was sublime, polite, and cultivated with study and exercise. (c) He had acquired a great capacity, and was become very learned in all the finest accomplishments, chiefly in eloquence, wherein he rivaled the greatest masters of his time, having joined the instructions, which he had received of the celebrated Ausonius, to those extraordinary advantages which nature had given him in writing well either in prose or verse, and in speaking in publick (as it was his talent) with a most wonderful grace, on all kind of subjects. But the excellent qualities of his soul far exceeded those of his bodily perfections. This Prince was endued with the noblest inclinations, and had so natural a propensity to good, that virtue seemed to be born, and to grow up with him, without being at the trouble of any improvement. He was polite, obliging and generous; his friendship was sincere, and he excelled in liberality and magnificence; he was bold and daring in fight, and fearless in danger; commendable for his temperance and chastity, having an aversion to all voluptuousness. He slept moderately, and took much exercise; his humanity was great, and he was compassionate to the sufferings of his soldiers, whose wounds he would often dress with his own hands: But above all things, his piety towards God was exemplary, being extremely Zealous for Religion, and for the purity of the faith, wherein he surpassed all the Princes his predecessors. (d) In short, all those, who have written concerning this Prince, do agree, that he would have equalled in glory the greatest of Emperors, had he been able to break himself of one failing, which was even encouraged for their own ends by those who had the honour of being near him, whilst they ought to have endeavoured to divert him from it. (e) For instead of applying himself to the affairs of the Empire, to which he had a natural aversion; and for that reason left them to the management of his ministers, he used to employ most of his time in shooting of arrows, and lancing of javelins, killing wild beasts in a park, and other exercises of this kind, for which he had an extraordinary passion. All his glory consisted in this way of

A. D.
383.

(c) Ammian. l. 27. Victor. in Grat.

(d) Auson. Grat. aet de suo Consul.

Rufin. l. 2. c. 13. Ambros. or. in obit. Valent.
Ammian. l. 31.

(e) Vict. in Grat. Ammian.

A. D. 383. living, following his own inclinations, and letting himself be seduced by the deceitful complaisance of his nearest courtiers, who flattered and indulged him in these trifling amusements, whilst they governed the Empire in his name. Thus Princes, who generally have but few friends, and often many enemies, have none more dangerous than those, who, under a false appearance of friendship, encourage them in their faults, in order to take advantage of their weakness.

Maximus, after the death of Gratian, being acknowledged Emperor in Gaul, Spain, and England, it was thought, that he would have marched directly, with all his forces into Italy, in order to attack Valentinian, who was not at that time in a condition to make any defence; but he resolved before hand to discover the intention of Theodosius, and find out, whether he would be his friend or his enemy. (*f*) To this purpose he sent one of his bravest and oldest officers to him, who had orders to make him an offer of his friendship, and of all his forces jointly to defend the Empire against the Barbarians, if he would accept of him as his colleague, or if he refused his proposal, immediately to declare war with him. Theodosius, who after the general peace in the East, had reserved but a small number of Troops, and who, besides, could not then defend Valentinian, if the tyrant should at once fall upon Italy, concealed artfully his secret intentions, and made answer to the Ambassador, that he received with joy the offers which he brought him in the name of Maximus; that as he had succeeded Gratian with the approbation of the Army, he would willingly accept of him in his room, for his colleague to the Empire with Valentinian.

But Justina was strangely perplexed at the immediate danger to which she was exposed; she feared that Maximus while he was amusing Theodosius, would invade Italy, which was not able to resist him; and therefore, she found herself obliged to apply to St. Ambrose in spite of all the hatred she bore him, and to entreat him in the name of the Emperor her Son, to go Ambassador to Maximus, in order to divert the storm, and to manage affairs in such a manner, as to persuade the tyrant to be satisfied

(*f*) Zosim. l. 4.

with the Dominions that lay on the other side of the Alps. This holy Bishop performed the articles of his (g) commission with so much art and power, that he put a stop to the course of this impetuous torrent, and prevented Maximus (who complained of it afterwards) from executing the resolution which he had taken, to improve so favourable an opportunity, and carry his forces forward, whilst he was treating with Theodosius. So that Maximus for this time, leaving Valentinian in peaceable possession of his share of the Empire, and being contented with that which Gratian had possessed, he remained in Gaul, and there established at Treves the seat of his new sovereignty; assuming the Title of Augustus, with the consent of the two Emperors.

A. D.
383.

In the mean while the affairs of Religion, concerning Arianism, were carried on in a very different manner in both Empires. For Theodosius, being informed by Letters, which St Gregory wrote from his solitude of Arianze to Nectarius, that there were Arian Bishops concealed in Constantinople, who still continued to teach privately their abominable doctrine (b). He issued out a new edict against them, (i) whereby he gave an absolute charge, that a strict enquiry should be made after them throughout that city, and that; having found out their retirements, they should be expelled; and sent to some remote place, where it would be no more in their power to deceive any one. The Empress Flaccilla was not a little instrumental in this affair; for she used continually to inspire Theodosius with that most ardent Zeal, which filled her breast, for the glory of the Son of God, against the Arians, whom she abhorred as much as she did the very Pagans: (k) For she used often to say, that it was as great an impiety to hold the person whom we worship for a Creature, as to worship an Idol made of gold or silver, for our God. And as she had gloried during her life in the profession of that faith, which teacheth Christians to worship one only God in the three Persons of the FATHER, SON, and HOLY GHOST; so likewise she died steadfast in the same faith, which made her appear perfectly pure in the presence of God; as St. Gregory of Nyssa expresseth him-

A. D.
384.

A. D.
385.

(g) Ambros. or. in fun. Valen. Ep. 33. ad Sor. (b) Gregor. ad Nectar.
(i) Leg. 13. de Hæret. Cod. Theod. (k) Gregor. Nyss. orat in funere Flac.

A. D. 385. self, who, being at Constantinople at the time of her death, preached her funeral oration before Theodosius, who paid unto that deceased Princess all the honours that were due to the memory of so great and religious an Empress. She was also a Spaniard born, *(l)* and of the illustrious family of the Æilians, from which the Emperor Adrian descended; and it seemed to be the will of God, that she should be placed on the throne, in order to repair (through her zeal for the faith, and her eminent piety) the wrongs which the three Arian Empresses, her predecessors, had done to the Eastern Church; as likewise to oppose Justina, who, at the same time, was using her utmost endeavours to restore Arianism in the West.

For this Princess thought she might now live in peace with regard to Maximus, whose furious designs St. Ambrose had just put a stop to; and on the other hand, having nothing more to fear on the account of Gratian, who never would have suffered any attempt to be made against this holy Bishop, whom he honoured like a Father, and had declared himself his protector, she resolved to re-establish her Arians, and ruin her benefactor. To this end, as she had such an absolute power over her son, that he acted only by her directions, she persuaded him on the twenty third of January in the year following to publish an edict, whereby it was made lawful for those persons to meet, who professed the doctrine, which was constituted by the Council of Rimini, and confirmed by that of Constantinople under Constantius, *(m)* that is to say, the Arians; and it was farther declared, that whosoever should undertake to oppose this order, should be punished with death, as the author of sedition, a disturber of the peace of the Church, and a traitor, reserving also to himself the punishment of those who would endeavour, under hand, even by prayers or humble representations, to prevent the execution of this edict. The Empress ordered Benevolus, first minister of State, to draw up this edict; but he desired to be excused, protesting generously, that, being a Catholick, he would die sooner than write any thing to the prejudice of that faith which he owed unto God. *(n)* And

(l) Claud. de Laud. Seren. Spart. *(m)* Leg. 4. de fide Cath. Cod. Theod.
(n) Rufin. lib. 2. cap. 16. Sozom. lib. 7. cap. 13.

as the Empress was pressing him with promises to promote him to greater employments, if he would grant her the satisfaction which she expected from his loyalty; this brave Christian, pulling off the marks of his dignity, he flung them down at Justina's feet, with his sword, saying to her, "Madam, I not only resolve not to forfeit my conscience for the sake of those new titles of honour, which you offer me; but in order to convince you, that nothing of that kind is able to tempt me, I willingly resign up the employment which I now enjoy, thinking it an honour great enough to bear the name of a Catholick, if I can be so happy as to preserve it during my life, which I propose to do with the assistance of God, preferring it to all the dignities of your Empire.

A. D.
386.

Having expressed himself in these terms, he departed from court, and retired to a house which he had at Bressa; where, after having received Baptism, which he had deferred till then, he led a life perfectly conformable to the heroick action he had just performed, passing his days in the constant practice of Christian virtues, as we are informed from the writings of St. Gaudantius Bishop of Bressa, (o) who makes the Elogium of that great man, in dedicating his Sermons to him. For this holy and learned Bishop chose rather to dedicate his Works to a private person, who by his virtue deserved the praise, which he must have given him in his dedication, than to address some great and worldly courtier, whose want of merit would have convinced him that he had placed false encomiums and adulations at the head of those Christian truths which he had preached.

Justina nevertheless executed her design; for she found, without much difficulty, an officer, who (as it is the custom at court) was so mean spirited, as to make himself a slave to her passion, and would not stick at committing a crime, to purchase the employments of Benevolus. So the edict, which was made in January, in behalf of Arianism, was published at Milan, in the year three hundred and eighty six. But the Arians were not satisfied with having the liberty only to meet in assemblies; they likewise wanted a Church for that purpose; and in order to obtain one,

(o) Gaudent. in Præfat. Serm.

A. D. they must have found means to oblige St. Ambrose to resign one to
 386. them. After having deliberated upon this affair, Justina perceived, that there was no other plausible way, consistent with the reputation of the Arians, to compel him to it than by contriving, that their false Bishop should get the better of him in a publick dispute, in the presence of such judges as would undoubtedly be on his side. (p) This false Bishop was the young Auxentius, a Scythian by birth, who went by the name of Mercurinus, because he had made his name infamous in his own Country, for the abominable crimes which he had acted there, and likewise, because he feared, that his own name would render him odious to the people of Milan, who abhorred the memory of the late Auxentius, predecessor to St. Ambrose. As this man had a larger share of impudence than the rest of the Arians, and had a free and bold manner of expressing himself, appearing to those who were very ignorant, to have a greater capacity; Justina had caused him to be elected Bishop by the small number of Arians, who remained with her at Milan, and who, for the most part, fled thither from the eastern provinces, where Theodosius's officers would not suffer them to appear. This Princess was therefore of opinion, that he was a proper person to execute the design which she had laid; and accordingly Auxentius having received his instructions from Justina, and being fully assured of success in this undertaking, through the measures which she had taken, he sent a challenge, in a solemn manner, to St. Ambrose, summoning him to meet him at this conference, which should be held in the presence of the Emperor and his Council, before judges agreed upon by both parties, in order, that the person, who should be judged the conqueror by the Emperor, and by the votes of those who should be present at this dispute, should be put in possession of the principal Church, as being the true and lawful Bishop of Milan,

St. Ambrose was highly incensed at this proposal, whereby it was attempted to expose the cause of that faith, which had been solemnly decided by the Nicene Council, to the judgment of lay-men, and perhaps persons of a prophane opinion. For, in—

(p) Ambrose is Auxent.

deed, Auxentius, (q) who had taken care in the challenge not to name the judges whom he proposed to chuse, had made choice of four or five Pagans to give their judgment in this dispute concerning the Divinity of JESUS CHRIST. The holy Bishop, having therefore refused to accept this challenge, as thinking it highly improper; Auxentius took occasion to upbraid him with his refusal in the presence of the Emperor, turning it all to his own advantage; and afterward entreated him, in a most urgent manner, to compel his rival, either to accept of the proposal, which he could not refuse with honour, or to deliver him up his Church. Valentinian, who was unwilling to disoblige his mother, who openly protected Auxentius, granted them whatever they required, and sent the tribune Dalmatius to St. Ambrose, to signify unto him the day which was appointed for the meeting at the imperial palace, with the judges whom he should chuse to be on his side, in order to dispute with Auxentius in his presence. Whereupon St. Ambrose, having consulted with the Bishops who were at that time with him, wrote that excellent epistle to the Emperor, wherein he represents to him, with equal respect, and force of argument, that by divine authority, as well as by the rules of the Church, and the customs of the foregoing ages, as also by the example and ordinances of the great Valentinian his father, it was not lawful for lay-men to determine ecclesiastical matters, and much less matters of faith; that these things must be decided by the Bishops only, and that whenever our belief is concerned, the Christian Emperors are to be judged by the Bishops, and not the Bishops by the Emperors. From thence he concluded, that if he must dispute in a Council against Auxentius, though it were no wise necessary to call one upon his account, he was very ready to do it; but that he could not repair to the palace, That not being a proper place wherein to treat of matters of faith. He even begs to be excused if he does not go himself to return him an answer, as he would have done, had not the Bishops and the people prevented him on this occasion, by not suffering him to leave his Church, for fear it might look as if he yielded it up to the Arians, who perhaps would improve the opportunity, and take posses-

A. D.
386.

(q) Ambros Epist. 32. ad Marcel. Sor. Ambros. or. contr. Aux

A. D. sion of it. He then says, that his Church shall be open to all
 §86. people, and that That was the place (and not the palace) where they ought to come, in order to hear him discourse upon the mysteries of faith. After this he continued to preach, according to his custom, with an incredible power, and God even concurred with him in a most extraordinary manner. For it is said, that one of the most cunning and obstinate Arians, (*r*) having heard him preach sublimely on the Divinity of JESUS CHRIST, and perceiving at the same time an Angel, who seemed to dictate to him in his ear the things which he was expounding to the people, he was immediately converted, glorifying God, and declaiming openly what he had seen.

But the Empress was in despair, seeing herself disappointed in her first design, by the resolution of this holy Bishop, for whom the people had declared themselves; and not finding it an easy matter to oppress him by violence, she was forced to use art, and by the means of promises and presents to bribe some persons to carry him off by surprise. There were several who endeavoured in vain to gratify her desire; but at last, a man, whose name was Euthymius, and who was more bold and daring than the rest, undertook to execute this design at noon-day. For this purpose, he hired a house joining to the Church, and there kept for several days a chariot and horses ready, in order to seize on this holy Prelate and his attendants, at his coming out of the Church, after divine service was over, and the people were retired; then to carry him off at once, and convey him with speed to the place which Justina had designed for him. But he always found this holy man so well attended by his people, who were ever watchful of his person, that he miscarried in his design; and God, by a just judgment, in order to punish him for his attempt, (*s*) permitted (before the year was at an end) this wretched man to be apprehended in that very house, and carried away in that same chariot, to the banishment which he was condemned to for other crimes.

(*r*) Paulin. in vit. Ambrose.
 vit. S. Ambr.

(*s*) Ambrose. or. in Auxen. Paulin in

Justina, seeing all her hopes frustrated, fell into so excessive a rage, that she could not help breaking out into open violence. She procured a new edict in favour of Auxentius, which he drew up as he thought fit, whereby it was ordered, upon pain of death, that all catholic priests should abandon their Churches, and deliver them up to him. There was even a rumour spread throughout the city, that soldiers were sent to the principal Church, with orders to murder St. Ambrose, in case he refused to deliver it up to those who were sent to demand it of him in the name of the Emperor. Thereupon the people, from all parts, repaired to the Church, and shut the doors, with a resolution to defend it and their Bishop, whom they carefully watched day and night; expressing no other fear, but that, being overcome by the solicitations and threats of the Emperor, he would deliver up his Church to him, in order to dispose of it to the Arians. But the people's courage increased beyond expression, when they heard the wonderful discourses which the good Prelate made daily upon the holy Scriptures, to give them assurance of the divine protection; and when they saw his invincible courage and steady resolution, to perish a thousand times rather than willingly to surrender his Church.

(t) And indeed some days after, on the wednesday before Palm-sunday, the Tribunes, having invested the Church with soldiers, presented the edict to him, in virtue whereof, they commanded him in the name of the Emperor, to deliver up his Church to them, with all the sacred vessels, permitting him to retire wherever he pleased, with those who were disposed to follow him; to which he generously answered, with a holy freedom and calmness of mind: "That, having on that very day explained unto his people the History of Naboth, he was firmly resolved to follow his example, and to shed his blood like him, rather than yield up the inheritance of his fore-fathers, that is to say, his Church, which he had received of the Dionysius's, Eustorges's, and the Marcellus's, his illustrious predecessors, to whom JESUS CHRIST himself had intrusted it as his patrimony. That he would never betray his ministry, nor his Master, in delivering up

A. D.
387.

(t) Ambrose, Ep. 32.

A. D. “ so sacred a trust, because he was in greater fear of the Lord
 383. “ of the whole world, to whom that estate belonged, than of the
 “ Emperor of Rome, who had no claim to it. That the prince
 “ might take from him his personal estate and possessions, his
 “ gold and his silver, if there was any of it left that was not
 “ in the hands of the poor, and even the lands of his Church if
 “ he had a mind for them; that, tho’ in so doing, it would be
 “ an act of injustice, nevertheless he would not attempt to op-
 “ pose him; but to leave voluntarily his Church and the sacred
 “ vessels thereof to be given up to the Arians, was a thing
 “ which he would never agree to, were he to lose a thousand lives.
 “ That indeed he had no other defensive arms but his tears, his
 “ lamentations and his prayers before the Lord, and that were they
 “ even to cut him into pieces, he would not resist; but that he
 “ likewise knew how to stand his ground, and not forsake his
 “ Flock, nor his Church, out of any apprehension of death; and
 “ that, if the Emperor was resolved on this occasion, to act all
 “ the violence he could against him, AMBROSE would shew,
 “ on his side, that he could bravely suffer, like a Bishop, all
 “ the severest torments, sooner than quit his post, and abandon
 “ his Church.

The holy Bishop having acquainted the people with what had passed, they filled the Church with acclamations; though in the mean while, the Arians represented him at court as a seditious person, and as a ring-leader of the rebels, who had seduced the people, by distributing amongst them the income and treasure of the Church under the specious pretence of Alms: And as one who was stirring them up by extraordinary canticles which he made them sing daily in the Church, and were like so many trumpets of sedition. For they spoke in this manner of the verse of glorification in honour of the most holy Trinity, which he caused to be sung at the end of all the Psalms, Hymns, and Canticles, in order to confound Arianism. And this the people used to perform with so great a fervency, that St. Augustin, who was then at Milan, and whom St. Ambrose had converted within the space of two years, confessed, that it sensibly affected him, and inspired him with an ardent devotion, which was attended with a flood of comfortable tears.

The

The court being informed of St. Ambrose's resolution, it was thought fit to make some abatement in the demands, which were first made upon him, in order to dispatch the business with the more expedition and without noise. To this end, the prefect of the city went the next day to St. Ambrose, and assuming a more civil and respectful air than he had done the day before, he endeavoured to persuade him that, for the sake of peace, as the Prince was willing to mitigate the Affair on his part, he ought to do the same for his satisfaction. That he was therefore come to tell him, that he should peaceably possess his church, and that the Emperor would be contented, if he would immediately, as it was expected, deliver up in a handsome manner the *Basilica Portiana*, which was a beautiful and stately Church in the suburbs. At this proposal the people, who knew the intentions of St. Ambrose, and were resolved to perish, sooner than deliver up any Church to the Arians, cried out aloud with one voice, without waiting for his answer, that, as that Church belonged to the Catholics, no body could take it from them without committing a sacrilege, and that he himself could not without impiety, yield it up to the Enemies of JESUS CHRIST. Hereupon the prefect, seeing that he could not be successful in his negotiation, replied only, that he would acquaint the Emperor with this resolution.

A. D.
383.

At this report, Justina lost all manner of patience, and being blinded to all consideration but that which flattered her passion, and inspired her with a desire of Revenge, she resolved immediately to have recourse to open violence, and seize the Church sword in hand. Therefore, on the second day after which was Palm-sunday, in the morning, as St. Ambrose, after his sermon, was preparing solemnly to celebrate the divine mysteries, he was informed, that a body of soldiers were come out of the palace with their officers, and going to seize on the *Basilica Portiana*, and that a great number of the people armed were likewise repairing thither, in order to oppose them. The saint, tho' surprized at this news, nevertheless began his office; but as he was at the oblation of the holy gifts, one of the Deacons came to acquaint him, that the people, passing through the great place, as they were going to the *Portiana*, had seized an Arian priest, who was

A. D. in danger of being cut to pieces, if they pursued their design
 387. against that Church. St. Ambrose hearing this, could not refrain his tears; he prayed unto GOD, that all the evil which would happen through this disorder, might fall upon his head; being ready to atone for it with his blood, which he offered up for the Arians themselves; then he immediately sent his Priests and Deacons in order to deliver the Arian priest out of the people's hands, by which means he saved his life.

As on one side the tumult increased, so did the persecution of Justina on the other, and the whole city being in a terrible confusion; the Tribunes, the Counts, and even the Captains of the Goths, who were in the Emperor's service, came to St. Ambrose to desire, that he would keep the people in their duty, and put a stop to the sedition; that in order to show an example of obedience to others, he should deliver up, without delay, the Church which the Emperor required of him, and which he had a right to, since, being absolute master in his Empire, every thing was his. The holy Bishop replied, "That it was neither lawful for him to deliver up the Church, nor for the Emperor to take it: That far from having any right to the house of GOD, he had not even a right to that of a private person, which he could not seize by force, without violating the rights of justice: That nevertheless, if the Prince would have his gold and silver, and all that he possessed, though, as a Bishop, he had nothing but what belonged to the poor; he might take it, without giving him much concern. If he requireth my life, *said he, with an incredible resolution*, he may take it from me without opposition, I shall not fly to the Altars to beg it of him; to the contrary, I shall ever feel an extraordinary joy in offering it up a sacrifice, for the defence of those very Altars which are required of me, in order to be prophaned by the impiety and sacrileges of Arianism. As to the tumult raised amongst the people, I am not the cause of it. I may very well avoid promoting it, and even endeavour to suppress it, in exhorting them, as I have already done, to defend themselves with no other arms but tears and supplications unto GOD; but when they are once incensed, nothing but GOD alone can pacify them". Besides this he made use of many strong and moving arguments

arguments to persuade them not to become the ministers of Arian impiety, nor of the passion of a woman, who made an ill use of the authority of a young Emperor, to destroy a religion, which the great Valentinian his father had always so religiously professed, and so vigorously protected. After this the Counts and Tribunes withdrew in silence, appearing to be very much affected with his discourse; and St. Ambrose, having passed the rest of the day in another Church, called the *Ancient Basilica*, in order to give some consolation to the people of that neighbourhood, retired home to his house, where he remained all night, and would not suffer it to be guarded, that the world might see how ready he was to undergo all the violence that they could act against him, for the defence of the cause which he was resolved to maintain.

Nevertheless they did not dare to assault his person: But on the monday early in the morning, as he was going from his house to the Church, he was informed, that the soldiers had taken possession of the *Ancient Basilica*, though it was already full of people, and that if he would advance a little farther he might hear (as he accordingly did) the lamentations and woful complaints of those who implored his assistance. The holy Bishop being moved with compassion, mixed his lamentations with those of his people; but he would not on any account let himself be persuaded at the same time to go into that Church, in order to oppose the soldiers: "It doth not belong to me, *said he*, to oppose force with force, nor to fight against soldiers in that Church, as it were in a field of battle. It is my duty never to submit either to the prayers, threatnings, or violences of those who would oblige me to deliver it up to them; for I must act against them as a Bishop, with spiritual arms". Hereupon they told him, that the Cathedral was more crowded than was ever seen in time of peace, and that the people, who expected his presence, desired with a loud voice, that the holy Scriptures might be read to them. So he immediately repaired thither; and though it was already surrounded by military men, he entered it very peaceably, without any one's seeming to oppose him. Being in the Church, in order to shew that he did not pretend to fight as a general, but that he was resolved to exert all his Episcopal power in the defence

A. D.
387.

A. D. fence of his rights, he solemnly declared, that he excommunicated
387. all the soldiers who had taken possession of the *Basilica's*.

Now it seemed as if all things were reduced to the utmost extremity, and that the Arians, backed by all the forces of the Empire, were going to be the masters in Milan, when God by an extraordinary token of his grace, and by a miraculous change, which could proceed only from the hand of the most high, restored, as it were in one moment, peace and tranquility to that Church, to the confusion of Justina and her Arians. For in the first place, the soldiers who had invested the Cathedral, hearing what St. Ambrose had just done, began to enter quietly two by two into the Church; and as they perceived that the people were afraid, they protested openly, that they did not come thither, as enemies to molest them, but as their brethren, in order to assist at the divine mysteries, under the same pastor. Hereupon the holy Prelate having received them as part of his flock, he ascended the pulpit, and began his sermon upon the book of Job which had just been read. He was not far gone on with his subject, when he was agreeably interrupted by a person who came to acquaint him, that they were carrying back to the palace the imperial canopy, which had been set up in the *Ancient Basilica*, for the reception of the Emperor, whom Justina would have persuaded to go thither in order to take possession of it in behalf of the Arians, and that the affairs had taken a quite different turn from what was believed. For indeed the soldiers of the Emperor, who had taken possession of that Church by his orders, had no sooner entered it, but they were changed from being persecutors into lambs, and they deputed some of their officers to tell him, “ That he might
“ come to the Church when he pleased, that they would not omit
“ doing their duty, and would serve him according to their em-
“ ployments, upon condition, that they could see him communi-
“ cate with the Catholics; but that if he would side with the
“ Arians, they would likewise do what God commanded them,
“ in joining with those who acknowledged the Bishop Ambrose for
“ their Pastor. This adventure, which was unexpected at court, surprized Valentinian, who not daring to trust himself amongst them, ordered his Canopy to be brought back. And the Arians, who had none of their sectaries in town, and were but few in
number

number in the palace, not daring to appear without the Emperor and Justina, whom they attended, took great care not to expose themselves.

A. D.
387.

Besides, there happened another affair which deprived both Justina and the Emperor of all hopes of succeeding in so ill manag'd an undertaking. For the first officers of the Empire, and all the great men at court, on whom Justina had relied, went in a body to Valentinian, humbly to entreat him in the name of the whole Army to appear at Church on those holidays, which were consecrated to the memory of the passion of Jesus Christ, in order that the people might see, that he was resolved inviolably to preserve that unity of faith, which the few remaining Arians were endeavouring to destroy by so scandalous a Schism. The Emperor, being surprized and highly offended at this discourse, made them the following answer: "I understand your meaning; the bishop Ambrose has so great a power in Milan, that should he command you to deliver me up to him in chains you would obey him". In the heat of his passion he immediately sent one of his secretaries to Ambrose, to ask him how he had dared to oppose his orders, and whether he pretended to usurp the Empire like a tyrant, that he might prepare himself to make war against him? To which the holy Man answered coolly: "That in doing his duty, which would not suffer him to deliver up his Church to the Arians, who were the enemies of JESUS CHRIST, he had not acted against the respect and fidelity which he owed to the Emperor. That as to his asking him, if he pretended to set up for a tyrant, That question might easily be resolved by Maximus, who daily complained of him, for having prevented him by his persuasive arguments, from coming into Italy in order to oppose Valentinian.

At the same time there came to St. Ambrose a Gentleman from the Eunuch Calligonus great Chamberlain to the Emperor, who, affecting to be zealous for the service of his Prince whom he saw in so violent a passion, sent an impertinent message to the Bishop; telling him, that since he was so insolent as to despise the Emperor, he should find that the Emperor had people who would punish his insolence, and that he himself, who gave him this advice, would go and cut off his head in his own house. The holy

D

Bishop

A. D. Bishop, who shewed little regard to these brutish expressions, sent
 387. the person back, saying to him, Go to to your Master, and tell him
 precisely what I say. " I pray unto GOD, that he may per-
 " mit thee to put thy threatnings in execution; for I shall
 " then have the pleasure and honour to suffer like a Bishop
 " in the cause of GOD, and thou shalt bear the shame of acting
 " like a brute, such as are thy Fellow-Eunuchs. Let those infam-
 " ous wretches cast all their rage on me, and glut themselves
 " with my blood, I heartily offer it to them, provided it may
 " please GOD by That means, to deliver his Church from the perse-
 " cution it hath so long laboured under, through those Arians
 " who are but half men ". (r) This generous reply was some-
 time after authorized with the justice of GOD, who permitted
 This wretched Calligonus to be convicted of an infamous crime,
 which none but an Eunuch could be guilty of, and his head was
 cut off for the same, by the command of That very Valentinian,
 whose passion he would have indulged when he threatned to cut
 off St. Ambrose's head.

But all these threatnings and violent proceedings at court were
 like the last efforts of an expiring flame, which, when it is tow-
 ards its end, blazeth up into the air with the greater force, but at
 last ceaseth, and is suddenly lost in its own smoke. For the wisest
 persons in the council represented expressly to the Emperor, that
 on the one side the whole city being dissatisfied; and on the other
 hand, the army having declared, that they would live in the
 communion of St. Ambrose, it would be dangerous to expose his
 authority, in persisting to deliver up the Churches into the pos-
 session of those few Arians who remained in the palace. This
 young Prince, who began to perceive that his power was abused,
 resolved at last to submit to those remonstrances, in spite of all
 the passionate endeavours of Justina. So that on the holy tues-
 day, as St. Ambrose was explaining the History of Jonas in his
 Cathedral Church, the news was brought him of a happy recon-
 ciliation, after so great disorders; and a calm succeeded the storm
 which was just at an end. For he was informed, that the Emperor
 had then given orders, that all things should be restored to the

(r) Aug. contr. Jul. l. 6. c. 4.

state they were in before, that the prisoners should be set at liberty; (s) that restitution should be made of what had been seized; that what was passed should be forgotten, and that the soldiers should retire from the *Basilica* which they were in possession of. These orders were executed with so great a joy, that the soldiers crowded about the Altars, and kissed them as a token of their satisfaction and thankfulness unto God for the peace newly restored to the Church, for which they had been so fortunate on this occasion to declare their zeal. And thus Justina, in spite of all the violent endeavours which she had used by the instigation of the Arians, had the mortification to see all the orders of the city both in particular and in general, the clergymen and lay-men, the court and common people, the citizens and soldiers, the great officers of the Empire, and the meanest of the Plebeians, the Earth, and even Heaven itself; all these, I say, had declared in favour of St. Ambrose against the Empress Justina. For at that time he discovered the bodies of the holy martyrs, St. Gervasius and Protasius, in the Church of St. Nabor and St. Felix; and the miracles which God was pleased to perform by the means of those holy relicks, in the presence of all the people, highly exalted the virtue of St. Ambrose, and the truth of That faith which he defended with so much zeal and vigour against the Arians.

A. D.
387.

(t) And indeed, as these relicks were, by the Bishop's orders, conveyed to his Basilica, with an extraordinary pomp and magnificence, in a general procession of all the people, where even St. Augustin himself was present, and a witness of these wonders, several persons who were possessed with evil spirits, roared out aloud in a most hideous manner, that they were tormented by the martyrs and by Ambrose; and that such people as the Arians, who would not acknowledge the unity of Essence in the Trinity, might suffer the same torments to confirm the faith of That mystery, which the Devils themselves confessed, and in defence of which those saints had gloriously shed their blood. These possessed people had no sooner touched the sacred shrine of the Martyrs, but they were immediately delivered of their evil spirits; the sick like-

(s) August. Confes. l. 7. c. 7. Ambros. Epist. 85. Paulin. in vit. Ambros.
(t) Ambros. Serm. 91. Aug. lib. de Cur. Ag. pro. Mort.

A. D. 387. wife were perfectly recovered by touching the cloath which lay over the shrine; and a blind man, who was known throughout the whole city, recovered his sight only by touching the fringe of That cloath. The Arians, who were almost in despair to see their Party thus confounded by such evident testimonies, had the impudence to say, that all this was an imposture and a cheat contrived by Ambrose, who had set up false martyrs, and had bribed people to counterfeit the possessed, the sick and the blind. But though they were strargely exposed for their impudence in publishing so notorious a falshood; yet, besides, it was the will of God to confound them still more by a surprizing accident which compleated their ruin. (*u*) For one of the most furious men of their Party, having thrust himself into the crowd, in order to spread those calumnies which he asserted with as much assurance as if they were manifest truths, was suddenly seized with an evil spirit, which made him cry out aloud in a most horrible manner amongst the people, with strange and frightful distortions: “ In this manner will those be tormented in Hell, who deny that the saints are martyrs, whose relicks are now carried about, and will not believe the unity of substance in the Trinity as it is taught by Ambrose ”. This accident was very disagreeable to the Arians; but their hearts were so hardened, that, far from making a proper use of it, they became more wicked, and carried their rage to such an extremity, that they privately flung this wretched fellow into a pond of water, where he was drowned, in order to suppress so invinsible a testimony of their malice and perfidioufness.

In the mean while Justina, having it no longer in her power to act openly against this holy man, applied to the most black and abominable means she could think on to destroy him. She first employed a wicked ungodly man, who having concealed himself in St. Ambrose's chamber, drew his sword and was going to kill him, when on a sudden, his arm remained without motion; whereupon he flung himself at the holy Bishop's feet, and having discovered the whole truth of this affair to him, St. Ambrose restored his arm to the state it was in before, and sent him away very much

(*u*) Paulin in vit. Ambros.

reformed from what he was, detesting his crime, and the cruelty of the Empress. But this was not the only attempt she made, as we have been informed, since her death. For a certain sooth-sayer, who was a pagan, and a famous magician, being put to the torture, for the crime of witchcraft, which he was accused of; instead of answering to the questions which were made him, he cried out aloud with all the strength of his voice, that he suffered much greater torments from the angel to whose guardianship St. Ambrose was committed. He persuaded the spectators by his lamentable cries that he was invisibly and severely smitten by that angel, because that in order to indulge the passion of Justina, he had sacrificed unto the devil at midnight, on the top of the roof of the Church, by which means he proposed to stir up the hatred of the people against their Bishop: But that the more he put these abominations and witchcrafts in practice, so much the more did the zeal and love of the people encrease for the catholick faith and for St. Ambrose its defender. He, besides, declared that having one day invoked the devils and sent them to kill the holy Bishop, they turned back, confessing their want of power, and said that they could not even approach his door, because his whole house was defended by an invisible fire which stopped them even at a great distance, and tormented them by the heat of a flame which was yet more insupportable to them than the very flames of hell.

But at last, tho' so many prodigious things had not been able to put a stop to the raging passion of Justina against St. Ambrose, a much more powerful passion effected it. And this was the fear of the tyrant Maximus, who, as she was informed, was then making great preparations of war, in order to pass the Alps and invade Italy and the rest of the western Empire. For, indeed, Maximus being at that time powerfully armed, and successful in all his undertakings, he began to repent of having so easily acquiesced to the persuasions of St. Ambrose, and was now waiting only for a favourable opportunity of falling on and surprising Valentinian whilst he was the least apprehensive of it. (x) He had written to him in favour of the Catholick religion, against the Arians, advising him to continue stedfast in the faith of the great Valenti-

(x) Theod. l. 5. c. 4. t. 1. Epist. Rom. Pont.

A. D. 387. nian, and entreating him to put an end to the unjust persecution which was carried on against Bishop Ambrose, who so generously defended the cause of truth. He behaved in this manner in order to draw in the Catholics, and be able to justify his arms, under the fair pretence of piety, against the prince whom he intended to oppress. Justina, being terrified at the threatening danger, had no other thoughts at this time but to find means to avoid it; and, as the first embassy of St. Ambrose had prevented Maximus from coming into Italy, (y) she persuaded the Emperor her Son to send him a second time to him, with the pretence of demanding the body of Gratian, under This colour artfully to discover his designs, and use his endeavours to divert him from attempting any thing to the prejudice of the treaty of peace.

This holy Bishop, who preferred the service of the Emperor, his master, and the publick good, to all other considerations, both as to the injuries he had already received, and the ill-treatment he might then expect from Maximus, who complained highly of him, set out immediately for Treves, where, in the midst of the Council, (z) he used the strongest arguments he could think on, in answer to his complaints; and withal endeavoured to persuade him not to violate the peace, but to deliver up the body of Gratian to Valentinian, in order that the funeral solemnities might be paid him, which could not well be denied him without the utmost barbarity. But tho' on this occasion, St. Ambrose used all the force of eloquence, and the prudence of an experienced statesman, yet he could get no other answer at That time from Maximus, but that he was very willing to treat with Valentinian: And some days after, hearing that St. Ambrose refused to communicate with the Bishops of his court, he ordered him to retire. Therefore at his return, he gave an account of his negociation to Valentinian, advising him at the same time to be aware of the deceits of Maximus, who, under the colour of a new treaty of peace, proposed only to conceal the design he had formed to make war against him. But This prince made no advantage of the wise councils of This great man: (a) For, having sent Dominus, one of his principal ministers, to treat with Maximus; This tyrant insnared him so artfully by his deluding

(y) Ambros. or. in ob. Valen. (z) Ambros. Ep. 27. ad Valent. (a) Zos. l. 4. words

words and the extraordinary honours he had paid him, as likewise by magnificent presents, and even troops which he sent to his master against the barbarians, who then threatned Pannonia, that Dominus was easily persuaded that Valentinian could never have a better friend than Maximus; and hereupon, expressing all the satisfaction imaginable, he set out again and made his way towards the Alps. But the tyrant at the same time, following him close with his whole army, marched with so much expedition, that he reached Italy immediately after him, and in the first place took possession of Aquilea. Then descending from the Alps, like a raging torrent, he over-run the plains of Lombardy, where he caused most horrid devastations. But now, finding that all yielded to his fortune, and submitted without resistance to his power, he took upon him to behave with more humanity: So acting artfully like a man who makes every thing subservient to his interest (even religion) he resolved to draw into his party the Pagans, Jews, and Christians; the first, by re-establishing the sacrifices which Gratian had abolished, and permitting them to restore the altar of victory in the capitol; (b) the Jews, by rebuilding their synagogues at Rome; and the Christians, by writing to Siricius, Bishop of Rome, that he would inviolably maintain the catholick faith, and not admit of any heresy.

A. D.
387.

But in the mean while, Valentinian, seeing This sudden irruption of Maximus into Italy, and not having power to resist him, set out immediately, and, for safety, retired by sea to Thessalonica with Justina his mother, from whence he sent an express to Theodosius at Constantinople, entreating him, by the memory of Gratian his benefactor, to revenge his death, and take his brother into his protection, whom That cruel tyrant would have treated after the same inhuman manner, had he fallen into his hands. Theodosius, who sometime before had espoused Galla, sister to Valentinian, was extremely concerned to hear the deplorable condition this young Emperor was in, who was his colleague and brother-in-law. He came to him at Thessalonica, where, after having offered him all the comforts imaginable in his present misfortune, and expressed his tenderness and affection for the family of the great Va-

(b) Ambros. Epist. 29. To. 1. Ep. Ro. Pont. Zol. l. 4.

lentinian,

A. D. 387. *Valentinian*, he said to him in the stile of a father, and Christian Emperor: (*b*)“ That in order to bring a remedy for so great an evil, which had reduced him to This deplorable extremity, he must find means to destroy the cause ; which was nothing else but the heresy and war which he had maintained against *JESUS CHRIST*, in upholding the Arians, and persecuting the defenders of his divinity. That, if he had not *JESUS CHRIST* on his side, who had given the Victory to *Constantine* over all the tyrants, all the forces of the Empire would only serve to render his loss more considerable, and his overthrow the more compleat. That he needed not to seek any where but in his own house for the proofs of a truth which he ought particularly on This occasion, to make the rule of his conduct. That the great *Valentinian* his father, having constantly preserved That faith which he had so generously confessed under the Empire of *Julian*, had likewise on all occasions been victorious over the Barbarians; and that by his great and glorious actions, he had acquired the same name which had rendered the memory of the Alexanders, and the Constantines so renowned in the world: That on the contrary, his uncle *Valens* having renounced That faith, to give himself up to the impieties of Arianism, which he had maintained with the persecution of the Catholicks, had likewise miserably lost, with his Empire, both his honour and life, and died a most horrible death in the midst of those flames which were lighted, by the very Goths, who had but just cut his whole army into pieces: That indeed *Maximus* was a tyrant, but that notwithstanding his being a tyrant, he nevertheless acknowledged *JESUS CHRIST* to be truly *GOD*; that, besides, it was to be feared lest the true *GOD*, who was the Lord of Host, should sooner favour the party of a catholick tyrant, than That of a Prince, who from being a catholick was become the protector of the Arians. Therefore, if he proposed from the assistance which he would endeavour to give him, to obtain all the success he wished for, he must have *JESUS CHRIST* in his interest, by abhorring Arianism, which was the cause of his misfortunes, and sincerely re-embracing the Religion which he had abandoned, more through the crimes of others than his own, having been deceived by the artifices of those who had deluded his youth.

(*b*) *Suidas*, V. *Valent*.

This

This admonition given to him so timely, and expressed in so strong a manner, by a Prince on whom, at that time, the fortune of young Valentinian mostly depended, made so great an impression on his mind, that, abjuring his error, he protested, that for the future he would (as indeed he did) inviolably adhere to the belief of the Catholick Church, and to that faith which St. Ambrose had maintained with so much courage and zeal, even in oppositions to him. Justina, to whom this discourse was not agreeable, in as much as it particularly concerned her, dissembled her dislike to it; and, as the present emergency of affairs had more power over her than the interest she had in the party of the Arians, she seemed, as it were, to forsake them, and used all the art she was mistress of, together with prayers and tears, to persuade Theodosius, her son-in-law, to make war against Maximus. And accordingly he resolved to do it; for, after having for some time held in suspense the ambassadors of that tyrant, who were making him considerable offers, he set out with his army at the beginning of the spring in the year three hundred and eighty eight, having first of all prepared himself by solid acts of piety, in order to bring down the blessings of God on his forces. For, before he departed from Thessalonica, he renewed his edicts against the Hereticks, and chiefly against the Arians, (c) to whom he forbade all manner of meetings either publick, or private, in houses where they used to meet under divers pretences, in order to celebrate their sacrilegious mysteries. (d) He ordered solemn prayers for imploring the assistance of heaven, and sent even into Egypt to recommend the success of his arms to the prayers of those famous solitaries, who were mostly renowned for their holiness. (e) Instead of consulting profane oracles, he applied to the holy and eminent abbot John, whom he knew to be indowed with a spirit of prophecy, and who foretold him that he should obtain victory. But, what chiefly procured him the mercy of God was, the clemency which he himself showed in imitation of JESUS CHRIST, at the latter end of Lent, on a very nice occasion, wherein he resolved gloriously to conquer himself, before he made the conquest of his enemies.

A. D.
388.

(c) Leg. 14, 15, 16. de Hæret. Cod. Theod.

(d) Aug. de Civ. l. 5. c. 26.

(e) Ruff. l. 2. Cap. 32.

A.D. The people of Antioch, being enraged at a new tax which was
388. laid on them, in order to provide for the necessities of so important
a war, made a sedition in which they behaved with so much fury,
that, in order to affront and provoke Theodosius, (*f*) they pulled
down and shamefully dragged about the streets, and publick places,
the statues of the empress Flaccilla, for whose memory he had a
singular veneration. He was just going utterly to destroy that
great city which was in the deepest consternation, (being deprived
of its privileges, and ornaments, by the proclamations of the com-
missaries whom he had sent thither with soldiers in order to punish
their horrid attempt) when on a sudden he was moved to clemency
by the prayers and tears of the patriarch Flavian, who was come to
Constantinople to beg pardon for his people, to whom Theodosius
said these fine words, (which St. John Chrysostom, who in the
mean while was comforting that wretched city with his admirable
sermons, hath immortalized, by an elogium worthy of the virtue
of so great a prince). “ If JESUS CHRIST, as great a GOD as he is,
“ hath vouchsafed to forgive men who were his enemies, and cruci-
“ fied him: Why should I want a heart to forgive my subjects who
“ have offended me; for tho’ I am an Emperor and master of all,
“ nevertheless I am a man as they are, and their fellow-servant.
“ Depart, bishop, it is my will that you go immediately, and that
“ you carry unto them for their Easter holy-days the entire forgive-
“ nefs of their crimes. Let them only pray unto GOD for the
“ prosperity of my arms; and as soon as this war is happily ended,
“ as I hope it will, I shall go myself and give them as much joy
“ and as many assurances of my affection for them, as I created
“ in them fears and sorrow by my indignation.” By such glori-
ous actions as these he was preparing himself for war, and endea-
vouring to move GOD himself to be on his side, after having put
his army into a good condition, which he took care to strengthen,
chiefly with good French and Saxon troops whom he had hired,
(*g*) those very troops who behaved the most bravely in all his en-
gagements.

(*f*) Sozom. l. 4. Theod. l. 5. c. 19. Sozom. l. 7. c. 23. Chrysost. in hom. ad Pop.
Anti. (*g*) Ambr. Ep. 29.

On the other part Maximus, who plainly perceived, by the treatment which his ambassadors had met with, that he had nothing to hope for on the part of Theodosius, was likewise making great preparations, and putting himself in a condition even to attack him. He set out a powerful Fleet by sea, (b) which was commanded by Andragathius, not knowing whether Theodosius might not come into Italy by sea, and dispatched his brother Marcellinus with a potent army, towards the streights of the Alps, in order to oppose the passage of any troops into Italy, whilst he himself, with the major part of his forces, advanced into Pannonia, and came to Seiscia upon the river Savia, in order to march up to Theodosius, (i) and give him battle, in case he came by land, or to make diversions throughout the Country up to the gates of Constantinople, if he should come by sea. But Theodosius was before-hand with him by his extraordinary diligence, for having conveyed Valentinian and Justina by sea to Rome, which had declared against the tyrant, he marched with great speed by land; and, having reached Seiscia, whilst Maximus thought him yet at a great distance, he fell upon him at once with so much courage and resolution, that the tyrants men, being surprized at an attack so vigorous and unexpected, and not being able to sustain the first charge of the French and Saxon troops, who began the engagement, his whole army was almost put to the rout, with little resistance; and he himself, being obliged for safety to fly, retired to Aquilea, in order to gather up the remains of his defeated forces, whilst his brother Marcellinus endeavoured to stop the conqueror at the passage of the Alps.

A. D.
388.

But the good fortune and valour of Theodosius soon destroyed all his designs. He had no sooner gained that first victory, but turning suddenly all his forces towards the right, he marched up to, and defeated Marcellinus, who was incamped near Poctovium, upon the river Dravus; so that without giving time to be informed of his brother's overthrow, (k) or to retire into the Streights, he without difficulty gained a second victory. After which, pursuing his conquest and those who were put to the flight, with an

(b) Zos. 1. 4.

(i) Kovvacz, in Slavonia. Pacat. in Paneg. Ambr. Ep. 29.

(k) Pettau in Styria.

A. D. equal vigour, and preventing by his diligence the report of his coming, he arrived unexpectedly at Aquilea, where Maximus, (l) not knowing what he was a doing, had shut himself up, instead of retiring into Gaul, as if he had designed to reserve himself for the triumph of Theodosius. And indeed, the few soldiers who were in the place, seeing the victorious troops already at the gates, instead of defending themselves, joined with those who marched in without resistance; and having seized the tyrant, whom they pulled down from his tribunal, and stripped off his imperial robes, they bound him in chains, (m) and thus delivered him up to Theodosius, who, after having reproached him with his perfidiousness, in a manner nevertheless which expressed more compassion than anger, was forced at last to give him up to the fury of the soldiers, who cut off his head on the twenty fourth of August. Andragathius, being informed of what was past, and fearing the soldiers would deliver him up likewise to Theodosius, cast himself into the sea; and Arbogastus, (n) colonel of foot, who had been sent into Gaul in order to secure it, surprized and killed Victor, whom he found there, his father Maximus having left him there with the title of Cesar.

This victory was the finishing stroke which caused the destruction of Arianism, till the Barbarians, as we shall see hereafter, made it revive again by their conquests. The small number of Arians, who were at Constantinople, despairing to see themselves so much oppressed by the rigour of the ordinances which had been published against them, contrived maliciously during this war, to spread a report, that Theodosius had been defeated by Maximus who had destroyed his whole army, and that with much difficulty he had escaped falling into the hands of the conqueror, who was still in pursuit of him. This news, which at first was given out by a few people, became by degrees so publick, and seemed in a little time so probable, by the addition of particular circumstances, which even mentioned the number of the killed and wounded on both sides, that the very persons who had invented it, hearing it reported in a positive manner by people

(l) Ambros. Epist. 29. Zosim. lib. 4. Socr. lib. 5. cap. 14. (m) Pacat.
(n) Idat. Zol. l. 4.

who really believ'd it, (o) and related it with new particulars, began to persuade themselves that it was actually true. Therefore, as there are in all parts people, who, through a natural propensity to evil, are always enemies to a present government, whatever it be, and that the world is easily inclined to believe the worst, when they are fond of a change, it happened that so many people published it for a certainty, that no body dared to contradict it.

A. D.
383.

Hereupon the Arians believing themselves free, and delivered from the fear of an Emperor, whose loss they looked upon as certain, because they wished it, could no longer contain themselves; but, rushing furiously out of their houses, like the unruly waves of the seas, which having broken down the dikes that kept them in their bounds, force their passage, to the destruction of the country; so I say, these seditious Arians in a most horrible confusion and disorder, ran with torches in their hands like madmen to the palace of the Patriarch Nectarius, which they set on fire, in order to be revenged of the Catholicks, who were in possession of all the Churches. But their rage was soon quelled, and the fire extinguished, which had no farther consequence. For about the same time news was brought of the Emperor's certain victory, which struck such a terror into the Arians, that changing suddenly from one extremity to another, they ran and flung themselves at the feet of Arcadius, whom Theodosius had left during his absence at Constantinople, and conjured him to intercede for them with his father, and procure them a pardon of their crime, which they heartily abhorred, protesting to atone the same by a behaviour which should be very contrary to that which they had shewn hitherto. (p) Arcadius, who was moved by their prayers and tears, promised to comply with their request; which he did in so effectual a manner, that Theodosius at last granted him the favour he demanded for those wretched men, who from that time daily saw their party losing ground, and made no more noise in the East.

(q) In the West likewise religion reaped great advantages from the glorious success of Theodosius, who so entirely dimini-

(o) Socr. lib. 5. cap. 13. Sozom. l. 7. cap. 14. (p) Ambr. Ep. 29.
(q) L. 16. 17. 18. 19. 20. Cod. Theod. Idat. Soz. lib. 7. cap. 14. August. l. 5. de Civit. cap. 26. Ambros. in fun. Theod. August. l. 5. de civit. Prud. adv. Sym. l. 1. Hier. cont. Jovin. l. 2. & Ep. 7. Hier. Præf. in Ep. ad Gal.

A. D. shed the remains of Arianism by the new ordinances which he published against hereticks, that scarcely was there any memory of them retained in Italy. After this, as he had passed the whole winter and part of the spring at Milan, he set out in order to make his entry in triumph at Rome, which he did in the month of June, with his son Honorius and Valentinian, to whom he restored the whole Empire which he was in possession of, before that Maximus had compelled him to abandon it. He now could no longer endure to see the remains of idolatry which the Emperors had tolerated out of a policy, that appeared to him mean, and contrary to Christianity; he therefore abolished the pagan feasts and sacrifices, and caused the temples, which remained in the capitol, to be demolished, and the idols pulled down; as likewise the altar of victory, with all other altars which were then consecrated to false deities. All which was performed with so great an applause from the people of Rome, that the triumphs of the Cæsars, his predecessors, were never attended with so much glory, as that which appeared on this occasion, with publick rejoicings, praises which they gave unto God, and blessings to the Emperor, in the very temples which had been for so long a time profaned by the impious worship of devils. And as he bore as great an aversion to heresy, as he did to idolatry, he soon purged the city of it, by giving orders to the prefect Albinus to expel all the hereticks he could find there, (r) and forbidding all men to have any manner of correspondence with them. Valentinian likewise, being delivered from the persecution of Justina, who died before this triumph, and being on the other hand obliged to Theodosius for his life, honour and Empire, he chearfully contributed to these glorious actions, and detesting the principles of Arianism, which his mother had unfortunately instilled into him, he continued stedfast from that time in the catholick faith, under the conduct of St. Ambrose, whom he honoured as a father, till about three years after, when Theodosius was returned to Constantinople, he was miserably murdered, by the treachery of Arbogastus.

(s) This Arbogastus was one of those french captains, who had entered into the service of the Romans, and who, after the death

(r) Leg. 18. de Hær. Cod. Theod. Sozom. l. 7. cap. 14. Ambr. Ep. 57. Ambr. Ep. 34. (s) Zos. l. 4. Paulin. in. vit. Ambr.

of Gratian had stedfastly adhered to the interest of Valentinian against Maximus. (t) He had acquired so much honour and credit by his valour and courage, and his wise conduct, as also by his good fortune, and the contempt he bore to riches, giving all to the soldiers, and reserving only for himself the honour of his great actions, that he took upon himself, thro' his own authority, the employment of field master general, which the whole army, who was at his command, agreed to, the court not daring to oppose him; and Theodosius, who was acquainted with his great qualifications, had sent him into Gaul in order to take possession of it, and to command the forces there, after the defeat of Maximus. He performed in those parts such glorious actions against the Barbarians, and even against those of his own nation, whom he defeated in several engagements, (u) that in an entertainment which he gave to some of their kings, after the peace was made, they told him that what he had done surpassed even nature; and that so many victories which he had gained, could proceed only from the friendship of Bishop Ambrose, who could even command the sun to stop. Indeed the holy man bore a great love to him, as he likewise was beloved by Arbogastus. But so many distinguished qualities were also mixed with a multitude of imperfections; and above all things his ambition and vanity were insupportable; for they led him to that pitch of insolence, (x) that he acted with an absolute power, despising the commands of his prince, reforming them as he thought fit; and would never put any of them in execution, but in such a manner as was agreeable to himself. Valentinian, whose soul was perfectly great, being come into Gaul where Arbogastus commanded thus like a sovereign, shewing the utmost contempt to his authority, could no longer bear this indignity; and, as he was one day seated on his throne, seeing him approach him with his usual haughtiness, he cast an angry look on him, and at the same time gave him a written paper, whereby he dispossessed him of the command of the army; which Arbogastus had no sooner read, but he told him with a most insolent air, tearing the paper as he withdrew, "As you are not the person who gave me

A. D.
389.

(t) Suid. V. Arbog. Soz. l. 5. c. 64. Soz. l. 7. c. 22.
Ambr. (x) Zosim.

(u) Paulin. in vit.

A. D. “ that command, you never shall be the person, who shall take it
 389. “ from me. ” And from that time he never ceased to cabal and
 plot against him ; (y) till at last, having bribed some of Valenti-
 nian’s officers and Eunuchs, he caused him to be strangled at Vienna,
 in the night time as he was sleeping in his bed. This happened on
 a Saturday at night, the fifteenth of May, and the eve of the Pen-
 tecost.

This prince, who was then in the twenty sixth year of his age,
 was master of all those perfections both of body and mind, which
 were sufficient to make one of the greatest Emperors that ever
 reigned. He had an extraordinary fine shape, with a comely
 mien, accompanied with a noble and majestick air, whereby he
 was easily distinguished from all other persons. (z) He had strong
 and well proportioned limbs, and was extremely active in all exer-
 cises ; his genius was lively, and he had a penetrating judgment
 in business, which he applied himself to with so much solidity,
 and discretion, that even the wisest and oldest of his council were
 astonished at it. In a word, he seemed to be born a friend to every
 virtue, and an enemy to vice, so noble and great were his natural
 dispositions. (a) He was chaste, generous, liberal and magnifi-
 cent ; meek, civil, obliging, and a great protector of innocence
 against the malicious endeavours of calumny, to which he had
 declared war ; and, (which is rare, even in men of a low rank in
 the world, and much more in princes, who believe that their con-
 dition ought not only to justify, but even to immortalize their im-
 perfections,) this young prince used to take so great a care to cor-
 rect whatever was found amiss in his behaviour, that he was even
 willing to debar himself of the most innocent amusements of life,
 such as the publick entertainments of the circus, and hunting, of
 which exercise he deprived himself rather too severely, because it
 was thought that he had too great an inclination to it. But, what
 gave the greater lustre to his virtues, was his incomparable piety
 towards God, and the zeal which he shewed for the true religion,
 as soon as he was delivered from out of the hands of his Arian
 mother, who alone was guilty of all the disorders which were acted

(y) Socr. Epiphan. de Mens. & Ponder. Idat.
 (a) Ambr. in fun. Valent.

(z) Zosom. l. 7. c. 22.

during

during his minority: For he then followed the counsels of Theodosius and the instructions of St. Ambrose, for whom his affection daily encreased from the time that he began to act for himself; whereas on the contrary he had born an extraordinary hatred to him, through the persuasion of Justina, whilst she had the administration of affairs for him; so that whatever good was acted during his reign, was owing to him, and whatever evil, may justly be ascribed to his mother.

A. D.
392.

As he was at that time a catechumen, and just going to make war against the Barbarians, he had entreated St. Ambrose to come immediately in order to baptize him, being resolved to receive baptism from his hands. (a) He was then expecting him with impatience, and shewed an extraordinary desire to receive that divine sacrament from the hands of his master, and father; for thus he stiled the holy Bishop, who had already passed the Alps in his way to Vienna, when he heard the dismal news of the fatal death of this prince, which gave him an incredible sorrow. He returned half dead to Milan, continually lamenting his loss, as well as that of the empire, and Church, which was robbed of its benevolent protector. And the only comfort he had was, that his body being sold by the treacherous regicides, who barbarously and villainously, without foundation, reported that he had strangled himself, (b) he, by the express commands of Theodosius, celebrated his funerals in a most magnificent manner, and in the excellent funeral oration, which he pronounced on that occasion, (c) he found some ease to his grief, from the tears, he shed, and the true elogium, which he gave to his virtues; as likewise because he was assured that the baptism, which that prince had desired and demanded in so pressing a manner, having purified him from all the stains of his sins, he and his brother Gracian were both admitted to the heavenly enjoyment of an everlasting life; declaring nevertheless that he would not pass one day without offering up divine oblations for them, nor a night without giving them a share in his prayers. I thought that this protestation, which I ought not to omit, might serve to convince such protestants as would give ear to reason, that the holy fathers of the fourth century prayed as we do for the dead.

(a) Ambros. in fun. Valent.
fun. Valent.

(b) Hieron. Ep. 3. Sozom.

(c) Ambros. or. in

A. D. 392. After this cruel parricide, (*d*) Arbogastus, (as he had contrived it before-hand with the prefect Flavian, and some other Pagans of his cabal) caused one Eugenius to be proclaimed Emperor. This man had been a grammarian, and, having quitted the schools, which he formerly held, was become a courtier, and had entered into the service. Ricomerus, who had an esteem for him, and when he set out for Constantinople left him with Arbogastus, to whom he recommended him as a man of sense and learning fit to be employed on any useful occasion. Arbogastus therefore believed that this man being his creature, he might dispose of him according to his own pleasure; and this wretched fellow, tho' a Christian, (having a strong disposition towards Paganism, (*e*) and being by Flavian persuaded into a belief that certain omens promised him the Empire, with the destruction of christianity) he resolved to take upon him the purple robes and diadem, tho' in reality he was but a tool, they made use of, and bore only the name of Augustus and Emperor. The first action he did was, the restoring of sacrifices, and rebuilding the altar of victory, which Valentinian, by the instigation of St. Ambrose, had positively refused to the prefect Symmachus: (*f*) After which he sent a solemn embassy to Theodosius, in order to know of him whether he would acknowledge him for his colleague to the Empire, or for his enemy. But Theodosius, having amused the ambassadors some time, whilst he was under-hand making necessary preparations, he at last sent them away very well satisfied, made them rich presents, and gave them many fine words, which made them believe that he intended to live in peace with their master. At the same time he gathered up all his Roman forces under the command of Stilico, (*g*) who had married his niece Serena, and the auxiliaries of the barbarian nations, chiefly the Goths under the command of Gainas, Saulus, and Bacurius. This being done, (after having implored the assistance of God, according to custom, (*h*) with fasting and exercises of Penance, and by new edicts, which he caused to be published against Hereticks) he marched with all diligence towards the Alps, where his enemies had made themselves masters of the passages, in order to fight him

(*d*) Zof. l. 4. Sozom. l. 7. c. 22. Paul. in vit. Ambros. (*e*) Sozom. (*f*) Zof. (*g*) Ruff. lib. 2. cap. 32. Leg. 21. de Hæret. Cod. Th. August. Epist. 50. (*h*) Prosper. Marcel. Petau.

with the more advantage to themselves, and prevent his coming into Italy. A. D. 393.

The army of Eugenius, which the Pagans were absolute masters of, as well as of their Emperor, besides the Roman legions who had served under Valentinian, was composed of a prodigious number of Gauls and French (*i*) who had followed Arbogastus their country-man; and, after having placed an advanced body of men at the passage of the Julian Alps, they appeared in order of battle on the tops of the hills, bearing at the heads of their lines, amongst their standards, the statues of Hercules and of thundering Jupiter. (*k*) The forces of Theodosius consisted of two powerful bodies, which he had divided, the one was composed of the old bands of Roman soldiers, who had fought under him, with so much glory and good fortune, against the Barbarians in the East, and against Maximus in the West; and the other, of those foreign nations, who inhabited the countries lying on the borders of the Danube; and of some French, who had remained in his service from the time of his war with Maximus; and of old Iberian soldiers under the conduct of that brave Christian Bucarius their General; but above all of Arian Goths, who had given themselves to him after the death of Athanaricus, (*l*) and who were commanded by Gainas. He immediately fell upon those who were guarding the passes, and charged them so unexpectedly, that being struck with terror and disordered, (*m*) he made himself master of them at the first attack without meeting with much resistance; and being afterwards advanced with all his army he drew it up in order of battle before the enemy, who, after having recovered from the fear, which so resolute an action had given them, put themselves likewise in a posture of defence.

(*n*) Thus they fought for the space of two days, which were the fifth and sixth of September, some of them on the hills, and some in the vales on the border of the river Frigidus with various turns of success. On the first day Theodosius, seeing that the innumerable body of Barbarians, whom Arbogastus had brought

(*i*) Marcell. (*k*) August. 5. de Civ. cap. 26. (*l*) Ruf. l. 2. cap. 33.
 (*m*) Zos. lib. 4. Ruf. lib. 2. cap. 33. Socr. lib. 7. cap. 24. (*n*) Marcell. Prosper.
 Ruf. l. 2. Oros. lib. 7. cap. 35. Victor. Socr. lib. 5. cap. 24. Theod. l. 5. cap. 24.
 Sozom. l. 7. cap. 24. Idat.

A. D. 394. with him out of Gaul, filled up all the vales, and that they were sustained by the Roman legions, which were in order of battle with Eugenius on the hills, proposed to observe the same order and begin the fight with those foreign troops, to whom he had given the vanguard, reserving himself with the body of Roman soldiers to sustain them. Gainas, to whom he gave the head of the right wing, made the first attack with the Goths, who at first fought bravely, followed by the other foreign troops, and chiefly the Iberians, who on that day behaved the best of all, encouraged by the example of Bacurius, who commanded at their head. But Arbogastus being a brave and skilful officer, and his troops extremely well disciplined, and much more numerous than those who were fighting against them; the Goths at last, after a long and obstinate combat, wherein most of their bravest men were cut off, being no longer able to resist the multitude of fresh enemies, who suddenly poured down upon them, gave way, and falling foul on their own people, caused a general disorder, which gave occasion to the enemies, (*n*) who pursued them very close, to make a most horrible massacre amongst them, who, in this confusion, being a hinderance to each other, were no longer able to defend themselves. Theodosius, (*o*) who from a rising ground whence he could discover what passed, saw the danger he was in; and that, if Eugenius should fall upon him, whilst he was attacked at the same time by those foreign victorious troops, his defeat was inevitable, he with a loud voice invoked JESUS CHRIST, whose glorious name was seen on all his standards. Then he so bravely encouraged his officers, but particularly the valiant Bacurius, who perceived that he was lifting up his hands to heaven, that having rallied those who were running away, they stopped the fury of those who were pursuing them, whilst the Romans, headed by Theodosius, advanced in order to sustain their people, and engaged the troops commanded by Eugenius. (*p*) Thus they fought without giving the least ground to each other till night, which putting an end to the combat, caused them to retire. Eugenius, who thought himself victorious by the defeat of the vanguard of his enemy, (*q*) made great rejoicings in his camp, and was in

(*n*) Zos. Theod.(*o*) Ruff. Sozom.(*p*) Socr.(*q*) Soz.

no doubt but that Theodosius had made his escape with the remainder of his army, by the help of the night, leaving him entirely master of the camp, with the honour of the victory. A. D. 394.

In the mean while Theodosius being retired to his own camp on the hill, held a council of war, wherein most of the generals were of opinion, that after the loss which he had received of a great part of his vanguard (r) which was cut to pieces, the troops that remained, were too small in number, and too much disheartened, to be exposed to the hazard of a second engagement against an enemy so much stronger, and flushed with the success of a battle, wherein he had obtained an advantage; that it would be more prudent to retire into the strong places of the Empire, in order to gather up leisurely fresh troops during the winter, and begin again the war with equal forces in the spring. But the Emperor rejected this advice, and endeavouring with a resolute air to inspire his captains with the same courage which he himself was master of, he said to them, "God forbid that the Cross, which appears on my Ensigns, should by our consent yield to the statues of Hercules and Jupiter, which our enemies bear at the head of their army. We must fight to morrow, and we shall conquer, like unto Constantine, in that sign, which promises me the victory". After This he gave orders for the next day, and he himself retiring to a chappel, which happened to be near the place where he was incamped, he resolved there to pass the remaining part of the night in prayer. It is reported that falling asleep during his oration, whether it was only a dream occasioned by the ideas of the first battle, and that his imagination was filled with the desire of conquest; or, that during his slumber he had one of those celestial visions, which, according to the Pagans, themselves, were allowed to come from God, I shall not say; but he thought, That he saw two men mounted on two white Horses, who encouraged him to give battle to the enemy early in the morning, saying they were John the Evangelist, and Philip, an Apostle of JESUS CHRIST, who were come by his command to attend him in marching before his Ensigns. Be this as it will, as he was going by break of day, to draw up his army in order of battle, they

(r) Theod.

A. D. with him

394. sustain

with

and

g

f

who had just told his officer that he
dream, and Theodosius would not omit
an incident to encourage his army.
That the same thing was represented to
him victory, that it was not for him, but for
Theodosius. That vision to the soldiers, lest they
it was an artifice of their Emperor, who had
to their opinion, resolved on a battle. Let
(said he to them) in the name of God under
commanders, who will be at our head, and let us ra-
our guides than the multitude of our enemies, who
able to stand before them". This speech being
throughout the army, it inspired the soldiers with so much
that there was not one of them, who was not eager for
and ready to go to battle as to a certain victory. Here-
Theodosius, willing to lay hold of their present disposition,
down into the plain, in order of battle, with a resolution
to go up straight to the enemy.

This at first surprized Eugenius, who had no other thoughts but
those of enjoying the fruits of his victory. But as from the top
of the hill, where they had fixed his tent, he could discover the
small number of forces which the Emperor had left, comparing
them to his own, who the mean while were drawing up for
battle; he said, That Theodosius was coming like a desperate man
to loose his life, and that he charged them not to kill him, but to
bring him alive to him bound in Irons. The two armies being in
presence of each other, the Emperor placed himself at the head of
his Horse; and having given orders for the sounding of the charge,
(s) he made the sign of the Cross, which he looked upon as an
invincible armour, then rode up directly to the enemy, with his
men whom he had inspired with equal courage; Bacurius followed
him, (t) who on this occasion performed wonderful actions, in or-
der to retrieve the loss which the foreign troops had sustained in
the first combat. Arbogastus on his side did all that could be ex-
pected from a great and a valiant commander, tho' without suc-
cess; for God soon declared himself openly for Theodosius, by a

(s) Oros. l. 7.

(t) Ruff. Socr.

miracle which was known to the whole world, (u) and which the very Pagans themselves could not entirely conceal, though a certain Writer of theirs, through a base malice, altogether unworthy of an Historian, hath endeavoured to suppress it, (x) contrary to the testimonies of all those who wrote in those days. (y) Both armies were no sooner closely engaged, when suddenly on the side of the camp of Theodosius, between the East and south point, there rose a most furious wind, which carried the arrows of his soldiers with more force against the enemies, and drove back theirs against themselves in such a manner, that none of their arrows reached the Emperor's soldiers. Besides This storm raised clouds and whirlwinds of dust, which flying directly into the faces of Eugenius's men, obliged them to shut their eyes, so that they remained useless, and without defence, exposed to the darts and spears, which flew at them from all parts. Hereupon the Imperialists, seeing the assistance of God who visibly fought for them, fell upon the enemy sword in hand, (z) and made a most horrible slaughter of the foreign troops, who had gained such great advantages the day before, (a) whilst the Romans, after that Theodosius had promised their officers to shew them favour, laying down their arms, surrendered themselves, and delivered up Eugenius bound in chains to him, whom the Emperor, after having reproached him with his crimes, caused immediately to be beheaded, whilst at the same time That wretched man was shamefully begging his life on his knees.

Arbogastus, who had made his escape, and concealed himself for the space of two days in the hills, despairing to find means of avoiding those who were in pursuit of him, in order to bring him to Theodosius, who was resolved to revenge, on his head, (b) the Parricide of Valentinian, killed himself with the wounds of two different swords, which he thrust into his body. The Emperor being satisfied with the death of these two criminals, shewed mercy to all the rest, and gave all the plunder to the soldiers, chiefly Jupiter's (c) Golden thunderbolts and statues, which the (d) enemies

(u) Claudian. in Pan. 3. Hon. Conf. (x) Zos. lib. 4. (y) Oros. Aug. 5. de Civit. cap. 26. Ruff. Socr. Theodor. Sozom. Socr. (z) Oros. Sozom. Theod. (a) Socr. Sozom. (b) Zos. Socr. Sozom. Claudia. in 3. Conf. (c) August. 5. de Civ. cap. 26. (d) Oros.

A. D. had erected against him, by a sacrilegious ceremony which
 394. they performed on the hills. There was not much Roman blood
 shed in this remarkable victory ; but in the first fight the Empe-
 ror lost a great number of his foreign troops, and among the rest
 ten thousand Goths, who were killed upon the spot. It was obser-
 ved from that time, that the loss of these people was esteemed as
 valuable as the gaining of a battle to the Empire, which was de-
 livered from so many enemies ; (e) and that God permitted that
 they should all be destroyed in the first engagement, not intending
 that Theodosius should lose the victory, but to convince the
 whole world, that he had so gloriously overcome the enemy by the
 divine assistance, (as he did the next day) and not at all by the
 help of the Arians and Barbarians.

Therefore, as we may properly say, that this great action was
 chiefly the victory of God ; it was also his will that it should be
 proclaimed after a manner that was worthy of himself. For the
 same day, on which it was gained, at the passage of the Alps,
 as they were exorcising an evil spirit in the Church of St John the
 Baptist, near Constantinople, (f) (where Theodosius, before he went
 to the war, made a fervent prayer,) the devil, I say, cried out in
 a most lamentable manner, speaking injuriously to that divine
 fore-runner of CHRIST: “ Wretched man who art beheaded, is it
 “ then decreed, that thou shalt overcome me, and destroy my
 “ army”? This saying surprized those who were present, and
 having set down the day and hour, they found afterwards, that
 this was the very time in which Eugenius lost the battle: But
 what the famous Abbot John said on the same occasion was yet
 more remarkable, and we can no ways be doubtful of a thing which
 we have received from the very person who saw it, and to whom that
 holy man addressed himself. (g) The Emperor having again con-
 sulted the holy Abbot concerning the success of this war, he fore-
 told his victory, and his death in Italy. Some time after as Eva-
 grius and his companions, who were then visiting the Monasteries
 of Thebaides, were taking their leave of this wonderful Hermit,
 he blessed them in these words: “ Depart hence in peace, my be-
 “ loved Children, and be it known unto you, that This day at

(e) Ruff.

(f) Sozom. lib. 7. cap. 24.

(g) Evag. p. 1. cap. 1.

BOOK VII.*The History of ARIANISM.***41**

“ Alexandria, is published the happy news of the victory of the
“ Emperor Theodosius over the tyrant Eugenius : After which, it
“ is decreed, that in little time that admirable Prince must leave
“ this life. And soon after they were confirmed in the truth of
this prediction ; for they were informed, that the news was actual-
ly come, which gave an account of the defeat of the tyrant, which
happened at the very time mentioned by the holy Abbot.

**A. D.
395.**

About four months after, Theodosius being at Milan, where they were celebrating, with extraordinary rejoicings, a victory which had made him the absolute master of both Empires, (*b*) he was taken ill, and did not doubt, but that according to the prophecy of Abbot John, it was a call from God in order to triumph in Heaven : And after having abolished all the superstitions of Paganism, destroyed the remains of Arianism, provided, by the counsels of St. Ambrose, (*i*) for the safety of the Churches, freed the people from their taxes, extinguished by his last will and testament the memory of all the crimes which were committed against him under the tyranny of Eugenius ; divided the Empire of the East and West between his two Sons, who were then with him, and to whom he chiefly recommended the observance of piety towards God, and zeal for Religion, having first appointed St. Ambrose for their spiritual guide, and Stilico for the temporal affairs ; after having done all these things, and, by a constant good fortune peculiar to himself alone, and which did not descend to his successors, having likewise overcome the Barbarians, destroyed the tyrants, obliged the Persians to keep within bounds of respect, suppressed rebellions, maintained his subjects in peace, whilst religion flourished throughout his Empire ; and, what raised his glory to the highest degree, having restored the Empire of JESUS CHRIST in the whole extent of it, by the total ruin of the Arians, who never could re-establish themselves during his life ; after all this, I say, he calmly gave up the ghost, on the seventeenth day of January, in this same year of our LORD, three hundred and ninety five, the sixteenth of his Empire, and the fiftieth of his age (*k*). Forty days after his death, his funeral was

(*b*) Sozom. l. 7. cap. 28. Ambros. in fun. Theod. (*i*) Theodor. l. 5. c. 25,
(*k*) Prosper. Marcel. Socr. lib 5. cap. 25.

A. D. solemniz'd in a magnificent manner at Milan, where St. Ambrose
 395. spoke the oration in the presence of the young Emperor Honorius, (*l*) who was then but twelve years of age; and in the same year his body was carried over to Constantinople, where his eldest Son Arcadius, who was Emperor of the East, received him on the eighth of November, and, after a pompous funeral worthy of so great an Emperor, he placed him in the sepulchre of Constantine.

I am of opinion that whoever reads this history, will interest himself so far in all that concerns the destroyer of Arianism, that he will be very desirous of having his Picture, in order to preserve, with the more delight, the memory and idea of so wonderful a Prince. (*m*) As he held it for a great honour to be descended from the race of Trajan, he had likewise the good fortune to resemble him in the size of his stature, the beauty of his hair, the proportion of his limbs, as also in the likeness and features of his face; and, excepting that his eyes were not so large, nor his complexion so fair and delicate, and that he had not so majestic a presence as that of Trajan, no man ever did resemble him more. But if he was inferior to him in those points, he on the other hand was superior to him in the beauties of the mind, since, it is certain, that he possessed all the perfections of that Emperor, and was not guilty of those failings which are imputed to him. For Theodosius was bountiful, generous, magnificent, and obliging; respectful to every one according to his rank, but chiefly persons of virtue and merit, to whom he ever showed a great affection and regard; admiring men of learning and skill in arts and sciences, of which he himself had as much knowledge as was well consistent with the character of a Prince, but without affecting a superiority over others; tho' nevertheless he maintained his authority on all occasions without ostentation, and enjoyed the sweets of a sociable life with his friends, without diminishing the grandeur of his Majesty, which he knew how to soften, without exposing it to contempt. He was wise, skilful, laborious and vigilant, exposing himself to dangers, and sharing the fatigues of war, with the private soldiers; he was chaste and sober, yet nevertheless sumptuous and ele-

(*l*) Victor. Ambr. in obit. Theod. Socr. lib. 6. cap. 1. (*m*) Victor. in Theod.

gant in the friendly entertainments which he used to make with such persons as he was pleased to admit into his company, when he had a mind to pass a few agreeable hours. He had so much gratitude, as to publish even the least good offices that he had received from private persons in his primitive fortune; he was a declared enemy to traitors, and ungrateful people, and used publicly to detest the pride, ambition, cruelty, and tyranny of Cinna, Marius, Sylla and others of the same stamp, who had inhumanly made an ill use of their power; and this he did, as he said, in order to lay himself under the happy necessity of observing a conduct intirely opposite to theirs, of which he declared so openly to have an abhorrence; and, what is still more uncommon, particularly amongst great men, (to whom great prosperity is frequently more dangerous, in respect to their morals, than great adversity) he used always to be more meek, more humane, and more obliging, as his power encreased by his victories; but above all things he was to be admired in his domestick capacity, when he used to lay aside, as it were with pleasure, his princely Majesty, (which he looked upon as a burthen), in order to give himself up to the tender cares and endearments of a husband, a father, and a master.

A. D.
395.

These, in part, are the praises which were given to him, not only by the holy fathers, who were well acquainted with him, as St. Ambrose and St. Augustin, whom, possibly, we might suspect of having too much flattered his picture: (n) But likewise by the Pagans of his time, who examined his conduct without any partiality in favour of him, because he was an enemy to their idols; (o) as, amongst others, the famous prefect Symmachus, the most bigotted defender of Paganism, and who, writing to Flavian, (who was also a Pagan, and the same that had made war against Theodosius under Eugenius) declared ingenuously that the virtues of That Prince far excelled all that he could say upon That subject, in a publick oration, and that the picture, which he had given of him, was painted only with dead colours. This plainly shews the insolent and base malice of that famous impostor Zosimus, who seems to have written his history, only for the sake of abusing the

(n) Aur. Vict. Themist. or. 5. (o) Symm. l. 2. epist. 13.

A. D. Christian Emperors. For in order to be revenged, in particular, of
 395. the great Theodosius, who (as we may see by his bitter complaints) abolished the worship and sacrifices of his idols, he blackens all his virtues, representing them as criminal excesses. Therefore, because he was humane, agreeable, beneficent to all the world, and desirous to gain the affections of mankind, by diverting them with polite entertainments, he boldly represents him, (without having any knowledge of him, contrary to the authority of cotemporary authors) as an idle, voluptuous, dissolute and prodigal Prince, who relaxed all discipline, giving himself up to the management of his Eunuchs, and of those who supplied him with money, which (as he tells us) he insatiably thirsted after; and nevertheless, because this bold impostor was manifestly confuted by the testimony of so many glorious actions and victories, he finds himself obliged to own, that during the war he became, by a kind of prodigy, a quite different person, worthy of admiration, tho' he has at other times affirmed the direct contrary. I thought it my duty to offer this public vindication of the truth of history, so scandalously traduced by this calumniator; and that he could not be more effectually punished for his detraction than by shewing the world on this occasion, by so many authentick testimonies to the contrary, with how much assurance, and with how little ingenuity he has asserted so gross and palpable a falshood, without any apprehension of the punishment which he might well have expected from posterity, who, soon or late, will be revenged on such authors as have attempted to impose upon the world.

I do not say but that this Prince had his failings, the chief of which was this, that he was too passionate, tho' at the same time his anger was generally occasioned by such things as deserved a just indignation: (*p*) Besides, when this happened he immediately recollected himself, and shewed a becoming sense of shame, as also a readiness to forgive the offenders proportionable to the excess of his passion, which in a good measure attoned for it. So that when any persons offended him they generally found their account in his resentment, provided no evil counsellors interfered to prevent the effect of his natural goodness, for he sometimes used to let himself

(*p*) *Vi&t. Ambros. in fun. Theod.*

too easily be over-persuaded as well by evil, as by good advice, out of a natural propensity which inclined him to give credit to those whom he thought his friends. A. D. 395.

This too plainly appeared in the dreadful massacre of the Thessalonians, (*q*) who, thro' the greatest piece of injustice imaginable, had barbarously murdered the governour of Illiria. The Emperor, being justly provoked at this wicked action, had ordered, in the height of his anger, that a certain number of these seditious people should be put to death: (*r*) But St. Ambrose by his supplications having obtained mercy for them, he pardoned them; at the same time his principal officers, and chiefly Ruffinus, who was great master of the palace, and had an extraordinary influence over him, represented to him, that having forgiven the inhabitants of Antioch and the Arians of Constantinople, he would daily be exposed to the contempt and insults of his subjects, if he did not severely punish the horrible crime of the Thessalonians. Whereupon he put himself into so violent a passion, which encreased at these fresh remonstrances, that he gave immediate orders to his Lieutenants to destroy those seditious criminals. This command was executed with so much inhumanity, that the soldiers, as soon as the signal was given, ran sword in hand, through the street, into the houses, and into the Circus, where the people were assembled at the publick games; (*s*) and thus barbarously massacred seven thousand souls, without any distinction of age, sex, or condition, wickedly confounding the innocent with the guilty in this most cruel revenge. It is true indeed, the crime was great: But at the same time it is well known to the world, that this great prince reaped a glorious advantage from it, for his religious improvement, and for the instruction of the greatest monarchs, and the edification of the whole Church, by the remarkable penance which he performed on that account. This is the character of the great Theodosius whom JESUS CHRIST made choice of in those days to subdue Arianism; and it may be observed that this monster never would have raised his head, had not the weakness of the sons of that Emperor, and the ambition of those who governed them, gi-

(*q*) Sozom. lib. 7. cap. 24.

(*r*) Paul in vit. Ambros.

(*s*) Ruff. l. 2. c. 18.

Sozom. l. 7. c. 24. Paul in vit. Ambros.

A. D. 395. ven occasion to the Barbarians, who were infected with that heresy, to restore it by fire and sword; as likewise by the entire desolation of the West, and by their conquests, which were equally fatal to the Church, and Empire. I must now inform you of the causes and consequences of so deplorable a change.

After the death of Theodosius, Arcadius, (who was a young Prince, *(t)* between eighteen and nineteen years old) returned immediately to Constantinople, attended by Ruffinus, who had formerly governed him under the late Emperor, and being then made prefect of the pretorium, had taken upon himself the sole direction of all the affairs of the East. Honorius, to whom was left the Empire of the West, continued there under the guardianship of Stilico, who being intrusted with the care of his infancy, had assumed likewise the absolute government of his Empire. Ruffinus was a Gaul by birth, of the province of Aquitain, and Stilico was a Vandal; and, tho' the latter was a man of more skill and capacity than the other; yet they bore a pretty near resemblance with respect to their vices, which had hitherto been restrained thro' the fear they had of the great Theodosius: *(u)* But that obstacle being now set aside, they broke out, in a most furious manner, to the destruction of the two Empires. For they were both of them extremely ambitious, proud, cruel, avaritious, selling, equally, both justice and injustice, *(x)* oppressing the rich people under false pretences, and heaping up treasures at the expence of those who, to avoid their inhumanity, were forced to sacrifice to their avarice. In short, they were both watching for an opportunity to betray their masters, and assume a tyrannical power; and in order to succeed in their scheme, they, each of them, under hand, applied to the same measures, the calling in those Barbarians, who professed Arianism, which, by a just judgment of God, occasioned their ruin before the desolation of the religion and Empire, which these wretched men hastened by their detestable ambition.

This was what first occasioned their intimacy, and afterwards their disagreement: For Ruffinus was resolved to govern absolutely in the East, without advising with Stilico; and, as he aspired even to the Empire, he was using all possible means to oblige Ar-

(t) Zosim. l. 5. *(u)* Claud. l. 1. adv. Ruffin. Oros. l. 7. c. 38. *(x)* Zos. l. 5.

cadius to marry his daughter. But Stilico, who had all the forces, which Theodosius had left, under his command, and had sent but very few troops along with Arcadius, (and those none of the best,) opposed him in a very resolute manner, insisting, that the Emperor had honoured him with the sole care of his two sons, and that it belonged to him only to have an inspection over both the Empires. On the other hand, the Eunuch Eutropius, who was high chamberlain to Arcadius, (y) who placed a great confidence in him, having a strong suspicion of Ruffinus, whose humour and ambition were well known to him, had formed a secret correspondence with Stilico; and immediately took proper steps to prevent Ruffinus from becoming his master's father-in-law, which he did without much difficulty, having first inspired that young prince with sentiments of love for Eudoxia, whom he espoused because of her excellent beauty. In the mean while Ruffinus, (who dreaded the power of Stilico, and was resolved to have forces which he might dispose of as he pleased) in order to bring his design to bear, had already treated with the Huns and the Alani, and invited them into the territories of the Empire on that side of Asia, (z) which accordingly they marched into, and caused most horrid devastations where ever they came. He treated likewise with Alaricus king of the Goths, who was dissatisfied, because the general command of the troops of his nation had been given to Gainas. This king, after having pillaged Thracia and Macedonia, marched into Greece, by the treacherous connivance of the proconsul Antiochus, and Gerontius, who delivered up to him the passage of the *Thermopylae*; and this army of Barbarians, meeting with no resistance, according to the orders which Ruffinus had given to those traitors, who were in the plot with him, entered into Morea, where they acted such barbarities as cannot sufficiently be deplored; and destroyed all the cities which lay without any other defence but the Isthmus, which was likewise left defenceless.

Stilico, seeing the design of his enemy, who intended to make use of these Barbarians against him, carried all his forces with him by sea into Greece, from whence he expelled them; then per-

(y) Claud. l. 2. adv. Ruffin.
 Ruffin. Zozom. l. 5.

(z) Hieron. Epist. 3. & 4. Claud. l. 1. & 2. in

A. D. ceiving that Ruffinus was breaking his measures by persuading
 388. Arcadius to demand the Eastern army of him, with the pretence that he had occasion for it against the Barbarians, he very artfully improved this opportunity to get rid of him. For having sent that small army back, under the command of Gainas, who was entirely at his disposal, and acted in concert with these officers, to whom Stilico had given instructions; Arcadius, according to custom, went out of Constantinople in order to receive the army, which having saluted him with great acclamations of joy, a signal was given, and the troops extending themselves to the right and left, as it were to form a circle, surrounded Ruffinus at once, (*p*) and pierced him with a shower of darts, which flew at him from all parts: And thus he was torn to pieces, in the presence of the Emperor, who was not very much concerned for the loss of a man, who held him under an insolent government; (*q*) after which they marched, as it were in triumph into Constantinople, bearing the head of this wretched man on the end of a pike; whilst one of the soldiers was shewing his right hand to the people, which by way of a cruel reproach for his insatiable avarice, he contrived to shut and open, by drawing and loosening the Nerves; which artful management gave a fine diversion to the people, to whom this tyrant was become unsupportable for his pride and barbarous extortions. A memorable and useful lesson, which ought to teach favourites and ministers of princes not to abuse, either the weakness or good nature of their masters, in order to usurp a tyrannical authority, to the ruin of the people, for whom, as they are not their lawful princes, they never can feel the tenderness of a father. But this is a lesson which is more generally seen in the misfortunes of those men, than practised by their successors, because they are commonly so blinded by their success, that they cannot see the precipice which they are led into, by following the steps of those who went before them, without any apprehension of their tragical end.

Arcadius was no sooner delivered from one tyrant, but he fell into the hands of another, as wicked as the first. This was the Eunuch Eutropius, who, being as much addicted to avarice, ambi-

(*p*) Claud. l. 2. adv. Ruffin. Zol.

(*q*) Hieron. Epist. 3.

ambition and cruelty, as Ruffinus had been, soon caused the like disorders throughout the Empire. (r) As he was well acquainted with the dispositions of Stilico, with whom he had plotted against Ruffinus, and that he thought himself in danger of being treated by him in the same manner, as that wicked man had been, he persuaded the Emperor, his master, over whom he had an absolute ascendant, to declare him in open senate, an enemy to the Republic. Besides, he drew into his party Gildonus, who had already for some time begun to act the tyrant in Africa. This was one of the sons of Nubelus, an ally of the Romans, (s) and one of the most potent Princes amongst the Moors. As he had faithfully served the father of Theodosius against his own brother, the tyrant Firmus, that Prince being come to the Empire, gave him the government of Africa, during which he acted all manner of violences; and, adding his ingratitude to so many crimes, he refused to send the assistance, which Theodosius required of him against Eugenius. (t) Therefore, fearing the resentment and valour of Stilico, he declared himself against him in favour of Eutropius, and prevented the transport of corn from Africa, in order to famish Rome, and oblige it to rise up in rebellion. But Stilico, without being at all concerned at the revolt of Gildonus, sent immediately a body of men against him, commanded by Mascezilus, a brother of that tyrant, who had inhumanly caused his children to be put to death. This Mascezilus was so fortunate, that, with five thousand men, he defeated Gildonus, who had an army of sixty thousand, and, being taken prisoner, strangled himself with his own hands, and thus died in a desperate manner.

A. D.
396.

A. D.
397.

It is reported, that three days before the battle was fought, as Mascezilus was just going to enter into a deep vale, where he found himself obliged to incamp, at night he saw in a dream St. Ambrose, who died on the Easter-eve of the foregoing year, and that this holy Bishop said to him three times, striking the ground with his Crosier, *This is the place, this is the place, this is the very place*; which obliged him to stop there, in order to form his camp

A. D.
398.

(r) Zos. lib. 5. (s) Ammian. l. 19. (t) Claud. de Bello Gildon. August. contr. Lit. Petil. & cont. Parm. Claud. in Eutrop. Claud. in 6. Consul. Hon. Claud. de Bello Gildon. Oros. l. 7. c. 16.

A. D. for a battle: That on the third day, the enemy appearing, he
 398. marched up directly to them with his small army; but first had prepared himself, by partaking of the holy mysteries. At the first attack with his sword, he obliged the next man to him that carried the colours, to surrender them, which persuaded the Romans, who were with Gildonus, that the soldiers, who were in the first ranks, had surrendered themselves to Mascezilus; so that they immediately marched up and joined his army; which caused so great a surprize in the Barbarians, that, though their numbers were still infinitely greater than all the Romans joined together, their heart failed them, and they ran away almost without striking a stroke. (u) As the writers of those days have related this adventure, and that Mascezilus himself, being returned to Milan, (x) published it in all places, and in the presence of judicious persons, who declared that they had received it from his own mouth, and had taken some pains to enquire strictly into all the circumstances of that affair, it would, in my opinion, be looked upon as too scrupulous a nicety, to reject it as one of those visions, which are delivered down to us without either proof or authority; and since it does contribute so much to the glory of St. Ambrose, who bore so considerable a share in the History of *Arianism*, I thought myself obliged to insert this small account of an event which made so great noise, and was, after the death of that eminent Prelate, the testimony of his Holiness, and the crown of all the glorious actions of his life.

But after all this it unfortunately happened, that Mascezilus, who had done so great a piece of service to the Empire, was miserably cut off by the treachery of the very person, (y) for whom he had done the kindest offices, and who, likewise, seemed reciprocally to treat him with the greatest marks of honour. For Stilico, who was now become father-in-law to the Emperor, and absolute master of the Empire, whether he envied the merits of Mascezilus, or feared least he should one day follow the steps of his brother; or whether it were through the false insinuations of others, that he grew jealous of him; I say, whether it were for these, or any other reasons, no-body can tell, neither could any of

(u) Oros.

(x) Paul. in vit. Ambr.

(y) Zos. l. 5.

them have justified so black an action; but, as Stilico was passing over a bridge in his way to a country-seat, in company with Mascezilus, he gave a certain signal to his guards, who suddenly seized on that unfortunate prince, and flung him into the river; whilst Stilico at the same time set up a prodigious laughter, as if the thing had been done out of a merry joke, though nevertheless poor Mascezilus, who was struggling in vain with his hands and feet against the rapidity of the stream, was drowned in his presence. This shews how dangerous it is to perform great things, when we serve ambitious men, who cannot even bear those very virtues which are of use to them, when they give too great a lustre, and are apt to create jealousy.

In the mean while the Emperor Arcadius, who suffered himself to be over-ruled, and to whom the often changing of masters proved fatal, was most barbarously treated by the most dangerous of all, who laid a scheme to ruin him, and to restore Arianism in the Empire. (z) This was Gainas, who was general of the Goths in the Roman army, and a most inveterate Arian. He could no longer bear the overgrowing power of the Eunuch Eutropius, who assumed every thing to himself, and who, to the reproach of the Romans, had obtained the consulship this year; (a) therefore he resolved not only to destroy him, and take his place, but even to invade the Empire of the East. In order to effect this design, after having agreed on proper measures with Trigibaldus, a relation of his who commanded the auxiliary troops of Arian Goths, who were quartered in Phrigia; this Trigibaldus, having declared himself dissatisfied with the government, caused such great devastations throughout Asia, that Arcadius saw himself under the necessity of sending the best general he had to oppose him; and this was Gainas who was an experienced warrior, and professed an extraordinary zeal for his service. But, far from opposing this rebel, he underhand gave him assistance against the other generals, and by this means became so formidable, that he began already to threaten Constantinople.

Hereupon the traitor Gainas, pretending it was impossible to resist the power and conduct of Trigibaldus, whom he highly com-

(z) Zos. l. 5. (a) Oros. l. 7. Socr. lib. 6. c. 6. Prosp. Marcel.

A. D. 399. mended, gave the Emperor to understand, that he could not possibly save the state, but by granting to that general what he demanded with seeming justice; and this was the head of Eutropius, who was the cause of all the calamities, which were then brought upon the Empire. As Eutropius was abhorred by all the people, and even by Arcadius, for the insolent treatment, which he had received from him; and chiefly for his behaviour to the Empress Eudoxia, (*b*) whom he had threatned to send back to the place, from whence he had taken her. This Princess, from being an abject creature of his, was grown a proud and implacable enemy to him. All these reasons, I say, were sufficient to make the Emperor resolve, without hesitation, to sacrifice him immediately to the publick good, and deliver him up to Gainas, who, as it plainly appeared, had underhand perswaded Trigibaldus to act in this manner. Therefore the Emperor, having divested Eutropius of all his marks of dignity, he first expelled him the palace, with a resolution to send guards instantly after him, in order to seize on him in his house. (*c*) But this wretched man, who, not long before, had caused laws to be published against the rights of the Church, was no sooner come out of the palace in this miserable condition, but, instead of going home to his house, he ran with all speed to the great Church, in order to take sanctuary at the feet of the altars.

On this occasion it was that St. John Chrysostom shewed his generosity, and force of eloquence in a wonderful manner. In the foregoing year he had succeeded Nectarius in the pontifical chair of Constantinople, (*d*) after having been five years a deacon, and twelve years priest of the Church of Antioch. As the people were assembled in a tumultuous manner, requiring this wicked man to be brought out of the Church, in order to be delivered up to Gainas, and to the rebels who demanded him, this holy bishop in the first place prevented the soldiers from entering the Church to take him: Then, as he saw the Church full of people, who were come from all parts to see this wretched fellow embracing the altars, and begging his life, which no body was willing to grant him; he went up

(*b*) Sozom. l. 8. c. 7. Niceph. l. 13. c. 4.
confugiunt ad Eccl. Cod. Theod. Zos.
Chron.

(*c*) Sozom. ibid. L. 3. de his qui
(*d*) Socr. lib. 6. cap. 2. Marcell. in

into the chair, and without deliberation spoke an admirable homily, (e) which may be said to be the master-piece of a most consummate eloquence. For, after having made some concessions to the people, and artfully given some satisfaction to their just resentment, to give a little vent to the violence of it, reproaching Eutropius with the number of his crimes, which brought down upon him the vengeance both of heaven, and earth; he so industriously turned their minds to the merciful side, by every consideration, divine, and human, that could excite compassion towards an unhappy man, who from so high a station was fallen into an abyss of misery, that he drew tears from the eyes of the whole assembly, who now in a lamentable manner beg for that life, which a few moments before they were solicitous to destroy. For, indeed, St. Chrysostom did not deliver up Eutropius into the hands of the Emperor's officers, (f) till they first had taken an oath, that his life should be saved, tho' upon condition that he should be sent into banishment in the Island of Cyprus. But Gainas, who had not heard St. John Chrysostom's oration, and who, being a hardened Arian, was not naturally of a merciful disposition, tho' it was afterwards repeated to him, yet he pressed the Emperor so urgently to have this unfortunate Eunuch, whose death he sought, delivered to him, that he found himself at last obliged to send him to him at Calcedonia, where he caused him to be beheaded.

The affairs of Arcadius, notwithstanding, were not retrieved: (g) For the perfidious Gainas, having obtained what he required, caused greater disorders than before; and, having made himself master of Bythinia and Hellespont, he reduced the Emperor to such extremities, that he even obliged him shamefully to come to him at Calcedonia, where this Barbarian would make him appear in person in order to treat with him upon articles of a peace: Which were, that Aurelianus Saturninus, a man of a consular dignity, and John, who was first secretary, and a favourite of the Emperor's, should be delivered up to him; yet, nevertheless, he granted them their lives, contenting himself with striking them slightly with the flat side of his sword; besides that Gainas, and Trigibaldus, should march with their forces up to Con-

(e) Hom. in Eutrop.

(f) Zos.

(g) Zosim. Sozom. lib. 8. cap. 4.

Constantinople,

A. D. 400. Constantinople, that Gainas should be appointed Generalissimo of all the Emperor's armies, with an absolute power equally over the Romans, and Goths. This was directly putting the Empire into his hands: And accordingly he did not omit to take all the speediest measures he thought proper to secure it to himself, under the favour of so great an employment, and to cause himself to be proclaimed Emperor with the restoration of Arianism.

To this end, as soon as he was arrived at Constantinople, where all submitted to his power, he dispersed his Arian Goths throughout all the parts of the town, in order to have people ready at all times, and in all places, to execute his commands, according to the scheme he had laid. And under the pretence of making new recruits, and filling up the companies of that nation, which had been very much weakened by the war, he caused a great number of them to come into the city at different times, so that, being superiour to the Romans, the latter would be compelled to obey; when his design should be ready to be put in execution. Besides, in order to be the more secure, he sent most of the Roman soldiers to distant garrisons, under colour of reinforcing them, and providing for the safety of the provinces, whilst at the same time he was gathering up all the Goths, whom he had quartered round about the city. Having taken these measures, he resolved to go directly to Arcadius, and demand a Church of him, wherein the Arians might freely and publickly exercise their religion; that, in case of a refusal, he might have a good pretence, being backed by a strong army, to make a party, who would be glad to acknowledge him for Emperor. This request seemed surprizing to Arcadius, who abhorred the thoughts of delivering a Church to him, being a Prince of extraordinary piety, and a good catholick. But as he was very weak, he had not resolution enough to resist this Barbarian, (*b*) to whom he promised to grant what he demanded, desiring only a little time to consult with the Patriarch, whose consent he would endeavour to obtain. And accordingly he used his endeavours to persuade him that there was a necessity to comply with the Goth, lest he should be provoked to anger, who, having the power in his own hands, might make himself master of the Em-

(*b*) Theodor. l. 5. cap. 32. Sozom. lib. 8. cap. 4.

pire, and then destroy the religion. But St. Chrysoſtom, whom nothing was able to diſhearten, when the glory of JESUS CHRIST was concerned, encouraged this weak Prince, who was in great fear; and told him with wonderful reſolution that he ought, on no account to be afraid of this Barbarian, whom, GOD would undoubtedly confound, becauſe he was an Arian. But that, if he would ſummon them both to come and debate the matter in his preſence, he ſhould have the pleaſure of ſeeing how he would handle that ſubject.

A. D.
400.

Arcadius, who was over-joyed to find this reſolution in the biſhop, ſent to give notice to Gainas, that he ſhould come the next day to the palace where St. John Chryſoſtom would meet him; and accordingly he was no ſooner entered into the Emperor's preſence, (i) but he demanded the performance of the promiſe, which he had given him of granting a Church for his Arians: To which the holy prelate answered, " That all the Churches of Conſtantino-
" ple were open to every one, and that no body was hindered from
" going thither to offer up their prayers. The Barbarian repli-
" ed, that, being of a different belief from his, he required like-
" wiſe a Church which was convenient for thoſe of his communi-
" on to aſſemble with him, in order to ſerve GOD after their own
" way." And as he expreſſed himſelf in a bold and haughty man-
ner, ſaying, " That this was the leaſt reward that was due to him
" for the conſiderable ſervices, which he had rendered unto the
" Empire, St. Chryſoſtom ſaid with an undaunted courage, ſince
" you mention reward, only remember what you was before,
" and conſider what you are now: Formerly a private ſoldier, in
" a mean habit, with poor diet, and even in want of all neceſſa-
" ries, when you paſſed the Danube; and now general of the Ro-
" man forces, bleſſed with plenty and riches, loaded with honours,
" and cloathed in gold and purple; enjoying, thro' the favour of
" the Emperor, all the advantages of the greateſt fortune that ever
" beſel a ſubject. Only conſider, as I ſaid to you, theſe two ex-
" tremities, and compare the one with the other; and then you
" will be forced to own, in ſpite of the great opinion you have of
" your ſervices, that the reward, which you have received, does..

(i) Theodor.

" infinitely

A.D. “ infinitely exceed whatever you might deserve by your actions.
 400. “ Take care that you do not fall into the highest ingratitude, by
 “ forgetting so many favours, and remembering only your services,
 “ for which you demand a reward. (*k*) Remember only the oath
 “ which you swore to the great Theodosius, when he gave you the
 “ command of the troops of your nation. Did you not swear to
 “ him before the great GOD, that you would be for ever faithful
 “ to him, to his children, and to the Empire, and that you would
 “ always inviolably keep those laws, which you would now vio-
 “ late? Did he not forbid, by his edicts, all assemblies of Here-
 “ ticks, and particularly those of the Arians? Then, addressing
 himself to the Emperor, he said to him, with a very majestick air;
 “ Did you not, likewise, publish the same laws immediately af-
 “ ter your father’s death? Nay moreover, Sir, I declare to you, in
 “ the name of GOD, that, altho’ neither you, nor the great Theo-
 “ dosius, your father, had made those laws, you could not, with-
 “ out a crime, give up the house of GOD to the declared enemy of
 “ his son; and that, in spite of all the political maxims of men, it
 “ would be better for you to resolve on the loss of the Empire,
 “ rather than betray, so shamefully and ignominiously, the interest
 “ of the true religion.

This was a strong representation; and Gainas, who probably might have been offended at it, and seemed to be so resolute at the beginning of the conference, made no manner of reply: (*l*) But retired quietly, without insisting on his demand. This perhaps he did, either because he was then convinced by the reasonings of the holy bishop, or out of respect to his person: But it is more probable that he was not sorry to have a pretence to execute the scheme he had already laid of rendring himself master of Constantinople, and of the Empire. For indeed, in a few days after this conference, he attempted to seize all the money of the bankers, who, being informed of his design, had taken care to conceal it; he also would have set fire to the palace in the night-time, (*m*) but, being prevented, he retired to a country seat, in order, as he pretended, to be attended in a fit of illness. And at the same time he gave orders to a party of the Goths to follow him privately, as

(*k*) Sozom. l. 3. c. 4.(*l*) Theod.(*m*) Sozom. l. 8. c. 4. Zosim. Sozom.

it were by way of paying a visit to their general, but the real intent was, to conceal their arms, which they sent out in covered carts, and empty casks, that they might prevent any suspicion. And as for the other Goths, whom he had placed in all the different quarters of the city, and who were in number much more superiour to the Romans, (u) he commanded them, on a certain day, to seize suddenly on all the principal places of the city, and to fall upon the soldiers of the guard, and those who kept the gates, whilst he himself, at the same instant, would come with the whole army in order to scale the walls. And he certainly would have succeeded in his design, had he not destroyed it by his own brutish impatience. For being too sanguine in his opinion of the success in this undertaking, and not doubting but his people, whom he had left in the city, would second him as soon as he should appear at the gates, he came before the time, which he had appointed, and marched up directly in order to attack the walls. It happened, likewise, that about the same time, as one of the carts, with arms in it, was going out, it was discovered by chance; and that some of the Goths, who were watching it, seeing themselves surprised, (o) they fell sword in hand upon the guard. Thus the conspiracy being discovered, the people of the city gave the alarm, and immediately took arms, and by the Emperor's orders they all fell at once upon the Goths, who were not ready, and did not expect this sudden attack. Thus some of them were killed with swords, and others stoned to death, without distinction of persons; whatever came in their way, men, women, and children, they were all massacred without mercy, or resistance, the Goths not being able to form themselves into a body. In the mean while the pretorian soldiers, followed by some of the boldest of the citizens, ran to the walls, and there repulsed the soldiers of Gainas without much difficulty; for they had no engines with them, and they attacked the walls without, only in expectation that their companions would at the same time seize on the city within. So that Gainas, being thus disappointed on all sides, for not having taken his measures right, was forced to retire, and leave behind him the bravest of his men lying dead at the foot of the walls.

A. D.
400.

(u) Zosim.

(o) Sozom.

A. D.
400.

But this was not the end of his disgrace ; for the Emperor, being encouraged by this success, and provoked, as he had just cause, at the perfidiousness of this traitor, and the horrid conspiracy which he had contrived with his Arians, he declared him an enemy to the Empire, and gave orders that what remained of the Barbarians should be put to the sword. So that the whole city, (p) who had no more enemies to fear without, embracing this opportunity of being revenged, after having killed all the Goths, whom they found in the streets and houses, and set fire to those places, where they used to meet for the celebration of their mysteries, contrary to the edicts of the Emperor, they put to death upwards of seven thousand more, who fled for refuge to a great Church, where they were partly burnt, and partly destroyed with arrows, which were shot at them from the roof, which was demolished in order to kill them more expeditiously, and without resistance. (q) Thus ended that bloody day of the general massacre of the Goths at Constantinople, which happened on the twelfth day of July in this year four hundred, which included the fourth century.

Gainas being heartily afflicted at his having missed his aim, by his precipitation ; and enraged at the loss of his people at Constantinople, ravaged the whole country, and caused dreadful devastations throughout Thracia, in order to be revenged ; and, tho' he had received St. John Chrysostom with great respect, (r) who came out to meet him with a view of making up this affair, and bringing it to some kind of accommodation, he resolved, seeing that the towns of Thracia were in a good state of defence, to carry the war into Asia, where he was in hopes of making considerable conquests with as much ease as he had done before by the means of Trigibaldus. Therefore turning off suddenly to the right, he marched with all his forces into Chersonesus, in order to pass the Hellespont over against Lampacus ; and, as he had no ships, he had so much temerity and presumption as to cause his troops to pass over upon floats of timber, (s) in defiance of the Roman army, which was at his head, under the command of general Flavitta, to whom, tho' a Goth and Pagan, Arcadius had committed the care of his troops both by

(p) Sozom. (q) Chronic. Alex. (r) Theod. l. 5. c. 33. Zosim. Socr. lib. 6. c. 6. (s) Zosim. Socr. 1.

sea, and land, because he was a great warrior, and had given convincing proofs of his fidelity, particularly upon this occasion. For, having feigned an intention to retire and lie by, ~~as~~ it were, on the defensive, till the greatest part of the enemies were advanced, he then made up to them so timely, with good ships, which he had prepared for that purpose, (t) that the wind declaring in his favour against the Barbarians, they were all sunk to the bottom, on the twenty third of December, some by the storm, and others by the strength of his ships; all which was done in the sight of Gainas, who was despairing on the shore. And at last, as this traitor was endeavouring to make his escape on the other side of the Danube, with the small number of troops, which were left him, tho' still pursued and defeated by the Romans, passing thro' Thracia, (u) he was killed, after having fought bravely in a battle, which he lost against Uldes, king of the Huns, who would not admit of these new visitors, in a country which he had taken, by conquest, from the Goths.

A. D.
401.

After this action, Uldes, in order to make the most of his victory, sent the head of the perfidious Gainas to the Emperor Arcadius, who acknowledged himself so greatly obliged to him, that, besides the magnificent presents, which he sent him, he made an alliance with him. Thus the mighty expectations of the Arians, not only of being reinstated, but likewise of governing, under the favour of Gainas, on whose fortune they depended, were all destroyed with the loss of that wretched man; and soon after they found themselves so much the more humbled, because they had insolently attempted to domineer during his tyranny. For, according to the genius of hereticks, who always assume authority when they think their party the strongest, so the Arians of Constantinople, as soon as they saw themselves supported by so powerful a protector, they first took the liberty to assemble near the walls of the city, and there, contrary to the edicts of the Emperor, in open day, were so bold as to exercise their pretended religion, and as their boldness encreased, (x) they met together in the very city, on all the vigils of holy-days, and on every Saturday, where, under large

(t) Socr. Chronic. Alex. lib. 8. cap. 8.

(u) Zosim.

(x) Socr. lib. 6. cap. 8. Sozom.

A. D. portico's, in the night-time, they sung hymns and canticles, in fa-
401. vour of their heresy, in opposition to the doctrine and truth of the
 catholick religion. Nay, they did more; for, not being contented
 with these nocturnal songs, they were so bold as to continue them
 in the morning, both in the streets and other places, singing the
 same things in a chorus, as they passed thro' the city two and two,
 in order to go to the place of their assembly; and they carried
 their impudence so far as to add this horrible impiety at the end
 of some of their verses, which they repeated all together with a
 loud voice on purpose to insult the catholicks: "Where are these
 "people, who say that three are but one Godhead?" As the go-
 vernment was then in fear of Gainas, they did not dare to suppress
 these hereticks by main force; but St. John Chrysostom thought
 on a pious stratagem, to suppress them by the same methods, by
 which they had resolved to provoke the catholicks. For this pur-
 pose he composed two glorious hymns in honour of **JESUS CHRIST**,
 the true **GOD**, consubstantial with his father; which he ordered his
 people to sing in the night-time; and accordingly they shewed an
 extraordinary zeal, and ran in crowds to these holy assemblies,
 where the office was celebrated with a much greater concourse of
 people than that of the Arians, and with much more pomp and
 magnificence, thro' the care and bounty of the Empress Eudoxia.

This Princess, who was not as yet entirely at variance with
 St. John Chrysostom, took so great a delight in these new canticles,
 and shewed so much zeal for the glory of the Son of **GOD**, that, in
 order that he should triumph over the Arians, in the celebration
 of these feasts and praises, she appointed one of her principal offi-
 cers to take care that all things should be performed with order
 and magnificence, and that nothing should be omitted that might
 render the ceremony compleatly glorious: which was accordingly
 done. For the Church, where this feast was held, was richly a-
 dorned; and amongst other ornaments were seen a prodigious num-
 ber of silver crosses sparkling with lights, which were carried be-
 fore the singers, divided into several ranks. This highly provok-
 ed the Arians, whose assembly (which was only composed of or-
 dinary people) could not perform any thing equal to the splendour
 and majesty of these holy ceremonies of the orthodox party. There-
 fore not being able, either to do any thing that was equal to that
 magnificence,

magnificence, or to see it done by the others, they resolved to disturb them, by a dreadful tumult which they raised; and in the night time they fell upon the Catholics in which disorder the officer belonging to the Empress, as mentioned before, received a wound in his head from a stone, which was flung at him, and there were several citizens of both sides killed on this occasion.

A. D.
401;

But as the massacre of the Goths, and destruction of Gainas, happened immediately after, Arcadius, being now become absolute master, and having a just cause to be incensed against the Arians for their attempt, he prohibited those meetings, whilst the Catholics from that time continued theirs quietly at Constantinople; (b) and at the request of St. Chrysostom, he even turned out of that City the principal ring-leaders of those hereticks, who would not be converted. So that since that time, having neither power nor protection, and the holy Bishop by his exhortations and eloquence having every day brought some of them back into the Church, their party at last became so low, weak and despicable in that imperial city, that they were scarcely taken any notice of. Which shews that when heresy is once supported by authority, it ever carries its insolence to the highest pitch, without keeping any measures; and that, for the same reason, when we have the upper hand of it, we ought vigorously to suppress it, and not give it time to find means to raise its head. But, tho' the Arian Goths were so entirely crushed, in the East, by the massacre of Constantinople, and the defeat of Gainas, yet those evils, which Rufinus had occasioned by arming them against the Romans, were too considerable to be cured with that remedy, which how strong soever, yet it was nevertheless the means of their falling more heavily on that other part of the Empire, as we shall immediately perceive.

(b) Metaph. in vita Chrysost.

The End of the Seventh Book.



T H E
H I S T O R Y
O F
A R I A N I S M.

B O O K VIII.



STILICO, after having driven Alaricus, King of the Goths, out of the Morea, being obliged to return into Italy, this Prince, who had escaped falling into his hands in the manner before-mentioned, was now at liberty to carry his forces into Thessalia, Greece and Epirus, where he caused strange devastations during the disorders, which happened at Constantinople. But the defeat of Gainas, and the massacre of all his Goths having put an end to them, he thought that, being no longer privately supported by Ruffinus, who had persuaded him into his measures, all the forces of the Eastern Empire would soon fall upon him, and that there was no possibility of resisting them. On the other

A. D.
402.

A. D. other hand, as he perceived that all things were quiet in Italy, where Stilico governed without opposition, and thought himself secure from any invasion, he imagined, that he might surprize him, and even fall upon Rome without much difficulty, the Romans not suspecting that any one, at that time, could make such an attempt. Besides, he ever flattered himself with the thoughts of fortune's calling him to Rome, and believed the time was now come, which would make him master of the Empire, (a) as it had been foretold him by a false oracle that had appointed the year following for this event, which was the 30th year from the time of his passing the Danube; during which he had sometimes made war against the Romans, and at other times fought for them. Alaricus being brave and resolute in the execution of any enterprize, when once he had determined it, he re-united all his forces, which were increased with a prodigious number of Barbarians, who were come to him from all parts, in hopes of sharing the plunder; and having marched through Illiria with all the expedition imaginable, he seized on the passage of the Julian Alps, which he found unguarded, and entered into Italy by the way of Triuli, when it was the least expected. So that without difficulty he ran over the country, which he laid waste as he pleased; and made himself master of several cities, which he took without resistance, and thus carried his conquests very far in a little time, both on this and the other side of the Po, by reason that the Roman army, being then employed against some of the people of Rethia, (b) and Vindelicia, who had risen up in rebellion, he met with no enemy to oppose him.

This sudden irruption struck the whole country with terror, and caused a general disorder, but particularly at Rome, where, because of the long peace which they had enjoyed, and the safety wherein they thought themselves, all things were in a defenceless state. They already believed this new Hanibal at their gates, and the chief men of the city, instead of thinking on proper means to defend themselves, were preparing to abandon it, in order to find safety in their flight. (c) But the wise conduct, bravery, and re-

(a) *Claudia. de bell. Get.*
varia.

(b) *The Country of the Grisons Suabia. Bavaria.*

(c) *Claud. de Bell. Get.*

solution of Stilico, soon restored the affairs into a good condition, and gave him an opportunity of acquiring more honour and power than ever. (d) As soon as he heard that Alaricus's had invaded Italy, he gave necessary orders for the security of the city by new fortifications, and raising fresh forces; then repaired with a small attendance to Milan, from whence, having marched immediately to Coma, he passed over the lake, and the Alps, in the middle of the winter, and joined the Roman army, which was making war against the rebels. (e) Here he so artfully prepossessed the minds of these people, and so entirely terrified them by his presence and resolution, that he not only brought them back to their duty, but even persuaded them to join his army. To these he likewise added the auxiliary troops of the Huns, and Alani, whom he had ordered to be ready in Pannonia for another design; and, having repassed the Alps in the beginning of the spring, he marched directly to Alaricus, who was not a little surprized to see so powerful an army at his back, whilst at the same time the fresh forces, which had been raised in a hurry at Rome, during the winter, were advancing, in order to oppose his passage. He had taken up his winter quarters in that 'part of Liguria,' which is now called Piemont, and at this time he was encamped in the neighbourhood of Pollentia, (f) which in those days was a considerable city, situated on the borders of the Tanarus, and Stura, and is now but a small village, where you may to this day see the ruins of an Amphitheatre, not far from Cerisoles, which appears so memorable in History, by the compleat victory which the Duke D'Anguien obtained over the Spanish army, then commanded by the Marquis du Guast.

A. D.
403.

In this very place it was, that Alaricus drew up his army in order of battle, and seeing that Stilico was marching directly to him, without waiting for the new levees, whom he had no mind to expose, and that he himself could neither advance, nor retire, being between the two armies, he gave battle in hopes of gaining the victory, having but one foe to deal with; (g) and indeed the advantage at first was on his side, having broke the horse of the Alani, who began the attack, and killed the general that commanded

(d) Claud. de 6. con. Hon. (e) Claud. de Bell. Get. de Bell. Get.

(f) Polenza. (g) Claud.

A. D. them. But Stilico advancing timely with the Roman Legions, 403. rallied the Alani, with fresh vigour, who, seeing themselves so well supported, engaged the Goths a second time, and repulsed them in their turn; and as they were ashamed to have stained their honour, by being at the head of those who turned their backs to the enemy, as likewise enraged to have lost their commander, fought with more fury, in order to revenge his death. Hereupon Stilico, without giving the enemy time to consider, fell upon them with the Roman legions, who fought with so much courage, that there scarcely ever was seen such a slaughter; not a soldier would even stop to plunder the chariots, which were loaded with the spoils of so many ruined provinces, till the victory was compleated. (*b*) Alaricus, seeing himself undone if he persisted to fight any longer, retired with the major part of his horse, to that part of the mountains, which joins the Alps to the Appenine, but Stilico immediately marched after him with his whole army, (*i*) and surrounded him amongst the rocks. So that he must of necessity, either have perished, or surrender'd at discretion, had not Stilico himself saved him from the danger he was in, contrary to his expectation, in order to make use of him in the design he had formed to satisfy his own ambition, which action not only blasted all his glory, but even cost him his life, and the intire ruin of his whole family.

As it is peculiar to ambitious men to despise what they possess, be their possession ever so large and insatiably to thirst after accumulated honour and power; This man, who had married the niece of the great Theodosius, and was father in law to Honorius, (*k*) whom he governed with more power than any favourite ever governed his master before, did not think himself happy enough, unless he could secure the Empire to his own family; and to this end he laid a scheme, which was carried on with the utmost secrecy, in order that his only son Eucherius should be proclaimed Emperor; he had caused this youth to be brought up in Paganism, which he thought would engage the Pagans to adhere to his interest, when occasion should require it; and in or-

(*b*) Prud. adver. Symmach. Claud. de Bell. Get. (*i*) Claud. de 6. Consu. Hon. (*k*) Oros. l. 7. c. 28. Marcell. in Chron. Sozom. l. 9. c. 4. Sozom. ib. & l. 8. c. 25. Oros.

der to succeed in his design, he resolved to promote a war between the two Emperors, and to bring into the Empire as great a number of Barbarians as he could, that they might be useful to him, when he wanted their assistance; and that when all things were in a confusion, and reduced to the utmost extremity, he might then form the specious pretence of a necessity for creating a new Emperor.

Having fixed on this resolution, (l) he would not by any means utterly destroy Alaricus, as it was in his power to do, with a great deal of ease. On the contrary, he made use of this opportunity to befriend so powerful a prince, and so great a general, who at all times would have a standing army ready to obey his commands. He therefore treated secretly with him, by the means of some person in whom he could confide, and received a promise from him that he would always continue in his interest, if he would not only favour his escape, but likewise supply him with means to put himself in a better condition than ever. After this, in order to disguise the affair, he made a publick treaty with him, (m) by which this prince obliged himself immediately to depart from Italy, and to retire with the remainder of his troops into Epirus, till his assistance was called for in the war against Arcadius, for the restitution of Sclavonia, which that Emperor unjustly possessed, contrary to the right of Honorius. For this was the pretence, which Stilico had taken, to create a difference between these two Emperors. Thus the power of the Arians was restored by the very man, who had just overthrown them by so compleat a victory; and an enemy, whose intentions were to triumph over Rome, was preserved by the person who intended, by his means, to make himself master of the Empire. For thus ambition, that prompts men to act all manner of crimes, when subservient to their ends, is whimsical in its conduct, and unsuccessful in its ill contrived designs.

Nevertheless there happened several obstacles to this civil war, which Stilico was not inclined to begin, till first he had treated, under hand, with the other nations, whom he proposed to invite into the territories of the Empire, in order to put his project in execution. But he was prevented by other Barbarians, with whom he had not treated as yet, and whose defeat only served to raise

(l) Oros. l. 7. c. 28.

(m) Claud. de 6. Consu. Hon. Zos. l. 5.

A. D. him still higher, that his fall might prove greater and more fatal.
 403. (n) Rhadagaisus, king of the Ostrogots, and a Pagan, who was an irreconcilable enemy to the Christians, having followed the steps and example of Alaricus, invaded Italy with a dreadful army of above two hundred thousand men, composed partly of Arian Goths, and partly of Pagans, whom he had drawn out of all the Barbarian nations, who inhabited the territories on the other side of the Danube. This prince, without making any stay in the Cisalpin Gaul, as Alaricus had done, marched directly towards Rome, vowing to his Gods, to whom he daily offered up sacrifices, that he soon would make them a more agreeable offering of Christian blood in the capitol. The Romans, who were struck with terrour at the approach of this prodigious multitude of Barbarians, who left in all places most horrible marks of their fury, which they saw no possibility of resisting, thought themselves now utterly undone. And the Pagans, believing their time was come, repaired to Rome from all parts; and joining with those of the city, and senate, who still retained their ancient superstitions, they said aloud, in an insolent manner, that if the approaching enemies were powerful, and to be feared for their numbers, and for the strength of their troops, they were much more so by reason of the protection of the Gods whom they worshipped, (o) and by whom they were called to Rome, in order totally to destroy it; and by that means, revenge the injuries which the Christians had acted against them, when they pulled down their altars, and abolished their sacrifices, on which depended that everlasting state which had been so often promised to their city by the oracles. (p) In short, scarce any thing was heard but the blasphemies of the Pagans, whose insolence the Romans did not dare to suppress, and who boldly demanded the restoration of their sacrifices, which they openly said, was the only means left to pacify the Gods, and save Rome.

In the mean while the Barbarians were marching on with diligence, along the Apennine, laying waste all the country where

(n) Oros. l. 7. cap. 37. August. l. 5. de Civit. cap. 23. Prosper. Marcell. in Chron. Zos. lib. 5. August. Serm. 29. in Luc. (o) Oros. ibid. (p) Aug. 5. de Civ. cap. 23.

they passed, till they came into the neighbourhood of Florence, where GOD had resolved to destroy them at once, in the most strange and surprizing manner that ever was known, in order to confound Paganism, (q) and to shew the world that the punishment, which he had designed Rome for its sins, should not be ascribed to the wrath of the false deities, nor inflicted on them by the hands of Pagans. For Stilico, having advanced towards Florence with the Roman army, re-inforced by the auxiliary troops of Huns, and Goths, who were paid by the Romans, and commanded by Huldinus, and Sarus, two famous captains of those nations; GOD (if I may express myself in scriptural terms) poured down such a spirit of terror and giddiness on this dreadful army of Barbarians, and particularly on Rhadagaisus himself, that, having intirely lost his reason, he ran away in a tumultuous and disorderly manner, as if he had been pursued by a superiour number of people, and concealed himself in the mountains of the Apennine, near Fiesoli, without having made any provision for subsistence. So that Stilico, having placed a strong guard at all the passages and roads by which they could go, and come; the Barbarians found themselves blocked up amongst the rocks, (r) as the Romans had formerly been by the Samnites in the *Furca Caudina*. And soon after, being thus surrounded by the Romans, who were feasting and rejoicing in their camp, whilst the Barbarians were oppressed with hunger and faintness, they all fell into the hands of Stilico, without the expence of one drop of Roman blood; nor could even Rhadagaisus himself make his escape, tho' he had endeavoured it, with his children, who being retaken, the victorious army sometime made sport with him, then cut off his head. (s) The number of the captives being prodigious, they were sold, like ordinary cattle, at a crown a head; (t) and at last there was so little value set on them, that even whole troops of them were disposed of for the very same price, looking on them as miserable abandoned herds; and as it was the will of GOD, (to the greater confusion of the Pagans) they all perished within a few days after their captivity, (u) so entirely that there was not one of them left to carry the news of their misfortune to their country, which was situate be-

A. D.
406.

(q) Oros. August. loc. cit. (r) Oros. (s) Marcell. (t) Oros. (u) Oros. yond:

A. D. yond the Danube. So that their death put their masters to a great-
406. er expence, (they being obliged to bury them) than that which they had been at in the purchase of them.

This victory rendered Stilico more glorious than any action that he had ever performed before. (w) He was led in triumph through all the towns he passed, saluted with acclamations, and looked upon as the man who had saved the Empire from ruin, whilst at the same time he was undermining its foundations by his treacherousness, and reducing it to so deplorable a state, that soon after it was totally destroyed in the West. (x) For on the last day of that same year the Vandals, the Alani, and Suevi, whom he had invited, passed over the Rhine, and were followed by other Barbarians who held a correspondence with him, (y) and who, making incursions throughout Gaul, as far as the Pirenees, and ocean, committed most horrible devastations. All the most flourishing cities were destroyed; Reims, Amiens, Arras, Tournai, Terouenne, and several other towns on the borders of the Rhine, and Maese, in the Belgick Gaul, being taken by these Barbarians, who were partly idolaters, and partly Arians, they underwent all the violences and cruelties that could be expected from a race of people, who seemed to live only for the destruction of mankind. Mayence, which in those days was a catholick city, and very famous, was totally demolished. Many thousands of people, who had retired to the Church in order to find a sanctuary at the feet of the altars, were all sacrificed by the sword of these unmerciful enemies both of God, and man. They carried desolation with them where-ever they passed, putting all to fire and sword on this, and on the other side of the Rhone, as far as the Narbonian Gaul, leaving behind them the sad marks of their barbarity. Then they forced their way thro' the Pyrenees, which were defended by a small number of Roman troops, and soon after marched into Spain where they acted the like cruelties.

(w) Zosim. 5. (x) Oros. l. 7. c. 3. Hier. Ep. 10. Rutil. Itin. lib. 2. Prosper in Chron. (y) Oros. Hier. Ep. 2.

Stilico, on the other hand, (x) as if he had been in concert with the Barbarians, was bringing a famine into the whole country, having appointed officers in all the sea-ports to prevent the importation of corn from Egypt, and from the East. So that they began already at Rome to suffer very much, whilst he was at Ravenna, making his preparations at leisure for the war which he had intended against Arcadius, in order to bring his designs to bear. But he was obliged to set this affair aside for some time, being immediately sent for to Rome by Honorius, upon the account of fresh disorders which were occasioned by the tyranny of Constantine. This man had been a common soldier in the English army, who in about four or five months time had created, and put to death, two new Emperors, Marcus, and Gratian; (a) and they took it into their heads, out of a meer whim, to proclaim him by the title of Augustus, tho' he had nothing to recommend him, but the name of Constantine, which they looked upon as a happy omen, being of opinion, that coming out of England, as Constantine the great had formerly done, he might deliver the Empire from that inundation of Barbarians, to whom they thought the Romans were going to yield themselves up. This man was fortunate in the beginning; for, having marched into Gaul, the Roman forces acknowledged him; and having joined his troops, which were exceeding good, and commanded by old officers, he defeated the Barbarians in a battle, and would have entirely destroyed them, had he not, by his neglect, given them time to rally their men, and render themselves more powerful than ever, by the arrival of fresh recruits which were come to join them.

Hereupon Stilico, seeing himself under the necessity of opposing this new enemy, who was overthrowing all his schemes, ordered part of his army to march against him, under the command of Sarus, who happened not to be very successful; at the same time, as if all things were conspiring the desolation of the Empire, Alaricus, who was then believed to be in Epirus, having seized on the passage of the Alps of Trent, appeared suddenly with an army in Italy, (b) and sent Ambassadors to demand territories, and

(x) Leg. 1. de Litt. & Itin. Custod. Cod. Theod. cap. 11.
(b) Zol.

(a) Zosim. 6. Sozom. lib. 9.

money,

A. D. money, to pay his men who had waited so long and to so little
 407. purpose in expectation of a war in the East. The senate was highly offended at the insolence and contempt which this prince shewed to the imperial majesty, and would have sent troops immediately to fight him; but Stilico, who had premeditated a secret design of being revenged of this affront, said, that since the expedition on Sclavonia had been set aside by the express orders of the Emperor, it would be more prudent to supply him with money, than give him so fair a pretence of making war. (c) Whereupon it was resolved that four thousand pounds of gold should be paid him in order to have peace: At which Lampadius, who was one of the chief members of the senate, not approving this resolution, cry'd out aloud with a generous spirit, that this was not a peace, but a slavery to which they bound themselves. And the company being broke up, he immediately retired to the Church, which was nearest to the palace, for a sanctuary: (d) For the power, or more properly the tyranny, of Stilico was so great in those days, that people were not at liberty even to complain of their sufferings, without running the hazard of being punished. (e) And in order to satisfy Alaricus, concerning the territories which he required, they resolved to give him Gaul, and Spain, which Honorius could not keep any longer, because that Constantine, and the Barbarians had made themselves masters of those countries.

These affairs being settled, and the money paid, Alaricus set out in order to go and take possession, in execution of the treaty: But Saulus, a Pagan general, who was in the secret with Stilico, followed him by his orders, and fell upon him on Easter day at the passage of the Cottian Alps, (f) thinking that he could easily defeat him, in those streights where he had posted troops in ambuscade, and where the Goths, who did not expect this piece of treachery, could have no opportunity of drawing up their forces. (g) But Alaricus, altho' an Arian, was unwilling to give battle on so solemn a day; yet being forced to it, he disposed his men in so judicious a manner amongst the rocks, and fought with so much valour and courage, (h) that he gained a compleat victory over Sau-

(c) In the French four hundred and fifty thousand crowns according to Bud.
 (d) Hier. Ep. 2. (e) Jornand. de reb. Get. c. 30. (f) Near the passage of
 Saxa. (g) Oros. lib. cap. 37. (h) Paul. Diac. in Misc. lib. 13.

BOOK VIII. *The History of ARIANISM.*

73

lus, and made him fall into the very snares which his enemy had designed for him. Alaricus, being now victorious, was provoked at the base treachery, which the Romans had intended against him, and as the glorious success of his arms had swelled his pride, he resolved at once to return with his army towards the Po; and as he approached the Roman legions, which were under the command of the Emperor Honorius, in the neighbourhood of Pavia, the major part of their auxiliary troops, (i) which were composed of Barbarians, came over to him, in order to be revenged of the injuries which they had received after the death of Stilico.

A. D.
408.

For whilst these things were transacting in this manner towards the Alps, (k) Stilico having undertaken to march with the army to Constantinople, where Arcadius died on the first day of May, and being resolved to repair thither without Honorius, whom he intended to leave in Italy with a very small body of men, which gave the Emperor an opportunity of discovering the treasonable design, which Stilico had been so long a framing. And indeed Olympias, who commanded the Emperor's guards, (l) and of whom St. Augustin made the elogium in two of his letters, laid open before Honorius the whole pernicious scheme of this perfidious man, (m) which exasperated the soldiers in so violent a manner that they fell upon their officers and killed them on the spot, with the magistrates whom they suspected to be concerned in the plot with Stilico. As for himself, he retired from Bologna to Ravenna, upon the advice, which he had received concerning these disorders; and as he was informed that the Emperor had given orders to the Roman soldiers to secure his person, he went in the night-time and took sanctuary in a Church, not confiding in his Huns, and Goths, because that Sarus, who commanded them, had forsaken him. The soldiers indeed would not attempt to take him out of the Church, by reason that the bishop was there present in order to oppose any such violence. But these men having assured Stilico, with an oath, that their orders were not to put him to death, but only to guard him, he immediately surrendered himself up to them: And as soon as he was come out of the Church, He.

(i) Zos. l. 13.
pp. 124. & 129.

(k) Prosper. Marcell. Socr. lib. 6. cap. 21.
(m) Zosim. l. 5.

(l) August.

A. D. 408. *raclian* produced other letters of *Honorius*, whereby he declared him an enemy to the republick, and condemned him to loose his head: And hereupon this general, without any farther deliberation, cut off his head with his own hands, which happened on the twenty third day of August. Thus the most powerful minister that ever served the Roman Empire, whom *Honorius*, by his weakness, had raised above himself, perished miserably by the hands of those very men who not long before worshipped his fortune, and turned against him as soon as they found that his prince, tho' so weak a man, had forsaken him. These great and terrible examples, may teach all favourites, that, altho' their masters, thro' weakness should raise them to a pitch of greatness, not consistent with their own honour, or the good of their government, yet they ever will retain a jealous regard to the authority of their crown; and we may say that a minister thus raised to the highest degree of fortune, (when once forsaken by his king) is like unto a small mote of earth, which being suspended in the air, falls down with the greater noise and swiftnes, and is dashed into atoms, by the distance from which it falls.

And indeed the whole family of *Stilico*, as likewise most of his friends, were unfortunately involved in his ruin. His son *Eucherius*, who had made his escape, during these tumults, was apprehended by two of the Eunuchs of the palace, and put to death by them. His daughter *Thermantia*, whom *Honorius* had espoused some time before, was sent back to her mother *Serena*, who was then at Rome, and that unhappy princess was strangled in the year following by a decree of the senate, who were of opinion (tho' ill grounded) that by her death *Alaricus* would lose all manner of hopes of having the city delivered up to him. *Bathanarius*, who had espoused the sister of *Serena* in Africa was likewise put to death, and his employment was given to *Heraclian*, who had taken off the head of *Stilico*. Most of his principal creatures were tried for treason; and the estates of those to whom he had given places in the city of Rome, were forfeited; his effigies were pulled down; (*) and his name was erased out of all the publick inscriptions. The Goth, and Arian officers, and soldiers, whom he

(*) Lib. 42. de Har. Cod. Theod.

had placed in the palace, were all expelled: and, what was still more unjust and cruel, they massacred, in most of the cities, all the women and children of the Huns, Alani, Vandals, and Goths, that were in the Roman army; which was the cause that upwards of thirty thousand of those Barbarians went over to Alaricus in order to be revenged of the injuries they had suffered.

A. D.
409.

This prince nevertheless would not take advantage of this fresh supply of forces. He thought perhaps that he was fully revenged of the treachery, which had been acted against him, or had no farther hopes, after the death of Stilico, of receiving any intelligence from the West, so took other measures to establish himself in the East. It may be likewise possible, that he had a mind to be at peace after his toils; however he remained some time on the borders of the Po, from whence he sent Ambassadors to the Emperor Honorius, at Ravenna, with proposals of peace, which he offered on very moderate conditions. For he required but a small sum of money, and two persons of distinction for hostages, as a security that he should not again be deceived, offering at the same time to leave behind him the like security that he would depart from Italy, and retire with all his forces into Pannonia. But Honorius, having rejected his proposals, (which was no very politick proceeding, at a time when he was not in a condition to support a war against so potent an enemy) Alaricus laughed at his vain refusal, and immediately resolved to march towards Rome, being very sensible that, in the present state of affairs, (provided he was expeditious) no body would venture to oppose his passage. Therefore, having sent to Ataulphus, a prince whose sister he had espoused, with express orders to join him as soon as possible with a body of Huns, and Goths, which was under his command in Pannonia, he passed the Po, and without losing time in taking of towns, left Ravenna on his left hand, and marched through Romania; then entered the Marca Ancona, and having passed the Apennine, and Umbria, he came directly and laid siege to Rome.

It is true, that Rome in those days was a very considerable city, tho' nothing comparable to the flourishing state it was in before the division of the Empire, and till Constantine had removed the imperial seat into the East. (o) For Pliny tells us, that in his

(o) Emendat. apud Lips de Mag. Rom.

A. D. time, it was upwards of twenty two thousand pace in circumference, which make about ten French leagues, besides another city that was almost as large, and surrounded the first, which the Emperor Aurelian caused to be walled in. (*p*) So that Rome was then about twenty leagues round without taking in the suburbs, which on one side extended towards the sea, and on the other side were carried on so far towards Aricia, (*q*) Tusculum, Tyburia, and Otricoli, that a man could scarcely see the end of them for their extraordinary length. And certainly there was a necessity for such an immensity of buildings in a city, which at that time was the mistress of the world, and was inhabited by people of all the provinces of the Empire; besides the constant inhabitants, who in all (according to the computation of a learned man, (*r*) taken from the writers of those days) amounted at least, to four million of souls. Tho' indeed, there happened great alterations in that city, after that the great Constantine had built Constantinople, which had the appearance of a new Rome, when once he had brought thither the fortune and majesty of that ancient metropolis, and had established his court there. For, besides the illustrious families who followed him thither, and the great men of the Empire, who received their grandeur from the pretence only of their Prince; the infinite number of strangers, who attended the court at Rome, either in order to pursue their affairs, or in hopes of making their fortune, retired from thence; and as nobody repaired thither from the distant Provinces, excepting those who had a mind to satisfy their curiosity in their faults, and as all those, who had real business, or interest to pursue, went all in crowds to Constantinople, it is plain that Rome daily lost ground whilst its rival increased in glory. Thus when the sea ebbs, it retires gently from the shoar which it had surrounded, till at last there is nothing to be seen but sand and pebbles, in the very place where ships were sailing not long before. Even those Emperors, who had Italy for their portion, took no care to make the condition of Rome better; for by reason of the frequent irruptions of the Barbarians into the Provinces of the Empire, they used commonly to reside in Gaul, or at Milan, in order to be the more

(*p*) Vopise in Aurel.
de Magn. Rom. c. 3.

(*q*) Aristid. Rhed. Dion. 1. 4.

(*r*) Lips.

ready to repulse them. So that the ancient enclosure being sufficient enough to contain all that remained there, the other was neglected in such a manner, that in the time of Honorius there was scarcely any thing to be seen, but a few old ruins; as now in our days we only find, here, and there, a few wretched remains of ancient Rome, which have neither beauty, form, nor connexion; and only serve to give occasion to the curious to seek that city in the midst of itself, which its mighty title of *everlasting* could not prevent from perishing more than once, and from being now at this time buried under its own ruins, which are become spacious fields. But such is the fate of all things in this world, that, wasting by degrees they generally return to the primitive state which they were in before they began to grow up, in order to come to their perfection. Therefore, in those days Rome was comprehended in the very circumference of those walls which Plini measured in the time of Trajan; for when the Goths laid siege to it, under the command of Alaricus, Ammon, a famous geometrician, who took the dimensions of it, (s) found that its circumference amounted to twenty one miles, which comes to about the same matter.

Nevertheless, there were still at this time two parties in the city of Rome; the one, of Christians, which, without comparison, was the greatest and most powerful; and the other, of Pagans, who had begun for sometime to regain interest through the weakness of Honorius, and the power of Stilico, who by that means favoured his son Eucherius, their protector. (t) And, indeed, notwithstanding the edicts of the great Theodosius, and even those of Honorius, whereby all exercise of the abominable superstition of the Pagans was abolished, yet this weak prince, (u) immediately after the battle of Pollencia, which Stilico had gained, permitted the Pagans to celebrate the secular games in Rome, which the great Constantine would not suffer them to perform in the foregoing age, and which, they said openly, was the cause of the desolation of the Empire by the Barbarians. He even permitted them, according to the cruel custom of their ancestors, which had been abolished by the princes, his predecessors, to re-establish the bloody fights

(s) Olympiad. Excerpt. apt. Phot. (t) L. 49. de P. g. Cod. Theod. (u) Claud. de 6. Conf. Hon. Zosim. l. 2.

A. D. of the gladiators in the amphitheatre, and admitted the Vestals, 409. who were yet in those days respected in Rome, to be present at these fights in the same ceremonious manner which used to be observed in former days, when Paganism flourished. (w) In short, he shamefully pretended not to take any knowledge of what appeared most scandalous in the eyes of all the world, and suffered them to erect those altars which had been pulled down, and to set up their golden and silver idols, (x) in the room of those which were destroyed by vertue of the edicts of the great Theodosius. As for the Christians, whose number far exceeded that of the Pagans in Rome, their morals in general were extreamly corrupt, tho' their pastor was a man, whose life was as pure, as his doctrine. (y) This was St. Innocent, bishop of Rome, whose authority was acknowledged and received particularly in that city, with respect only to the spiritual government: For altho' the bishops of Rome, even in the fourth century, (z) had very large revenues allowed them through the bounty of the Christians, and they lived in as splendid a manner as was proportionable to their dignity, which was done in order that they might be respected even by the Gentiles, (a) nevertheless their power and jurisdiction did not in those days extend beyond that ever blessed kingdom which is not of this world.

This is the state Rome was in, when Alaricus laid siege to it. And as he was so expeditious in his march, that he surprised the Romans and appeared at their gates, before that they could have a suspicion of any one's coming to besiege them, they had made no manner of provision. On the other hand, the city was so large and so crowded with inhabitants, that had they taken all the care imaginable to provide for it, there was no possibility of its holding out long; if once all communication for provisions was cut off. Therefore Alaricus, instead of making use of the strength of his men, only seized on all the avenues and roads which led to the city, but particularly the Tyber, (b) whereof he made himself master, by placing troops on both its borders, by which means he prevented any thing either from coming

(w) Prud. l. 2. adv. Symm.
l. 3. c. 5. (z) Ammian. l. 27.
Zozom. l. 9. c. 6.

(x) Zosim. l. 5.

(a) Hieron. Epist. 61.

(y) Oros. l. 7. Niceph.

(b) Zos. l. 4.

up, or going down. The Romans, nevertheless, were resolved to make a vigorous defence, and to undergo the utmost extremities, in hopes that the Emperor, who was at Ravenna, would not fail to come immediately to the relief of Rome. So they began to distribute the subsistence by measure; and daily diminished the portions, according as the provisions grew short and their necessity increased; they were even reduced to such an extremity that they were forced to live upon food that nature abhors, and which nothing but the force of a desperate hunger could induce men to make use of, (c) in order to preserve life by the same things which destroy it. But at last, when all the provisions were consumed; and the plague, which is the natural consequence of a famine, had begun to make a most dreadful havock in the city, and the Pagan senators had unsuccessfully made their detestable sacrifices in the capitol, and in the publick places, upon the assurances, which the Tuscan soothsayer had given them, that by these means they would cause the fire of heaven to fall down on the army of the Barbarians; they were obliged to send a deputation to Alaricus, in order to treat with him, on any tolerable conditions. And indeed those, which were granted to them, were much milder than what they could well expect, in the strange situation they were in. For Alaricus, who had undertaken the siege of Rome for no other reason, but because he was provoked at their refusing to grant him peace upon the terms which he proposed to them, requiring nothing but lands, and mony, thought now that he had a favourable opportunity of making peace, to a much greater advantage. He therefore promised the Romans to raise the siege, provided they would send deputies to the Emperor in order to persuade him to enter into an alliance with him, and grant him his demands, which were, that he should immediately give him five thousand pounds weight in gold, thirty thousand in silver, four thousand silken garments, with three thousand skins died in scarlet, and four thousand pounds weight of pepper. (d) The Romans were forced to comply with these extravagant conditions; and, as the private families could not sufficiently contribute towards the raising of these excessive sums, the magistrates, (without touching any thing that belonged

A. D.
409.

(c) Zosim. *ibid.* Zozom. *ibid.* Zos. l. 5.

(d) Zos. l. 5.

A D. to the Churches) seized on all the idols in the temples, and even
 409. melted down those which were made of gold or silver. And thus the very treasures, which the impious Pagans (to the shame of christianity) had restored in Rome, through the blind toleration of a catholick Emperor, served to pay the Arians, as the executioners of the justice of GOD, who made use of them to punish equally the degenerate Christians, and obstinate Pagans. So Alaricus, being satisfied, retired into Tuscany, whilst the Romans, according to the treaty, sent a deputation to the Emperor, who at the same time was losing in other parts some of the chief provinces of the Empire.

For, whilst these things were transacting in Italy, Constantine the tyrant, who had reduced the Gauls to subjection, sent his son Constantius to take possession of Spain; he had already given him the title of Cesar, and placed him at the head of a powerful army, composed for the most part, of Alani, Vandals, and Sueves, whom the tyrant kept in pay; and with these forces he gave battle and defeated Verinian, and Didymus, both relations to Honorius, and took them prisoners. (e) This victory proved the ruin of the Empire, and of the religion in Spain. For Constantius being returned into Gaul with his prisoners, the Barbarians, to whom he had given up, as a reward, the provinces which lay on this side of the Eber, seized on the passages of the Pyrenees, by which means they let in the rest of their country-men, who were in the Narbonian Gaul. And seeing themselves in a condition to undertake any thing, with their prodigious number of forces, so much superior to the few Roman troops that were there, incapable of resisting them in the field; as also knowing that the Spaniards, who had been used during so long a time to labour under the yoke, would make no great difficulty to change their masters, they found it an easy matter to take possession of all the finest provinces that lay on the other side of the Eber. For, after having committed innumerable cruelties with fire and sword, where-ever they passed; as the famine, and plague were just going to compleat the desolation of all Spain, the Romans, who were yet endeavouring to defend some of the strongest places, were at last forced to make peace, and give

(e) Idat. Oros. l. 7. c. 40. Prosper in Chron. Cassiod. in Chron. Jo. Maria. l. 5.

up to the Barbarians what they could not possibly preserve; which the conquerors divided into three kingdoms. A part of the Vandals, and Sueves, under their king Hermenericus, had Galicia for their share, which in those days comprehended what we now call old Castile. The Alani, who had Aracius for their king, took possession of Lusitania, and the province of Carthage; and the Silingi, together with the other Vandalick nations, whereof they made a part, settled themselves, under the conduct of their king, Gondericus, in that part of Spain which has since taken its name from them, and was called Vandalousia, but at this time Andalousia.

A. D.
409

After having thus miserably dismembered the Empire, Constantine had the assurance to send Ambassadors to the Emperour Honorius to excuse himself for what he had done, (*f*) saying, that he had been compelled to it by the army, who had proclaimed him under the title of Augustus; and this poor Emperour shewed so much weakness, as not only to receive his excuses, but likewise to send him the purple robe, tho' he did not even require it: And this he did, in order to save the lives of his two relations, whom Constantine put to death when he sent him this embassy. For he was no wise in a condition to declare war with him, till such time as Alaricus, with whom the Romans were then treating, was retired out of Italy; and nevertheless he managed this affair so ill, that he drew on himself still more and more the enmity of this Barbarian prince, who only required peace. (*g*) For, after having sent back the deputies from Rome, without coming to any conclusion, Innocent, bishop of Rome, went himself to Ravenna, in order to intreat Honorius to deliver Rome from so great a danger, and from so powerful an enemy, by a treaty; which, being absolutely necessary, would every way be advantageous, upon any conditions whatever. The Emperour, who had a regard to the remonstrances of his holy prelate, sent Jovius, prefect of the prætorium, (*b*) to Rimini, where Alaricus appeared personally in order to facilitate the treaty. The articles, which he first proposed, were, that a certain sum of money should be paid to him yearly in the nature of

(*f*) Zof. l. 5. (*g*) Zof. l. 5. Zozom. l. 9. c. 7.
Marca Tarvisana, Austria and part of Bavaria.

(*b*) The Friouli. The

A. D. a pension, and that his army should be supplied with provisions ;
 409. that the Emperour should give him up the countrey of the Venetians, with those of the Norici, and Dalmatia, for him and his people to reside in : And Jovius added to this, as a secret article, in his private letters to the Emperour, that Alaricus should be made Generalissimo of the forces of the Empire ; upon which condition he promised not only to serve the Emperour faithfully, but likewise to give up somewhat of the other articles which might seem too hard.

Honorius, instead of disguising his thoughts in order to obtain a peace, which at that time could not be purchased at too dear a rate, answered Jovius in a haughty manner, who advised him to accept of all the articles. That as to the provisions, mony, and other things, he might freely grant them : But that he thought his assurance very great, when he required the command of his forces ; for that he would never suffer that either Alaricus, or any other person of his nation, should be raised to that employment. Jovius was so indiscreet as to read this letter aloud in the presence of Alaricus, before he knew what particulars it contained. Therefore this prince flying into a passion to see the contempt, which the Emperour expressed both for his person, and nation, immediately broke the treaty, and returned to his camp, from whence he marched directly to Rome with his army, which was then reinforced by a body of men that his brother-in-law had brought with him from Pannonia, (*i*) besides forty thousand Barbarian slaves, who, having made their escape out of Rome, were come over to him. Nevertheless, as he was on his march he relented, and sent some of the bishops of the towns, where he passed, to the Emperour, in order to advise him to save Rome, and to preserve it from its utter desolation, by a treaty which he proposed to him, the conditions whereof should be extreamly reasonable. For, he was willing to give up all the other articles, provided that he would only grant him the country of the Norici, (*k*) which was daily exposed to the incursions of the Barbarians, and that, for the subsistence of his troops, Honorius should appoint what he thought most necessary ; that, upon these conditions he was ready to serve the Empire, and make

(*i*) Zosim. l. 5.

(*k*) High Austria and part of Bavaria.

war against all the enemies of the Emperour. Nothing could be proposed more for the advantage and interest of Honorius, who at that time was beset on all sides; (l) but because Jovius, who pretended to be very zealous, had a mind to repair the fault which he had just committed, he had obliged all those of the council, and even the Emperour himself, to swear that henceforward they would not enter into any treaty with Alaricus; and therefore his proposals, tho' very reasonable, were intirely rejected, which obliged this prince to take the resolution of returning to Rome, where he laid siege a second time.

A. D.
409.

It is highly probable that about this time a holy man came to him in order to dissuade him from this enterprize; (m) when Alaricus, without deliberation, told him, that what he was doing was against his will, as it appeared plain enough by all the steps he had taken towards obtaining peace; but that he felt within himself an invisible power which incited him, and continually commanded him to take Rome, and destroy it. Nevertheless, he still harboured in his mind a desire to save it, by seeking satisfaction in another manner. (n) For, as soon as he had invested the city, he sent to the senate to let them know that, provided they would join with him against Honorius, to whom only he owed a grudge, and that if they would afterwards agree to do what he thought most convenient for the public good, he would treat them as his friends; but if not, that, as soon as he had taken the city, which he would certainly do in a very short time, he would destroy it, and level it with the ground. And as they seemed to deliberate on their resolution concerning this proposal, he immediately formed the siege; then, taking with him a body of the best troops of his army, he attacked Porto with so much vigour, that he took the place by main force, and seized on all the corn which was intended for the subsistence of Rome. Hereupon the senators, whereof the chief members were Pagans; as well as Attalus, whom the Emperour had very untimely made prefect of the city, seeing themselves on the one side without provisions, and even without hopes of receiving any, either by sea, or by land; and on the other hand, flattering themselves that they might make better conditions upon a revolu-

(l) Sozom. l. 9. c. 7. (m) Socr. l. 7. c. 10. Sozom. l. 9. c. 6. (n) Zos. l. 6.

A.D. tion of state, resolved at last to treat with Alaricus, and acquiesce
 409. to the proposal he had made. (o) Tho' the number of Christians in Rome was far superiour to the rest, nevertheless there were still many concealed Arians, who agreed with the Pagans, and were in the interest of Alaricus; and as for the Catholicks, who were without a commander, and had no hopes of assistance, they could not resist so powerful a party within, and such a prodigious army of Arian Goths without. The deputation of Alaricus therefore was received at Rome; and in spite of all the opposition of the Anicians, who continued stedfast in the fidelity which they owed to God, and the Emperour, the senate granted whatever Alaricus demanded in two articles, which were, that they should proclaim whomsoever Emperour he should name, and that this new elected prince should join with him in order to make war against Honorius.

On this occasion it was that Attalus, thro' ambition, was guilty of the most perfidious and wicked action that ever was known: For as he was then the first man of the city, by his employment as prefect, he took it into his head that Alaricus would cause him to be created Emperour, if he could but once merit his favour, by giving him any extraordinary proof of his inviolable zeal for his fortune and interest. Hereupon, as he was treating in private with the deputies, in right of his office, he intreated them to assure the king, their master, that he was intirely at his devotion, and that he might depend on him as a man who would ever adhere to his interest; that in all things he would implicitly observe his commands, and willingly sacrifice every thing to his service. To this he added, that as religion was the thing in the world which most perfectly united men to each other, in order to convince him that he proposed to form an intimate alliance with the whole nation of Goths who payed their allegiance to him, he was resolved to renounce paganism which he had professed till then, and embrace the christian religion, not in the manner that it was practised at Rome, but as it was professed by the Goths, who followed the doctrine of Arius.

(o) Zozom. l. 9. c. 9.

The deputies received these offers with joy, which were communicated to the Goths with great applause; and Alaricus particularly signified that they were most agreeable to him. For he thought it would be no small honour to him, as well as to his whole nation, not only to give an Emperour to the Romans, but likewise to give one to them, who should receive from him at the same time both the purple, and the religion of the Goths; which might afterwards be the means to establish Arianism upon the throne of the Cæsars, and even, as he hoped, on that of St. Peter. Therefore Alaricus, having agreed with the Romans, and being highly pleased with the behaviour of Attalus, made his entry at Rome, where he was received with all the magnificence imaginable; and after having declared his intentions to the senate, Attalus, prefect of the city, was solemnly proclaimed Emperour. (p) At the same time this new prince, according to the agreement, which he had made with Alaricus, his patron, declared him Generalissimo of the Roman forces, and Ataulphus general of the horse. (q) Tertullus, who was one of the most determinate Pagans in the senate, was created Consul; and Attalus, in order to fulfil his promise, caused himself to be baptized by Tigesarus, bishop of the Goths, and thus in a publick manner professed himself an Arian. The Pagans nevertheless did not conceive any jealousy from this proceeding; for, setting aside, that the Arians lived in a good correspondence with them, they knew that Attalus in his heart was still the same he had ever been, and that on all occasions, they might expect whatever favours, they would desire of him. And he promised them openly in full senate, to re-establish them in the flourishing state of their ancestors, and in a little time restore to Rome the Empire of the whole world. (r) This was the foolish notion, which he had conceived from the predictions of the augurs, and diviners, whom he used daily to consult after the Pagan manner. And they had so positively assured him, that he should soon be master of Africa, even without fighting, (s) that, contrary to the opinion of Alaricus, who had resolved immediately to send a body of choice troops thither, to defeat Heraclian, who might furnish

A. D.
400.

(p) Zos. l. 6. (q) Sozom. Zosim. Oros. l. 7. c. 42. Soz. l. 9. c. 9.
l. 6. Sozom. (s) Zosim.

(r) Zos.

A. D. Rome, he only sent over, without forces, one of his generals, whose
400. name was Constantine, (t) as if he had been sure to take possession of that country without the least opposition.

In the mean while Alaricus, with the new Emperour at the head of the whole army, marched directly to Ravenna in order to besiege Honorius, who, at this news, was so disheartned, (u) that he sent deputies as far as Rimini to meet Attalus, with an offer to acknowledge him for his colleague to the Empire, provided he would not advance nearer. But this man, being blinded with his good fortune, had lost the use of his reason, and therefore in an haughty and morose manner, he told the Ambassadors that all the favour, which he could grant their master, was, to let him live banished in some distant island; but first insisted that he should not only lay down the purple, and diadem; but likewise that he should be maimed in some part of his body, in order to prevent him from ever having any hopes of being restored to a throne, which he inevitably would soon be forced to abandon. Honorius, being terrified at so inhuman an answer, was already preparing to go on board a fleet of ships, which were waiting to carry him to his nephew at Constantinople, when he received a relief of four thousand men from him, who landed at Ravenna, in very good time to divert his fears, and help him to hold out the siege, till such time as he could receive letters from Heraclian, on whose assistance he very much depended. And indeed, this general, by his good management, was the only person that delivered him from the extremity which he was reduced to. For, as it was in his power easily to defeat Constantine, whom Attalus, by the persuasion of the false oracles, had indiscreetly sent, with hardly any forces, to invade Africa; he took so great a care to lay an imbargo on all the sea-ports, in order to prevent any provisions from being conveyed into Rome, that the famine soon began to rage more than it had done during the first siege. It is even reported, that all the neighbouring country being laid waste, and nothing imported by sea, the rich people of the city, and merchants (thro' an abominable avarice) concealed what corn they had in store, in order to sell it at an excessive rate in time of extremity, which caused the meaner people to ap-

(t) Sozom. l. 9. c. 8.

(u) Zos. l. 6. Sozom.

ply one day publickly to the magistrates in the cīrcum, crying out *A. D.*
aloud, that they might likewise expose human flesh to sale, and *410.*
put a fixt price on it.

Alaricus was already highly dissatisfied with Attalus, who had occasioned these disorders, for not having followed his advice; and was yet much more exasperated against him, when he found that this ridiculous man had been at Rome in order to consult the senate, (x) and yet would not agree to send Gothick soldiers into Africa, as it was the opinion of the major part of the senators. Therefore seeing that he could never bring his affairs to bear by the means of this phantom Emperour, whom he himself had made, he resolved to degrade him, after having taken proper measures with some of the Romans of his party, whom Honorius had brought over to his interest, which would be a favourable opportunity of making an advantageous treaty of peace, as he had so often desired. Therefore as soon as Attalus was returned to Rimini, Alaricus, in order to conclude the comical scene which he had begun, brought this ridiculous prince, dressed in his imperial robes, at the head of his army, which was drawn up in order of battle near that city; (y) and therefore, having upbraided him with his weakness, vanity, and ingratitude, he caused his purple, and diadem to be taken from him, which he sent to the Emperour Honorius: But nevertheless kept this wretched man, near his person, out of meer compassion, till such time as he had put his life in safety, by the treaty which he proposed to make. So this ambitious and perfidious man, who, in order to be created Emperour, had declared himself an Arian, tho' a Pagan in his heart, after having ridiculously played the part of a prince, like a player on a theatre, became the jest of the whole world, for being a mere slave to those very Arian Goths, who in appearance had chosen him for their master. (z) The Pagans, and Arians of Rome were equally mortified, and deeply concerned at his disgrace, because on the one side, as Pagans, they were in hopes that he would restore idolatry to its primitive state; and on the other side, as Arians, that he would make Arianism flourish again in the Empire as it had formerly done under Constantius.

(x) Zos. lib. 6.

(y) Oros. l. 7. c. 42 Zos. Sozom.

(z) Sozom. l. 9. c. 9.

After

A. D.
410.

After so unaccountable a change, Alaricus, who had already subdued the greatest part of the cities of Romania, (*a*) marched towards Ravenna in order to negotiate his treaty of peace with Honorius. Now indeed the treaty seemed to go on in earnest, with both parties, and according to all probability was likely soon to come to a conclusion, when God, who was resolved to deliver up Rome into the hands of the Barbarians, as a punishment for its crimes, permitted one only man, thro' his rashness, entirely to destroy this negotiation which would certainly have produced a peace. (*b*) Sarus, who commanded the Huns, that were in the service of the Emperour Honorius, had withdrawn from court upon some cause of discontent. (*c*) But when he found that the treaty was near being concluded, he resolved to return thither, in order, if possible, to break it; because that he not only bore an hatred to Alaricus, but was also for a war, which would be of greater advantage to him. For this reason, as he was well acquainted with the disposition of Alaricus, who never could submit to put up an affront, he suddenly fell upon his camp, with only three hundred desperate men, who followed him where-ever he went; and as the Goths were not upon their guard, having no suspicion that during a treaty any one would attack them in this manner, he put them in great disorder, and in a very little time killed a great number of men, till at last they drew themselves up in order of battle towards the place where the alarm was first given; but Sarus, having compleated his design retired with very little loss. Hereupon Alaricus, calling to mind the piece of treachery, which was acted against him at the passage of the Alps, did not doubt in the least, but that he was now betrayed in the same manner, and that they were only amusing him with the notion of a treaty of peace, whilst there was a scheme laid to surprize him; and therefore, being highly provoked, he raised his camp and marched immediately with his army towards Rome, promising the plunder of that city to his soldiers, in order to encourage them. (*d*) For as he had settled several correspondences, during his residence there, and disposed of all things in an absolute manner, he was fully satisfied that he should soon enter Rome by that means.

(*a*) Zosim. l. 6. (*b*) Zosim. l. 6. (*c*) Sozom. l. 9. c. 9. (*d*) Zozom. l. 9. c. 9.

BOOK VIII. *The History of ARIANISM.*

89

And indeed, he was not deceived in an expectation, which was so well grounded. Three days after he had taken possession of his old camp, which was the third time that he had encamped there, in order to besiege Rome, (which was now in a strange consternation at so unexpected a turn) (e) those who were of intelligence with him, (amongst whom were several Goths, who by reason of the alliances, which they had made with the Romans, had remained in the city), seized on one of the gates, which they delivered up to Alaricus, who marched into Rome with his whole army drawn up in order of battle. (f) This happened on the twenty fourth of August in the night. As he was assured of success from his correspondents, he, that very evening, appointed the chief officers of his army to meet at his quarters, and there he gave them the proper orders which were to be executed on so important an occasion. It is said that he expressed himself in the following manner: "My fellow-soldiers, about thirty five years ago, we passed the Danube, and since that time we have made war both for, and against the Romans, in order to acquire honour, and riches, which are the just rewards of our toils, and of the great actions, which we have performed. As for honour, I may venture to say, we could not wish for more than what we have gained in so many glorious warlike exploits, which have rendered the name of the Visigoths renowned throughout the world, and dreadful to the Romans. We were the men, who first convinced the world, that these haughty tyrants could be conquered and brought into the same bonds, with which they for so many ages had loaded Europe, Africa, and Asia. We have cut their armies to pieces, forced their cities, and plundered their country in their fight; we laid waste their provinces, and carried even terror up to the very gates of Constantinople; and as Hannibal performed great things at Cannee, so did we at that memorable fight at Andrinople, where their Emperour, being forced to submit to the invincible power of our arms, lost with his life all the forces of the Empire. Thracia, Myssia, Macedonia, Thessalia, Greece, Dalmatia, Pannonia, and all Italy, up to the very gates of Rome, where we are now encamped, are filled with the trophies and glory of our arms, from which these pre-

A. D.
410.

(e) Rutit. Itin. l. 2.

(f) Miscell. Prosper, Cassiodor. Hieron. Epist. 16.

A. D. 410. “ tended conquerours, and masters of the world, could not defend
 “ themselves, but by surprizing us, and applying to the most
 “ shameful perfidiousness, which shall prove fatal to them. After
 “ so many battles, we have scarcely any thing left, but the arms
 “ with which we conquered ; and our victories, which were fruit-
 “ less, have only produced us glory, and wounds. But it is
 “ now high time to put an end to the injustice of our fortune ;
 “ and that, after the acquisition of glory, which is the noblest re-
 “ ward of vertue, these brave men, who have followed me, should
 “ partake of the spoils, which are due to those who have merited
 “ the honour that they have acquired. I have despised Ravenna
 “ which is not a prize worthy of your deserts. I am resolved that
 “ Rome shall this day become your reward, and booty. Yes, I say,
 “ Rome, who has hoarded up riches, at the expence of the whole
 “ world, and may now justly be called the treasure of the universe,
 “ shall supply you with money and subsistence, at a general review
 “ of my army before the capitol. I shall be there in a few hours,
 “ by means of the intelligence which I have in the city : And as
 “ things are disposed, my design must succeed. I give up Rome
 “ with its plunder, to my soldiers ; and I am resolved that they
 “ shall come out of it loaded with the treasures of those plunderers
 “ who purchased them with the ruin of the rest of the world. But
 “ remember this ; I will not suffer, on any account, that, (whilst we
 “ are performing this act of justice) it should be dishonoured with
 “ impiety, which would justly bring upon us the vengeance of
 “ heaven. For as I find within my self that GOD has command-
 “ ed me to execute the judgment, which he has pronounced against
 “ this city, it is also his will that I should revere him in the exe-
 “ cution of it, and distinguish what belongs to him, from what be-
 “ longs to those guilty men, whom he has condemned. I there-
 “ fore forbid my soldiers to meddle with the Churches, or with
 “ any thing that is consecrated to divine worship. (g) Besides, I
 “ require that all holy places, and particularly the Basilea’s of St.
 “ Peter, and St. Paul, should be regarded as inviolable sanctuaries
 “ to all those who shall retire thither ; and that my soldiers shall
 “ not make any attempt, either on their lives, their liberties, or

(g) Oros. l. 7. cap. 39.

any

“ any thing that they shall have in their possession. Now, in or- **A. D.**
 “ der to undeceive those who take us for Barbarians, and Idolaters, **410.**
 “ I desire that our right of war may be used with a great deal of
 “ moderation, and that my soldiers, in the height of plunder, may
 “ avoid shedding human blood. Rome shall see that we bear re-
 “ spect to the name of a Christian, even in time of war, and that
 “ we know how to make a difference between Pagans, and Christi-
 “ ans, tho’ there are others who have not the true notion, which
 “ they ought to have, of GOD, and of his son. Depart, therefore,
 “ immediately, and repair to your respective quarters, in order to
 “ communicate my commands to your soldiers; draw them up in
 “ order of battle, and at the second watch, this night, lead them
 “ hither without noise, that they may be ready to follow me at
 “ the hour, which I have appointed to enter the city.

Accordingly, as he had laid his scheme with his correspondents in Rome, the affair succeeded to his satisfaction, and having seized on the capitol, the palace, and the great places in the city, as soon as the day appeared, the army spread it self throughout all the parts of Rome, and began to plunder the houses. Nevertheless the charge, which Alaricus had given to his soldiers, was so punctually observed (notwithstanding the confusion which ever attends the plundering of a Town) that they did not touch the Churches, nor molest those who ran thither for refuge; that very few people were killed, and several of those, who fell into the hands of the Goths, were protected as soon as they invoked the name of JESUS CHRIST, or any saint, which shewed that they were Christians. (b) And GOD even softened the hearts of many of those Barbarians in such a manner, that they themselves conducted those people to the Churches, whom they had spared, as being Christians, fearing least they should fall into the hands of some of their fellow-soldiers, who might have no compassion, and use them with less humanity; which indeed gave occasion to several of the Pagans, (i) who perceived that the same respect was not paid them, to pretend that they were also Christians, and by that means, following their example in calling upon the same saints, they were spared and con-

(b) Oros. August. de Civit. l. 11. cap. 1. 7. Isid. l. de Mun. de Civit. c. 7.

(i) Aug. l. 1. 12.

A. D. ducted by the very Goths to the Churches, where they found, that
 410. JESUS CHRIST (in spite of all their deceit) was in reality their Redeemer.

The illustrious Marcella, who was a lady of the noblest family in Rome, and reputed to be one of the most pious persons of the age, (*k*) was assaulted in her house, on mount Aventine, where she lived retired with her daughter Principia, passing their days together in the practice of piety, and holiness. At first these Barbarians used them ill, because they would have their gold, which they could not give them, having a long time before distributed all their possessions amongst the poor. But as soon as they were informed who these ladies were, with respect to their nobility, and piety, these very men treated them with the greatest veneration, and attended them safe to the Basilica of St. Paul. The heroick behaviour of another Christian lady, who was extremely beautiful, made likewise a most extraordinary impression on the heart of a young Arian Goth, who had conceived a passion for her. (*l*) After a thousand ardent sollicitations, he found that she preferred her honour to her life; for, having drawn his sword, and threatned to kill her, in case she would not yield to his desires, she generously presented her neck to him in order to receive the blow, which moved his pity so much that he not only conveyed her safe to the Church of St. Peter, but likewise gave money to the officers of that Church for her subsistence during the time she might remain there.

But what was still more surprising in the midst of these disorders was, (as I may say) a kind of triumph which was given to St. Peter after a more pompous and magnificent manner than any that was ever seen even when Rome was in a most flourishing condition. One of the chief officers in the Gothick army, having entered the house of a lady, who was venerable both for her age, and her character, a virgin consecrated to God, he desired her in a civil manner to shew him where she had laid up her gold, and silver, since the laws of war had given him a right to share it with her. (*m*) (I am ready to obey your commands, Sir,) replied this prudent virgin, (thinking it impossible to conceal any longer the precious deposit which some days before had been committed to her

(*k*) Hieron. Epist. 154.

(*l*) Sozom. lib. 9. c. 10.

(*m*) Oros. l. 7. c. 39.

care. "I will satisfy you immediately, Sir, (said she,) and I can assure you that you could not have applied yourself to any one who could have shewn you a greater quantity of riches." Hereupon she conducted him to a chamber, which was full of gold and silver vessels, whereof some were of a prodigious bigness, and the others enriched with precious stones: But all of them were wrought after an admirable manner. As she perceived that the Goth was astonished at the sight of such a prodigious treasure, without giving him time to recover from his surprise, she said to him: "These, Sir, are the sacred vessels of the Apostle St. Peter, which are used at divine service in his Church; they were brought here into this house a few days since, in hopes that it would be respected even by those of your nation. I dare believe that you will not venture to profane them, and run the hazard of committing so great a sacrilege. As for my part, I can no longer protect them, therefore will not pretend to keep them." This officer heard her discourse with admiration, and as she was inspired by the spirit of God, her words struck him with a religious fear, and he immediately sent to acquaint the king of what he had seen, who gave orders that all those sacred vessels should be brought back to the Basilica of St. Peter, which was to be performed in a most solemn manner, with the attendance of men in arms; giving also a strict charge, that they should convey thither this virgin, in whose house the holy treasure was found, together with all those who would accompany her on this extraordinary occasion.

There never was seen a procession comparable to this. (n) As soon as the report of this order was spread throughout Rome, the Barbarians and Romans, the Catholics and Arians, the soldiers and the people, repaired from all parts to this house to bear a part in this ceremony. All the vessels were distributed to persons of quality, who bore them on their heads, in order that they might be seen and revered by every one. The clergy, dressed in their officiating habits, attended the procession, singing Hymns in praise of JESUS CHRIST, and St. Peter his Apostle. The Goths and Romans, who followed in crowds, answered all together, and, notwithstanding the difference of their opinions, with one heart, and

(n) Oros. *ibid.* Cassiod. *Var. lib.* 10. *Epist.* 20.

A.D. one voice, joined in the same hymns of praise to God. The Go-
 410. thish soldiers marched on both sides, forming two lines, with their
 swords drawn, which was done both in honour to, and for the safety
 of this pompous ceremony; and the trumpets, which marched
 before them, sounding from time to time, invited those who were
 as yet concealed, to come boldly out of their retirements, and join
 themselves with the rest of the people. Even the Pagans were
 glad to embrace so favourable an opportunity of putting them-
 selves into a place of safety, and therefore joined the crowd, and
 were willing to pass for Christians. And the more the multitude
 encreased at this wonderful procession, the more the Barbarians en-
 deavoured to protect them. So great is the power of religion over
 those very men, who are most cruel in their nature, whenever
 any sensible and extraordinary object has made so strong an impres-
 sion on them as to render them capable of receiving a notion of it.

But as these happy moments were soon at an end, and that all
 the Goths were not so well disposed, there were most dreadful dis-
 orders committed during the plundering of Rome; and in spite of
 the strict commands of Alaricus, which could not be so exactly ob-
 served at a time of such horrid confusion, (o) there were several
 houses fired, many people killed, virgins, and married women,
 forced and deflowered, and these Barbarians made a great number
 of prisoners, whom they took along with them into a miserable
 captivity. Several, even of those who were of the first quality
 (in order to save themselves from the cruelty of the Goths) retired
 out of Italy; some passed over into the islands, and others went
 into Palestine, where St. Jerom (deploring their misery, which he
 was witness of) says they were reduced to so great a necessity, (p)
 thro' the unmerciful avarice of those, who (notwithstanding the
 extremity they were in) still extorted money from them, that they
 had not even where-withal to cover their bodies, or shelter them-
 selves from the injuries of the weather. Some of them, and amongst
 others the illustrious matron Proba, with her daughter, and gran-
 daughter Demetrias, retired into Africa, in hopes of finding safety
 there under the protection of Heraclian. But on the contrary they

(o) Oros. lib. 7. cap. 39. August. de Civit. l. 11. cap. 1. 7. Id. tract. de excid.
 Urb. Rutil. Itin. l. 1.

(p) Hier, Præf. in lib. 3. in Ezech.

found this governour to be a tyrant, yet more avaricious and cruel than those, whose hands they had escaped, in order to fly to him for refuge: (q) For, after having already plundered Africa by his extortions, he treated them in the most insulting and treacherous manner that he could contrive, in order to get from them the little money which they had saved out of the ruins of their fortune. A. D. 410.

But what plainly shewed that God, (r) in permitting that Rome should be thus surpris'd and plundered, intended only to inflict a paternal punishment on the Christians, and not to destroy them utterly, was that, Alaricus, five days after having taken the city, and being satisfied with the plunder which lasted three days, marched out with his whole army, and did not leave so much as a garrison behind him. For, whether he still continued in the resolution that he had formerly taken to settle in those provinces, which he already had so often demanded of the Emperour, or that he propos'd to make himself master of Sicily and Africa; without the possession of which (were he to continue in Rome) he might be in danger of being famish'd; whether, I say, for these reasons, or because (as it often happens to the greatest of men, who have performed mighty exploits) he knew not well how to reap the advantage of them, and gather the fruits of his victories, I shall not determine. But after having given that short space of time to his soldiers in order that they might load themselves with the riches of that famous city, he departed thence, and march'd thro' Campania, (s) the Marca d'Ancona, and Lucania, laying waste all the country where-ever he pass'd, till he arriv'd at Cosenza, where, (t) being inform'd that part of his forces were lost at sea in their passage to Sicily, he died suddenly. (u) He was a prince, who had none of the barbarity of his nation, tho' brave and courageous, with a greatness of soul, and the humanity of a Roman. The army, who bore an extraordinary love to him, resolv'd to perform his funeral obsequies in a most magnificent manner, but attended with much of the Gothick barbarity, which that prince, during his life-time (good natured as he was) would not have suffered

(q) Hieron. Epist. 8. (r) Marcell. in Chron. Oros. (s) A champaign country of Italy. Basilicate Calabria. (t) Principality. (u) Oros. lib. 7. c. 43. Idat. Marcell. l. 13.

A. D. 410. them to do to any one. For, having turned the course of the river of Busento, they dug a large and deep grave in the middle of its channel, and having buried him there with part of the richest spoils, which they had brought with them from the plunder of Rome, they turned the river again into its natural course. And after this, in order that no body should ever discover the tomb of Alaricus, the soldiers barbarously put to death all the prisoners, whom they had employed in this work.

A. D. 411. After the death of this great man, the Goths, with a general consent, chose Ataulphus for their king. This prince was brother-in-law to Alaricus, and not inferiour to him in prudence and courage. So that he might have easily compleated the destruction of the Roman Empire, had he not conceived an extraordinary passion for the princess Galla Placidia, sister to Honorius, which intirely disarmed him: And proved at last the cause of his ruin, and the safety of the Emperour. The first time that Alaricus entered Rome, he was resolved to seize on the person of this princess; (x) whom, nevertheless, he treated after a royal manner in his camp. Ataulphus, who was a young prince, and had lately buried his wife, was passionately taken with her beauty, and wit, which far excelled the graces of her face. And as Alaricus had committed her to his care, and even given him leave to marry her, if he could prevail on her to give her consent, he used to serve her with the greatest respect, in hopes of finding a favourable opportunity to deserve that honour, which he so earnestly wished for. And now seeing himself on the throne of Alaricus, he began to indulge his hopes, and was of opinion that the sister of Honorius would not think herself degraded in ascending that throne with him, nor dishonoured in becoming the queen of the masters and conquerours of Rome. This princess on her side, seeing the deplorable condition which the Empire, and her brother, were reduced to, would not disdain the good offices of this prince, in hopes that, of an enemy, she might bring him to be a powerful protector of her family. She therefore approved his addresses; and from that time knew so well how to manage him, that at last she gained an absolute ascendant over him, and persuaded him under-hand to take a resolution, (y)

(x) Zosim. l. 6.

(y) Oros. lib. 7. c. 43.

not only to make peace with Honorius, but also to assist him with all his forces, in order to restore the Empire to its former glory. Ataulphus, nevertheless, being willing to shew a fair pretence for carrying on his intended scheme, gave other reasons afterwards for his conduct, which every one was surpris'd at. (z) For he us'd often to tell his friends in private, that at first when he came to the throne he had resolv'd to make himself master of the Empire, which he would have call'd the Empire of the Goths, instead of that of the Romans, and substitute his name of Ataulphus in the room of that of Augustus: But that, having consider'd on the one part that so great an Empire could not subsist without laws, and on the other hand that the Goths, who were naturally a barbarous people, would neither have nor suffer any government, he had chosen rather to acquire the glorious title of restorer of the Roman Empire, than that of the destroyer of it. Tho' indeed, as the world has seen by experience that the Gothick nation was very capable of being brought under discipline, and government, it plainly appear'd that love had a far greater share, than any political notion, in the conduct and sudden change of Ataulphus.

A D.
411.

Therefore this new king, laying aside the design of his predecessor, return'd back to Rome, where, notwithstanding the charge he had given at the request of Placidia, (a) he could not prevent his army from committing many disorders. (b) He afterwards march'd towards Ravenna, but stopp'd at Forli, a place in Romania, where he secretly agreed with Honorius, that (under the pretence of defending Gaul, and Spain) he would march with his army into the Narbonian Gaul, and into the provinces on the other side of the Pyrenees, as far as the Eber. After which, having married the princess Placidia, with the consent of the Emperour, her brother, (c) he went and took possession of the new kingdom of the Visigoths, whereof he establish'd the seat at Narbona.

This peace was followed by the restoration of the affairs of Honorius. Constantius, who was a great general, born in Illiria, and a creature of the great Theodosius, having pass'd the Alps with the Emperour's army, besieged Arles, where Constantine had re.

(z) Oros. ibid.
Iornand. Maria. l. 5. c. 1.

(a) Miscell.

(b) Eorum Livii.

(c) Olympiod.

A. D. tired for safety, and had taken upon him the orders of priesthood
 411. in one of the Churches of that place, in order, by that means, to escape death: (*d*) But the town being taken, that did not prevent Honorius from causing him to be put to death at Ravenna, with Julian, his second son. As for Constance, his eldest son, to whom he had conferred the title of Cæsar, he was killed at Vienna, by Gerontius whom he had left governour of the provinces of Spain; and who, having revolted against Constantine, on the account of some dissatisfaction, had caused his army to create one Maximus Emperour. (*e*) And Gerontius himself, being soon after forsaken by his soldiers, who surrendered themselves up to Constantius, fled into Spain where he perished by his own hands, after having killed his wife, who earnestly desired him to grant her that favour, which he was unwilling to do, till he saw himself upon the brink of being forced by his own people, who had besieged him in his house, and against whom he defended himself almost alone, and behaved with so much bravery, that, what with darts and arrows, he killed above three hundred of them.

As for Maximus, the sham Emperor, having laid down his purple robes, he went over to the Barbarians, on the other side of the Eber, (*f*) and nothing more was heard of him. (*g*) Heraclian, who, from being governor of Africa, was become a tyrant, and dared even to invade Italy with a prodigious number of ships, in order to attack Rome, was defeated by count Marinus, at his landing; and, with great difficulty made his escape to Carthage, where he was killed. (*h*) Jovinus and Sebastian, his brother, having revolted in Gaul, where they had the assurance to usurp. A tyrannical party were taken by Ataulphus, who caused them to be put to death at Narbona. As for the wretched Attalus, (whom the Goths made a tool of, and had re-inflated again on the throne, only to oppose Constantius, whom they began to suspect) he was immediately abandoned by them, and falling alive into the hands of Honorius, was treated in the same manner, with which he once intended to treat the Emperor: For, after having caused two of his fingers to be cut off, he sent him into banishment in the Isle of

(*d*) Sozom. l. 7. c. 13. Olymp (e) Sozom. ibid. (*f*) Marcell. (*g*) Oros. l. 7. c. 42. Marcell. (*h*) Idat. Marcell. Prosp. in Chron. Olympiod. Oros. l. 7. c. 43.

Lipara. In short, the Goths themselves, who had committed most horrible disorders in Aquitain, and in the Narbonian Gaul, from the time of their inhabiting those Countries, (i) abandoned their new kingdom of Gaul; and, passing on the other side of the Pirenees, went into Spain, which they were forced to do, either by the victorious arms of Constantius, or by a secret agreement, which Ataulphus had made with the Romans through the contrivance of Placidia. A. D. 415.

Thus Italy, Africa, Gaul and Great Britain, were entirely restored to the obedience of Honorius, by the means of the peace which this Princess procured to the Empire; and tho' it was then of great advantage to her Brother, yet it proved in the End very fatal to her Husband, For as soon as he began to be suspected by his Nation, who found their account in the (k) War, which they made against the Romans under Alaricus, he was murdered in Barcelona, and they chose for their King Sigericus, Brother to the famous Sarus, whom the Soldiers (l) had massacred, as being Traitor to the Emperor. This new elected Prince, in the first place caused six Children, whom Ataulphus had had by his first Wife, to be put to death, (m) and treated his Queen Placidia in so base a manner that he obliged her to run a foot before his horse, (n) like a wretched slave. But he soon met with the punishment of this Brutality: For the Goths, seeing that he had no disposition towards making War (which they were all desirous of) they began to fear lest he should follow the steps of Ataulphus, and hereupon they deprived him of his life, seven days after his being raised to the Throne; and without shewing any Regard to his Children, they chose in his Room a person, whose Name was Vallia, whom they looked upon to be the greatest Warriour amongst all their Generals.

And he was justly esteemed a great Commander, having an equal share of courage, and prudence, by which means he knew so well how to temper the minds of his Goths, that he persuaded them, either to make war, or peace, just as he thought it proper. He, in the first place, embarked them on board a potent fleet, with a design to invade Africa, (o) according to the scheme of

(i) Maria l. 5. c. 2. Prosper Oros. l. 7. c. 47. Iorn Mari.

(k) Prosp. Marcell. Idat Iorn. Oros. l. 7. c. 43.

(l) Soz. l. 9. c. 13.

(m) Olympiod.

(n) Idat Oros.

(o) Oros. l. 7. c. 43.

- A. D.* Alaricus. But his ships having suffered very much in a terrible storm, he found himself under the necessity of returning to Barcelona; and hereupon he informed the chief officers of the Goths, that being on the one side surrounded by the Romans, and on the other by the Alani, the Suevi, and Vandals, they were in danger of losing what they had acquired; and by this means he persuaded them to enter into a treaty of peace with Constantius, on such terms as should be both advantageous and honourable, and would put them in a capacity to make war against those other nations.
415. (o) He therefore treated with the Roman general on these conditions; viz. That the princess Galla Placidia should be restored to the Emperour, who had already promised her to Constantius; (p) who being ambitious of the honour, it was a more speedy means to conclude the treaty. The second article was, that the Romans supplying Vallia with provisions, he should assist them against the other Barbarian nations, who had divided Spain amongst themselves. Upon these conditions he should be restored to whatever Ataulphus possessed in Gaul, and Spain; with assurances that he might yet expect something more from the Romans, according as it would appear by his behaviour, that he was faithful to them in fulfilling this treaty.
416. And hereupon it was faithfully executed by both parties. (q) Vallia delivered up the queen to Constantius, who immediately married her by the express command of Honorius; and in that first year was born the princess Honoria, and in the second, Valentinian the third. The Romans supplied Vallia's forces with corn,
418. and they were fortunate in the war which they made against the Barbarians, who were at that time divided amongst themselves. Vallia defeated the Alani in a battle which he fought near Merida, wherein their king Araces lost his life. He obliged the Suevi and Vandals, who were in possession of Galicia, to submit to the Roman Empire, and so often defeated the Silingi, and the Vandals of Andaloufia, that he compelled them to surrender themselves. After so many glorious exploits, Constantius sent for him back into Gaul, and there gave him a fresh confirmation of the alliance,

(o) Olympiod. Oros.
Iorn.

(p) Olympiod. Oros.

(q) Olympiod Prosp.

which he had made with him in the name of the Emperour, (r) and added to his kingdom all Aquitain which is situated between the Pyrenees, the Garonne, and the ocean sea. Thus the kingdom of the Arian Visigoths was firmly established in Gaul, and Catalonia, by Vallia, who transmitted the seat of his new Empire to Toulouse, where he soon after died, leaving behind him Theoderedus, or Theodoricus his relation, for his successor.

A. D.
419.

Constantius did not live very long after him. He shared the same fate with him, and died in glory, after having happily performed great actions, without giving time for fortune to repent. For being returned in triumph to Ravenna, Honorius his brother-in-law, in order to reward his mighty services, had associated him to the Empire, which he had delivered out of the hands of Tyrants, and Barbarians; (s) and seven months afterwards he died, just as he was going to carry his arms into the East against Theodosius the younger, who would not approve of his election, nor receive him as his colleague.

After his death the affairs in the West were in a greater confusion than before. (t) Honorius and Placidia having, for some time, carried on an intimate correspondence, which was even prejudicial to their reputation, conceived so great a hatred for each other, that being no longer able to live together, Placidia was forced (by the command of her brother, who expelled her) to retire with her children to Constantinople where she implored the protection of Theodosius, her nephew. But this persecution did not continue long; for Honorius died a few months after in the thirty fifth year of his age. He was a slothful ignorant prince, and an enemy to business, minding nothing but his pleasures, even at a time when his Empire was at stake. He possessed none of his father's perfections; tho' indeed he was very zealous for the catholick religion, which he always protected against the attempts of the Hereticks. Placidia being acknowledged as empress by Theodosius, (u) returned immediately into Italy with her son Valentinian, who was then in the fifth year of his age, and was proclaimed by the name of Augustus in Rome, as also soon after at Ravenna, where John prin-

421.

423.

424.

(r) Idat. Maria. (s) Olympiod. Marcell. (t) Olymp. (u) Prosper.
Marcell. Olymp. Socr. lib. 7. cap. 23.

A. D. cipal secretary of state to Honorius, and prefect of the *Pretorium*,
 425. who had taken upon himself the title of Emperour after the death of his master, was surpris'd and put to death by Theodosius's people.

But during these civil and domestick broils, there happened a change in Spain, which proved very fatal to the religion, and which at last occasioned the establishment of a new monarchy of Arians in Africa, by the conquests of the Vandals. These people, who were esteemed the most warlike of all the Barbarians that inhabited Spain, and were subjected to the Romans by Vallia, having, after the death of Constantius, thrown off their yoke, (w) under the government of their king Gundericus, and adopted all the Alani that were left, who now became one nation with them, these Barbarians, I say, committed such devastations in Spain, that the Romans were obliged to send thither a considerable body of men under the command of Castinus. And Boniface who was a great general, that commanded the Roman army in Africa, was likewise
 422. ordered to repair thither with a part of his forces: But he could not bear the arrogant and imperious humour of Castinus, who would transact every thing after his own way, tho', at the same time, what he did, was directly contrary to the rules of war, and good sense. Therefore Boniface, fearing least he should lose both his troops, and his honour, thro' the mistakes of this stubborn man, he returned immediately into Africa; (x) and Castinus, having unadvisedly given battle to the Vandals near Taragona, was defeated and obliged to leave Spain, and retire into Italy. The death of Honorius happening at this juncture, the affairs of the
 423. Empire could not be set right till about two years after, when Placidia and her son Valentinian, being happily delivered from John, who had usurped the Empire, were both proclaimed by the title of
 425. Augustus at Ravenna. At which time, Castinus, who was suspected of having underhand favoured the tyrant's Party, was sent into banishment. But Aetius, on the contrary, being a great and able general, who had brought with him out of Mysia (which was his country) a powerful army of Huns for the service of the usurper, he found it easy to make his peace, because, in the first place,

(w) Prosp. in Chron.

(x) Idat.

he had forces at his command; and his capacity was well known. (y) He was even made a count, and an army of Romans was given to him upon condition that he would dismiss his Huns, which he accordingly did, after having paid them with the Emperour's money. Boniface, who had acquired much glory in Africa (where tho' only a colonel he had often defeated the Barbarians, who made excursions on the territories of the Empire) insinuated himself so well into the favour of Placidia, that, besides the command of the armies which he already had, she gave him also the government of all Africa, (z) with directions to pass, as soon as possible, into Spain in order to accommodate the affairs there with the Vandals, as they had already done with the Huns.

A. D.
425.

This was the same count Boniface, who, during his residence in Africa, had contracted that intimate friendship with St. Augustin, which rendered the count so remarkable, as we have many instances of it in the epistles of this holy man, whom he honoured as his father, and spiritual guide. And indeed Boniface had a true principle of piety, which he carefully cultivated for some time, under the direction of this admirable teacher. He received many instructions from him relating to his moral life, and for the better preserving the purity of faith, not only against the deceits of the Donatists, who had a powerful party in Africa, but likewise against the impiety of the Arians, who were at court, and in Boniface's army; and which gave occasion to St. Augustin to refute openly that heresy, which till then was not known in Africa. For as the count's army was composed of Romans, and Goths, who, at that time, were their allies; the latter, who professed Arianism, had the free exercise of their religion, notwithstanding the edicts of the Emperours, which did not include the strangers, who were in the service of the Empire. They even had a bishop of their own, whose name was Maximus; he was very zealous in maintaining that his was the true doctrine, and had assurance enough to challenge St. Augustin to dispute with him. Besides, this Arian bishop was supported by the authority and boldness, or more properly by the impudence, of the count Pascentius, one of the Emperour's principal officers, who was appointed collector of his rights,

(y) Prosp. in Chron.

(z) Procop. de Bell. Vand. l. 1. August. Epist. 70.

A. D. 425. and revenues in Africa. This man, who was very ignorant, had a deal of assurance, together with an exceeding freedom of speech. And his power being great, from the employment which he exercised, he imposed on those, who had never heard of Arianism, which he proclaimed in all places. For, tho' he always anathematized Arius, and Eunomius, in order that he might not be accused of being an Arian, yet at the same time he maintained their opinions, which he did not understand; and all his learning consisted only in insulting the Catholicks, defying them to shew him the word *ὁμοῖσις* in the scriptures, and upon this he fancied himself able enough to challenge St. Augustin to a publick conference.

This holy bishop agreed to the proposal, and conferred with Maximus at Hippon, and with Pascentius at Carthage, in presence of arbitrators, and witnesses. He confounded them both, but particularly Pascentius, who would not consent that any part of the conference should be set down in writing, fearing least he might be convicted by authentick proceedings. But, (as it is commonly the way of hereticks) after the dispute was over, these men impudently gave it out, that they had gained all the advantage that could be wished for on this occasion; particularly Maximus, who had spent all the time in saying things which were nothing to the purpose, and therefore no reply being made to him, he went away. (a) Hereupon St. Augustin, in vindication of the truth, found himself obliged to make their confusion publick, which he did, by setting down in writing the conference held at Carthage, which to this day may be seen in St. Augustin's epistles; (b) and as for the dispute with Maximus, we have it in the three books, which he wrote against that Arian bishop; wherein, after having faithfully quoted, in the first book, what had been argued on both sides in that conference, he shews him plainly in the two other books, that in speaking after such a manner, he only had taken a deal of fruitless pains to prove at length what was intirely out of the question; and that he had not replied precisely to those things, which were put to him; so that, far from having proved what he pretended to assert, he had given room to discover the weakness and

(a) August. contra Max. l. 3. 8, 16.

(b) August. Epist. 173. & seq.

falsity of it, by replying distinctly to every one of his passages, and shewing him that there were some of them which positively expressed, what he did not intend, *viz.* That there is but one only true GOD; that the Son is truly GOD; and that the Holy Ghost is likewise so: From whence we must necessarily conclude, that the Father, the Son, and Holy Ghost are but one only GOD, according to the true belief of the Catholicks. *A. D. 425.*

It was on this occasion that St. Augustin wrote several treatises against the Arians, who were beginning to encrease in Africa by the means of the Goths, that were in the army of Boniface, tho' this general continued still to be a zealous Catholick, through the wholesome admonitions which he received from that good bishop, his director. And his devotion was so very great, that, after the death of his wife, (c) he had a mind to renounce the world, in order to pass the remainder of his days in a monastery, had not the holy bishop and Alypius, to whom he communicated his design, diverted him from it, by representing to him, that he would be more serviceable to GOD in continuing to defend the Churches of Africa against the Barbarians, than by living in a solitary retirement.

But we must allow that, whatever good qualities, or whatever share of understanding a man may be master of, yet he is subject to great weakness, when once he submits to a passion that is violent enough to over-power his reason. This same Boniface, whose sentiments were so noble, and who had received such excellent instructions from so great a master, having shamefully suffered himself to be enslaved by two most dangerous passions, *viz.* love, and revenge, became at last the cause of his own misfortune, and the utter ruin of Africa, as also of the horrible persecution, which was carried on against the Church by the Arian Vandals. We must now unfold the beginning, and progress of so great an evil.

After the defeat of Castinus, the Vandals, having no more enemies in the field, that were able to oppose them, made considerable conquests both by sea, and by land. (d) They invaded the *Baleari* Islands without any great resistance, and there put all to fire and sword. (e) They took new Carthage, which they totally demo-

(c) August. Ep 70. ad Bonif.
Isidor. in Hist. Vand. Marian. l. 5. c. 3.

(d) Majorca & Minorca.

(e) Idat.

A. D. 425. lished; and after having made themselves masters of the whole coast as far as the Streights, they seized by main force on Sevil, where, as their king Gundericus was entering the Church of St. Vincent in order to plunder it, he fell down dead in the porch, which dreadful judgment shewed the Barbarians, that, if they sometimes proved the scourge of heaven to punish the sins of other men, yet they themselves were also in the hands of God, who could either make use of them for that purpose, or destroy them when he thought fit.

A. D. 426. Gundericus being dead, the Vandals made choice of Gisericus, his brother, whom they proclaimed king. This prince, besides his birth, which gave him a right to the throne, was likewise endowed with eminent qualifications, which rendered him worthy of it. (*f*) He had nothing indifferent in him but his stature, which was rendered still more deformed by a lameness occasioned by a fall from a horse. Every thing else in his character was extraordinary, both his good, and his bad qualities. For he was a great general, and a refined politician; acting with prudence, secrecy, and dissimulation. He performed great things, but said little; and was very artful in procuring to himself the friendship of others, as also in making his enemies fall out amongst themselves. He was vigilant, quick, laborious, and an enemy to voluptuousness; but, withall, he had those vices to excess which are generally ascribed to Tyrants. Whenever he was angry, his passion turned to fury. (*g*) He was covetous, surly, and cruel; and moreover an Arian, as were most of those of his nation, who had embraced Arianism, thro' the correspondence which, for a long time, they had held with the Goths. It is even reported that he had formerly been a Catholick, but that he turned Apostate, not only to become an Arian, but in order also to persecute the orthodox Christians; and we have some reason to believe that as he was a great politician, and full of ambition, he acted in this manner to render himself agreeable to the Vandals, who, being for the most part Arians, would not be willing to be governed by a Catholick king.

(*f*) Iornan. de reb. Get. c. 33.

(*g*) Maria. l. 5. c. 3. Isidor. in Hist. Vand.

Gisericus, being such a man as I have described him, caused greater disorders in Spain than his predecessors had done; and as the affairs of the Empire were not at that time in so good a condition as to be able to force him out of the provinces which he had invaded, (b) Count Boniface, (according to the command he had received) made a journey into Spain, in order, if possible, to accommodate affairs in an amicable manner. But this journey was the beginning and cause of his destruction, which unfortunately brought along with it the ruin both of the religion, and of all Africa. For this unhappy count who, after the death of his first wife, had resolved to quit the world, in order to pass the remainder of his days in celibacy, was so passionately enamoured with the beauty of a Vandal princess, whom he saw at court, that nothing was able to deter him from marrying her. Gisericus, who was a discerning man, took care not to let slip so fine an opportunity of making an alliance with a person, by whose means he proposed one day to acquire great advantages. He even readily agreed that she should profess the catholick religion; for Boniface, being resolved at least to give no suspicion to his court, insisted on this condition; and Gisericus, perceiving that this was only a political request, knew very well that the princess, after all, would have it intirely in her power to behave according to her own pleasure. And certainly he was not mistaken in his opinion; for Boniface was so blinded with love, and had so much weakness, that he suffered his wife, who was a Catholick only in appearance, to fill his house with Arians; (i) and these people, thro' the weakness of Boniface, being supported by their mistress, assumed at last so great an authority over his family that they baptised his daughter; and we are even told that these Arians, having perverted several young virgins who were in the princess's service, and had consecrated their virginity to God, they rebaptised them after their own manner.

This being the state of affairs, the enemies of Boniface found it no difficult matter to disgrace him at the court of the Empress. Aetius, in particular, was resolved to ruin him either out of revenge to some private injury, which he might have received from him,

(b) August. Ep. 70.

(i) August. Ep. 70.

A. D. 426. or because that (Boniface being the only great man he was jealous of in the Empire) he could not bear to see him in a capacity of contending with him for a superiority. (k) But in order to carry on his design with the greater success, he concealed it under a false colour of friendship, till he found a fair opportunity of compleating it; and this he did in a most vile manner, which was unworthy of a man of his rank and spirit. For, pretending to be very Zealous for the service of the Empress, he gave her to understand that Boniface retained the titles of count and governour meerly to cover his designs: But that in reality he was tyrant of Africa, where he was resolved to reign independent of the Emperour; and that the true cause of his marrying the Vandal princess was, ambition, and not love; for by that means, he proposed to secure the Barbarians in his interest, who had promised to maintain him in that Empire, which he had already usurped. “Moreover, Madam, “(said he, maliciously) I would not have you give credit to what “I say, but desire that you would satisfy yourself of the truth of “it, which you may readily do, if you please to take that trouble “upon you. The only thing to be done, is, to call him back to “court, and by that, you will find whether or no he acknowledges “the authority of the Emperour; or whether, by refusing to come “(as he undoubtedly will) he will not openly discover the scheme, “which he has hitherto concealed.”

Placidia, who was resolved not to omit any thing relating to an affair of this importance, approved of this expedient, and immediately put it in execution. But Aetus also, in order to carry on his treacherous design with art and safety, had already wrote to Boniface, acquainting him that the Empress, who was prepossessed with a suspicion of him, had determined to ruin him; and that he thought himself bound in friendship to let him know, that he would soon be called back; but that, if he valued his life, he advised him not to come, for that, at his arrival at court, he would immediately be put in arrest, and that the circumstances of the charge laid against him were so strong, that he would assuredly lose his life without any farther form of trial. The count, finding a good deal of probability in this advice, chiefly when he reflected on his marriage with a Vandal la-

(k) *Miscell. l. 14. Procop. l. 1. de bell. Vandal. cap. 3.*

dy, which alone was enough to render him suspicious at the Emperour's court, resolved to be on his guard, and not to expose himself to the danger of being made a sacrifice to calumny. Therefore, when the Emperour's envoys were come in order to summon him to return to court, he refused to obey. Hereupon Placidia, not doubting of the treachery of Boniface, or of the fidelity of Aetius, placed her whole confidence in the latter, and, by his advice, sent an army against Boniface, (l) under the command of three generals, viz. Mavortius, Galbio, and Sinox. But as there arose differences between them on the account of Pre-eminence, in the command of their forces, Sinox treacherously caused his two colleagues to be murdered, after which Boniface found means to treat Sinox in the same manner. So that, without the loss of one man on his side, he was in a short time delivered from three enemies, the imperial army remaining without a general. But Boniface was not much the better for this; for as soon as Placidia was informed of the affair, the command of those forces was given to count Sigisfultus, who, with some additional troops, had orders to attack him so vigorously, that Boniface at last had no hopes of being able to resist him; and hereupon, thro' spite, and desire of revenge, he abandoned himself to the most criminal blindness that a subject, and a Christian, could be guilty of in order to act against the service, both of GOD, and of his prince. For, betraying his honour, his country, and religion, after having left strong garrisons in all the towns, he went over himself into Spain to call the Vandals to his assistance. Having treated with Gisericus, the conditions were; that Africa should be divided into three parts; that Gisericus, with his Vandals, and Alani, should have two of them; and that he himself should possess the third; that each of them should enjoy their respective shares: (m) But that they would come to their assistance of each other as soon as any one should attempt to attack them.

Gisericus was highly pleased with so glorious an opportunity of establishing his Empire in Africa, (n) which the Goths had made several attempts to do, under their kings Alaricus, and Vallia. Be-

(l) Prosper. in Chron.
xian. de vero ludic. l. 7.

(m) Procop. l. 1. de bell. Vand. c. 3.

(n) Sal-
fides,

A. D. sides, the Vandals themselves declared openly that they were urged
 426. by an inward impulse to go on that enterprize; and that they were not able to resist the strong inclination they had to invade Africa, whose inhabitants (both Africans, and Romans) God was resolved to punish, particularly for their abominable lewdness, by the means of that nation, who, tho' an impious, barbarous and cruel people, were nevertheless renowned for their extraordinary chastity. And indeed, as soon as they were masters of Africa, they made very good laws in favour of chastity, by abolishing all infamous places, and punishing rigorously not only adultery, but even simple fornication.

427. Therefore Gisericus, having left the Silingi in Andaloufia, passed over from Spain into Africa by the Streights, with eighty thousand Vandals, and Alani; (o) and immediately took possession of three moorish kingdoms that Boniface had resigned to him, keeping to himself, Numidia, Africa Minor, Bizacenum, and the province of Tripoli, between the two Syrtes down to Lybia, which included the Empire of the East.

In the mean while the friends of Boniface acquainted the empress with the wicked and treacherous proceedings of Aetius, which they had plainly discovered by his own letters to Boniface, when they were at Carthage, where they went on purpose to enquire into this affair, which had given them great cause of suspicion. Placidia was extremely provoked to find herself so dangerously deceived, but yet did not dare to make her sentiments known, because that Aetius, who was then become a very serviceable man, had all the forces of the Empire under his command, (p) and even at that time was performing great actions in Gaul to defend it against those nations on the other side of the Rhine, who had invaded that country. But in order to retrieve the error which she had been guilty of, by being thus misled, she immediately sent back those same friends of Boniface to Carthage, to assure him that she was intirely undeceived as to him; and that she solemnly promised to take him into favour as before; but withal she conjured him not to suffer the Empire to be made a prey to the Barbarians.

(o) Prosper. Idat. Miscell. Procop. Iorn. Viâ. Utic. lib. 1. Procop. l. 1. cap. 3.

(p) Prosper. in Chron.

Boniface hereupon began sincerely to repent, and used his utmost *A. D.*
endeavours to retract what he had done. (q) He promised great 427.
things to Gisericus, and offered him considerable sums, upon con-
dition that he would pass over again into Spain. But this Vandal
prince rejected all his proposals in a haughty manner, and even
upbraided him shamefully with fickleness, which caused an open
rupture between them, that proved very fatal to Boniface; for he
was defeated in battle, his army cut to pieces, and himself forced 428.
to retire to Hippon, leaving the conquerour master of the field,
who, after this, ran over all Africa, took the towns by force, and
pulled down the Churches, destroying every thing by fire, sword,
and plunder. (r) He made all the people captives without di-
stinction, either of sex, or condition; and carried desolation with
him, where-ever he went, by acting all the cruelties that could at-
tend a war, rapes only excepted. So that of so many flourishing
cities, and beautiful Churches, which, in those days adorned the
seven provinces of Africa, there were none left, but those of Car-
thage, Hippon, and Cirta, the capital of Numidia, all the rest be-
ing destroyed, and reduced under the power of the Vandals.

Now as the city of Hippon was the strongest of the three, and
more able to make a defence. This was the place where Boniface
retired, with most of the persons of distinction, (s) and particu-
larly the bishops, who had escaped the fury of the Barbarians.
Here he proposed to wait a better turn in his affairs, having sent
for a relief to the Emperour Theodosius the younger, who gave or-
ders to Aspar an experienced general to make all necessary prepa-
rations at Constantinople for that purpose. And at the same time
there was a small number of Arians left in that city, who being
tolerated by the too great lenity of the government, had like to
have committed great disorders, upon an occasion which I shall
now give an account of.

After the death of the Patriarch Sisinius, the Emperor ordered
that Nestorius should be chosen in his place. He was Abbot of St.
Euprepus of Antioch, who, thro' his hypocrisy, (t) had acquired
the reputation of a most holy man, and besides, as nature had en-

(q) Prosop.
Vandal. lib. 1.

(r) Possid. in vit. Aug. cap. 28. Victor. Utic. de persecut.
(s) Possid. (t) Socr. l. 7. c. 29.

A. D. 428. dowed him with the gift of eloquence, (u) attended with a wonderful voice, (v) Theodosius thought he might one day become a second Chrysostom to instruct and edify the People. But the world was very much deceived; for he had a vast deal of presumption, with an equal share of ignorance; and withal being deceived by his own admirable manner of delivery, he esteemed himself one of the greatest men for learning, and therefore would not vouchsafe to read the works of the ancients. This was the reason why he obstinately maintained, the blessed Virgin could not be called the Mother of God, because he did not conceive that there was but one Person in JESUS CHRIST, which being united to human nature, was both God and Man. He was not altogether a Photinian, or a Paulinist, since he did not believe that JESUS CHRIST was man only. (x) Neither was he an Arian, because he confessed that the Word, which was in JESUS CHRIST, was the true God consubstantial with the Father. Nor can we say that he was an Apollinarist, inasmuch as he distinguished both the divine and human nature: But he was the author of a new heresy, whereby in a direct opposition to that of Appollinarius, he maintained that there were two Persons in JESUS CHRIST, whereof the one was true Son of God, begotten from all eternity, with the Spirit of his Father; and the other was man only begotten by a Virgin, who afterwards was not the mother of God, but only the mother of that man, who is CHRIST. This was the blasphemous opinion of this impious man, who took great care not to declare himself immediately upon his promotion to the patriarchal see. On the contrary, in order to acquire the reputation of being a most zealous Catholick, and by that means artfully to introduce his heresy, he openly declared war against the Hereticks of all kinds, (y) and particularly Arians.

For, on the very day that he was consecrated, which was the tenth of April in the year four hundred and twenty eight, (z) as he was preaching in his Church, in the presence of the Emperor, where a prodigious number both of courtiers and citizens were assembled on this occasion, he addressed him after an extravagant

(u) Theodor. Epist. ad Spor.
ibid Vincent. Lyrin. cont. hæres. c. 17.
7. c. 29.

(v) Cass. de Incarn. l. 7. Socrat.

(x) Socr.

(y) Idem. c. 16. (z) Socr. l.

manner,

manner, which (in the opinion of those who had any understanding) expressed more vanity than zeal, saying, " Give me, my lord, " give me this world cleansed of hereticks, and I will give you " heaven. Help me to destroy the enemies of God upon earth, " and I will help you to conquer the Persians your enemies. There undoubtedly was very little modesty in expressions of this kind, but he still shewed much less prudence in what he acted about five or six days afterwards. For, tho' the thing was good in itself, and from great disorders there arose a considerable advantage, yet his manner of doing it could no wise be approved of. The Arians, whose number at Constantinople was then but very small, had gained so much ground, thro' the weakness of the government, that, notwithstanding all the edicts, they had found means to procure to themselves a Church, where they assembled in private; and Nestorius undertook, by his own authority to demolish it in the day time, on purpose to assume to himself the honour of an action, which he pretended to be the effect of an extraordinary zeal. (b) He even ordered Anthony, bishop of Germa, in the Hellespont, to proceed openly against the Macedonians, who had taken the same liberty in several parts of that province; but these two attempts, which were made in a violent manner, without the authority either of the prince, or of the magistrates, were attended at first with very fatal consequences. For the Macedonians, who could not bear the outrages which were acted against them, fell into such an excess of fury that they caused Anthony to be murdered. (c) The Arians, on the other hand, seeing that Nestorius had begun to pull down their temple, were enraged to such a degree that they themselves set fire to it, which, having reached some of the neighbouring houses, had like to have caused a general conflagration throughout the city. This alarmed all the inhabitants; and the Arians, who were in despair, and had reason to fear lest the government should fall on them, ran immediately to their arms, in order either to defend, or to revenge themselves. But there was such speedy care taken in all parts, that there was no farther damage done either by the tumults, or by the fire; and all things were made easy by the prudent management of the magi-

A. D.
428.

(b) Socr. l. 7. c. 31.

(c) Idem. c. 29.

A. D. 428. Istrates, to whom the small number of Arians, that were in Constantinople readily submitted, upon the assurances which were given them that the fire was not laid to their charge.

But indeed this violent proceeding rendered Nestorius so odious, that as he had undertaken the pulling-down of the temple without the knowledge of the Emperour, it was also believed that he had ordered his own people to set fire to it; (d) and from that he was called *Fire-brand*, both by the Catholicks, and by the Hereticks. So that, if the voice of the people be that of GOD, making itself known by the general consent of persons of all kinds, who unanimously speak the same thing, without any premeditated design, we may say that this fatal name, which was given to him, was an omen of the horrible disorders, which he would soon promote in the Church, by causing a flame in the house of GOD, thro' his heresy. But as it is ever in the power of GOD to produce good from evil itself, which he does not prevent, thro' a just judgment that we ought always to revere, tho' we need not make it our business to comprehend it; so these disorders at Constantinople, and in Hellespont, proved in the end very advantageous to the Church. For Theodosius perceived by this, that edicts not put in execution, were not only a toleration for crimes, but also lessened the authority of the prince, whom, in process of time, the people would neither fear, nor respect, being accustomed to hear his ordinances published without effect.

Therefore, having taken a resolution to see his laws obeyed, after the example of the great Theodosius, his great grand-father, he made a new edict on the thirtieth of May in the same year, (e) whereby he renews most of the laws, which he himself, and his predecessors had so often made against the Hereticks, and particularly against the Arians and Macedonians; and requires absolutely, that all the Churches, which they had either built, or taken from the Catholicks, should immediately be given up by them. After which the laws were so strictly put in execution, that all the Churches were actually taken from them, and even that, which the Macedonians had without the walls of Constantinople. And this proceeding, far from causing any disorder, had a quite contrary ef-

(d) Socr.

(e) Leg. 65. de Hæret. Cod. Theod.

fect; for many of them, finding that they could not have the exercise of their religion, (*f*) began to consider with themselves, and resolved at last to embrace the Catholick faith. Which shews that the most effectual means of bringing back the strayed sheep to the Church, without violence, is to deprive them of the exercise of their worship, by demolishing the temples, which they had usurped, and reducing them to the extremity of having no place where they can assemble. This was the state of affairs at Constantinople, when preparations were making there in order to send forces against the Vandals.

A. D.
428.

In the mean while Gisericus, who was informed that Boniface had retired into Hippon, came and laid siege to it, believing that, if he could once take that place, which was counted the strongest city in the whole country, he would soon be master likewise of Cirta and Carthage; (*g*) St. Augustin was then Bishop of Hippon; and, tho' he was far advanced in years, and decayed with sickness and grief to see the utter ruin and desolation of his country, yet nevertheless he omitted no opportunity of doing what the most robust and zealous man could undertake, for the service and consolation of a poor besieged people. He visited the sick, attended those who were dying, and distributed alms unto all the distressed, who had retired to Hippon as a place of refuge. Besides, he preached daily for the comfort and instruction of his people, during this time of affliction. We have now, amongst his works, one of those sermons which he made whilst the city was besieged; (*b*) and thus he continued constantly, till at last, being forced to yield unto the fatigue of so great a labour, he died like a martyr of charity, in three months from the beginning of the siege, in the seventy sixth year of his age, and the thirty sixth of his being a bishop. His genius, doctrine, and virtues were great. The number, strength, and beauty of his works, with the disputes and victories, which he had obtained over the Hereticks, gloriously and justly procured him the admiration of the world, and rendered his name so considerable in the Church that no elogium can be equal to it. Nor do I know how to give a more high and perfect idea of

430.

(*f*) Socr. l. 7. c. 31. (*g*) Possid. in vit. Aug. (*b*) August. Serm. 3. de Temp. Possid. c. 31. Prosper. in Chron. Victor. Utic. Per. Vand. l. 1.

- A. D.* so great a man, than by saying only that he was St. Augustin. (i)
 430. By his death, God granted him what he had so earnestly prayed for, which was, that if he had resolved the destruction of Hippon, he would take him out of the world, that he might not be eye-witness of so deplorable a misfortune. For the Vandals (fourteen months after having laid siege to the place) retired a little way into the neighbouring countrey, in order to seek for provisions, which they were in great want of; and at their return, finding that this city
 431. was abandoned by the few inhabitants whom the plague and famine had spared, they set fire to it, and reduced it almost into ashes, excepting the Church and the library of St. Augustin, which were preserved by a most particular providence, otherwise we should have been deprived of those excellent writings, which are to this day the richest treasure of the Church.

But in short, what compleated the entire ruin of Africa was, that Aspar, whom the Emperour Theodosius had sent to the assistance of Boniface, having got together a small number of forces, ventured a battle, wherein he was defeated; and now, there being no hopes left, he was forced to retire on board his ships, and return to Constantinople. On this occasion it was that Marcian, who was then an officer under the command of Aspar, being taken prisoner, received a wonderful omen that he should one day be master of the Empire. This made a great noise in the world at that time, tho' the event did not come to pass till above eighteen years after. (k) For it is reported, that as he was sleeping in the sun, with a company of other prisoners, in the palace of Gisericus, who intended to view them in the afternoon, this prince observed, from one of his windows, that an eagle, distinguishing this prisoner from all the rest, hovered over him in the air, extending his wings, as it were, to shade him from the sun; and hereupon Gisericus, believing this man to be a person particularly beloved by God, who probably designed him for the Empire, gave him his liberty: But first of all made him take a solemn oath, that in whatever state he should be, he never would make war against the Vandals. Marcian, after the death of Theodosius, was accordingly proclaimed Emperour; and, tho' he was a warlike prince, and

(i) Possid. c. 29. Possid. Procop. Possid.

(k) Procop. l. 1. c. 4.

very zealous for the religion, yet he ever was so strict to the promise which he had made to Gisericus, that he would hear of no proposals that tended to retrieve Africa from out of the hands of the Arian Barbarians.

A. D.
431.

As for Boniface, after having made fruitless endeavours, and performed all that a man of courage could undertake, he was obliged to retire to Rome, where the empress Placidia gave him a very kind reception. (l) She was so intirely convinced of his innocence, and so provoked at the treachery of Aetius that she gave the command of the forces to Boniface, who did not long enjoy his new employment. For Aetius, who could not bear to see his rival restored to favour, challenged him to a fight, where he received a wound, of which he died after a Christian reconciliation with Aetius, whom the present juncture of affairs had called home, in order to be sent against the French, the Bourguignons, and other people of Germany, who had invaded Gaul. After this, the Romans on the one part, not being in a condition to send considerable forces into Africa, and on the other, Gisericus, having lost a great number of his men at the siege of Hippon, and in the two battles which he had won, was desirous to gain time that he might strengthen himself in his conquests; (m) and therefore it was then an easy matter to make a peace upon condition that Gisericus should remain in quiet possession of that part of Africa which had been yielded up to him, and that (as an acknowledgment that he held it of the Emperour) he should pay him a certain sum of money yearly. (n) He even sent his son Hunnericus to Rome as an hostage, and, for some time, cultivated the friendship of the Romans so artfully, that they sent him back in a very obliging manner, to shew him that they intirely relied on his word.

432.

433.

434.

435.

But they soon after perceived, by an experience, which proved fatal both to the religion, and to the Empire, that the friendship of enemies, who are not sincerely reconciled, is more dangerous than their hatred; and that a peace with them is often more pernicious than a war, with the usual consequences of it. Gisericus to this time had carried on the war only as an enemy, without

(l) Prosper. in Chron. cop. l. 1. c. 4.

(m) Prosper. in Chron. Miscell. l. 14.

(n) Pre-

A. D. meddling with religion, which seemed not to concern him, leaving to every one a liberty of conscience, even in his own family. But as soon as he found that his Empire was firmly established in the three moorish kingdoms, and in a considerable part of Numidia, he took advantage of the peace in order to make war against the catholick religion, which he resolved to destroy, and raise up Arianism on its ruins, throughout all the parts of his new dominions. (o) The first thing he endeavoured at was, to bring-over the bishops, in order the more easily to persuade the people to follow their example. But finding these prelates so stedfast, that neither his prayers, promises, threats, nor even all his ill usage towards them, were able to pervert them, he expelled them their Churches, and substituted Arians in their places. And, in order to terrify the people, he shewed a particular severity to four Spanish Gentlemen, viz. Arcadius, Probus, Paschalius, and Eutychius, who were of his household, and were highly in his favour, because of their eminent qualifications, and the zeal which they had ever expressed for his service. At first he used his utmost endeavours, to persuade them to embrace Arianism; but they constantly replied, without deliberation, that JESUS CHRIST was their first master, and that the loyalty, which they had promised inviolably to maintain to the prince, whom they had the honour to serve, could no wise bind them to betray that faith which was due to their great master whom they worshiped as a true GOD, and to whom all the powers, both of heaven and earth, were subject. Gisericus was furiously enraged to find that his first endeavours were thus rendered fruitless, even by those, who, in his opinion, were obliged implicitly to obey him; and therefore he resolved, either to conquer them, or to make such an example of them as should shew all his subjects what they were to expect, should they attempt to resist his commands. He first expelled them his court in an ignominious manner; then sent them into banishment; where, for some time, they underwent great hardships. After this, finding that neither their disgrace, nor the miseries they endured, could soften their hearts, he caused them inhumanly to be tortured after several different manners, and at last condemned them to die. So that these

(o) Prosper. in Chron.

four persons were the first martyrs, who died in the defence of the divinity of JESUS CHRIST, during this cruel persecution from the Arian Vandals in Africa. But what provoked Gisericus most was, that he never could conquer the resolution of Paulillus, who was brother to Paschasius, and Eutychius. This was a youth, for whom he had a great affection; and indeed he was very deserving, both for his sprightly genius, and his admirable gifts of nature. The caresses, and threats of the Tyrant could neither win, nor terrify him. He continued stedfast in the generous profession of the catholick faith, declaring an abhorrence to Arianism. Therefore Gisericus, changing his affection into fury, caused him to be most barbarously scourged, and ordered him to be sent amongst the vilest of his slaves, resolving that he should not be put to death, to avoid the shame of being overcome by a child.

A. D.
437.

But what was yet more deplorable, (after having deceived the Romans, by a seeming friendship, and strictly observed the peace during the space of four years, (*p*) the better to compleat his design) he managed his affairs with so much conduct and secrecy, that he suddenly surpris'd Carthage, at a time when the inhabitants of that city thought themselves most secure of his friendship: Carthage, which, seven hundred and ninety five years before, had been destroyed by the Romans, after having so often contended with them for Empire, and was now so well re-established, that altho' it was subject to Rome, it nevertheless was not inferiour to it either in greatness, beauty, magnificence, or in the number of its inhabitants! (*q*) It was a wonderful thing to see its stately buildings; the infinite treasures which were daily exported, and imported; its magistrates, and senate, and its proconsul, with his pretorian guard, his court and army, which had the appearance of imperial majesty. You would have said that it was a second Rome in Africa, so near was the equality in all things between Carthage, and its conquerour; with this exception, that it surpassed Rome in all manner of voluptuous disorders. (*r*) For at that time, it was one of the most debauched cities in the world. Its inhabitants (altho' they were Christians for the greatest part) were given up to

439.

(*p*) Prosper. in Chron.
(*r*) Salvian.

(*q*) Lips. de Magn. Rom. l. 3. Salv. de Prov. l. 7.

A. D. 439. luxury and drunkenness, as also to other infamous crimes, which commonly bring the divine vengeance down upon the people. They were slothful, effeminate, and dissolute, constantly in the Circus, at the theatre, or in houses of lewdness. They were haughty, and impudent in the practice of their vices, acting all kind of detestable sins in publick, and in a boasting manner; they insolently turned virtue into ridicule, and impiously despised it. For even when they met one of the solitaries of Egypt, or of Palestine, or any of those persons, who professed a life more conformable to the perfection of the Gospel, they made a jest of him, and loaded him with injuries, and curses, as if he had been a monster who ought to have been banished the world, least the sight of it should prove infectious. There were nevertheless many pious sentiments in this great city, particularly amongst the clergy, who lamented, before God, all these disorders, which they had made fruitless endeavours to oppose. But the number of these was so small, when compared to that of those debauched and luxurious people, that we may well say the whole city was corrupted, and that the clamours of their crimes having ascended the tribunal of God in order to demand justice, he was obliged to deliver them into the hands of the Vandals, (s) that they might execute on them the decrees of a just punishment.

On the nineteenth of October the Vandals surprised this city, at a time when they little thought of it; and as soon as Gisericus had entered it with his whole army, who seized on all the parts of the town, he acted all manner of cruelties on the inhabitants, of whatever condition they were. (t) Persons of the first distinction were made slaves, and others were bound in irons. He commanded all people in general to bring to him their gold, silver, jewels, and other precious moveables; after which he left the rest to be plundered. So that, in a very short time, this great city, which was one of the richest in the whole world, was reduced to an extreme poverty; and its immense treasures, which had been acquired in a criminal manner, and served daily to minister to their other crimes, fell a prey to the Barbarians, as if that were their reward for the service, which God required of them by punish-

(s) Prosper.

(t) Victor. Utic. l. 1.

ing those criminals. At the same time he gave orders that all bishops and persons of quality should be expelled the neighbouring towns, if they would not renounce the catholic faith; and that, if they were not immediately gone, after being miserably stripped of all their wealth, they should be sent into captivity. But he found soon after, that neither banishment, nor slavery could effectually answer his end; therefore he resolved that they should all be turned out of Africa, so set them on board of ships in order to cross the seas, with no other provision but their misery. Thus they appeared in Spain, Italy, Palestine and Syria in a most lamentable condition. There were, among these unhappy fugitives, persons of the highest dignity, magistrates, and senators, with their wives, and children, reduced to beg bread for their subsistence, which drew tears from the eyes of those who considered the deplorable change of their fortune, and endeavoured to relieve them; (u) and, amongst others, Theodoretus, of whose letters to his friends there are yet several extant, wherein he recommends to them many of these distressed noblemen. But those, who were treated with the greatest inhumanity, were, the holy bishop of Carthage, *Quod vult Deus*, with most of his priests and clergy; for the Tyrant caused them to be put almost naked on board of an old rotten vessel without bread, or provisions, leaving them to the mercy of the wind, and waves, that they might perish either by shipwreck, or by famine, if the vessel should remain any time at sea before it sunk. And indeed they could not well have escaped the one, or the other, had not God, thro' a special providence, been their guide; for in a few days they happily reached the port of Naples, where they were received with all the respect, and charity that was due to these glorious confessors of JESUS CHRIST.

But the pastors being thus banished, the flock was soon miserably dispersed. (w) For even then Gisericus deprived the Catholics of the exercise of their religion. He seized on all the Churches of the city, and, after having plundered their treasures, he destroyed some of them, and gave those, which he had a mind to spare, to his Arians; as the cathedral, with a few others of the celebrated Churches, particularly those two which were built without the

A. D.
439.

(u) Theodor. Ep. 29. 30. & seq.

(w) Victor. Utic. l. 1.

A. D. 439. walls of Carthage, in honour of St. Cyprian. (x) The one was built on the very spot, where that holy and illustrious bishop of Carthage suffered martyrdom; and the other on the place where his shrine was revered by the faithful. And in order to perplex the Catholics, he would not so much as suffer them to bury their dead with those holy ceremonies which were observed by all the Churches in those days. And to render them still the more infamous, by taking from them all the exterior marks, which distinguished them from Infidels, he commanded them to inter their dead in a very plain manner, without the least solemnity, or singing, but with a profound silence, as we see now a days our Protestants in France bury their dead. Yet this seemed very hard to those Christians, who were then in the true Church (as indeed so it was): (y) For Victor of Utica, who gives us an account of this affair, says, that he cannot call to mind so grievous a persecution without shedding tears. Perhaps those persons of the pretended reformed religion, who will read this history, by way of diversion, will likewise be instructed by it, whether they like it or not: And when they find that the ancient Church speaks of temples built in honour of, and over the tombs of martyrs; that it mentions pomps, solemnities, and ecclesiastical canticles, at the burial of the dead, with sacrifices offered up to God for them; as the besieged bishops in Hippon offered them up for St. Augustin: (z) That it speaks of the ordination of priests, the consecration of bishops, who governed the Churches, and dioceses, with a thousand other holy ceremonies of this kind, which were practised throughout the whole Church; when, I say, they will see these things, perhaps, if they have any thought at all, or the least glimps of light, they will examine within themselves, whether, or no, they have been deceived by abolishing (under a pretence of innovation) those things that were practised in the first centuries, for which they pretend to have a very great veneration, and which their first ministers proposed to them as models of their reformation. But I leave them to make these reflections, which my history offers to them, without dwelling on them.

(x) Procop. l. 2.

(y) Vict. Utic. de pers. Vand. l. 1.

(z) Possid.

Now, as it generally happens, one misfortune does not come alone. At the same time that the Romans received so fatal a blow from the Arian Vandals in Africa, they also bore a considerable loss in Gaul, thro' the rashness of Littorius, their general; whose arrogance, and impiety GOD was resolved to punish by the arms of the Visigoths. Theodoricus, their king, had began a war, in order to recover Narbona, which was formerly in the possession of Ataulphus; and reserved to the Romans, in the treaty which they made with Vallia. Aetius, who was then engaged against the French, and the Bourguignons, sent Littorius, one of his lieutenants, with a considerable number of men, in order to relieve that city. (a) The latter, who was a brave and prudent general, took his measures so well, that he conveyed provisions into the place, which was reduced to the utmost extremity, and obliged Theodoricus shamefully to raise the siege. He continued some time to carry on the war successfully against the Goths, in the Narbonian Gaul, and got the better of them a second time before Arles, which they had besieged: For he fell upon them, and at last forced them to retire to Toulouse the capitol of their kingdom, where he engaged them. Theodoricus, who found himself very much weakened by the many losses, which he had lately sustained, was in fear of being obliged to abandon his kingdom, and therefore used all means to obtain peace, which he demanded in a very submissive manner, (b) applying himself for that purpose, even to the catholic bishops, who, as he thought, had a greater interest with, and would be more respected by the Romans.

But Littorius, who was a Pagan, confided chiefly in the auxiliary troops of Huns, which he had in his army, (c) and yet more in the answers of diviners, and demons, who, with the victory, promised that he should enter Toulouse in triumph, and therefore he would not hear of any proposals of peace. So that Theodoricus saw himself under an absolute necessity of exposing, both his fortune, and kingdom to the hazard of a battle. We may plainly see on this occasion, how the presumption and rashness of a general can render his strength and valour fruitless, against an enemy

(a) Prosper. in Chron.
 Prev. Prosper. in Chron.

(b) Isid. Chron. Gott.

(c) Salvian. l. 7. de

A. D. much weaker than himself, who takes those prudent measures, 439. which his duty towards God, and man requires. (*d*) Theodoricus, altho' an Arian, seeing himself thus compelled either to conquer, or inevitably perish, applyed to God. He covered himself with a hair-cloath, and Cilice, and prostrated himself on the ground, where he passed the night before the day of battle in prayer, whilst Littorius, who depended on his forces, and oracles, was already triumphant, not doubting, in the least, but that he should soon destroy the Empire of the Goths, and by this action, eclipse all the glory of Aetius, of whom he had conceived a jealousy. (*e*) After this Theodoricus placed himself at the head of his forces; and, being full of hopes and courage, he so inspired the hearts of his people, that the Goths never fought with more bravery and resolution. For, tho' Littorius, who had the advantage of numbers, had likewise at first, that of the battle; and the Romans and Huns, united, had already forced them, and were making a most horrible slaughter on all sides, yet the Goths received them with an incredible courage, and resolved to be cut to pieces sooner than lose a foot of ground; when on a sudden fortune changed by Littorius's too great eagerness for victory.

For having imprudently rushed in amongst the enemies, with the thoughts of his being invincible and invulnerable, according to the predictions of the diviners, he found himself so entirely surrounded, that not being able to disengage himself, he was taken prisoner; this caused a great disorder amongst the Romans, who, having lost their general, began to be disheartened, (*f*) and were easily defeated by the Goths, who, instead of being conquered, were now become masters of the victory. There never was any thing so deplorable as the fortune of this wretched idolater, who found by his own disaster, how vain and deceitful were the oracles, and predictions of false deities. (*g*) For, instead of that imaginary triumph, which he proposed to have after the victory, he himself served to make that of Theodoricus more great. When he entered Toulouse he made Littorius follow him loaded with irons, and bare headed, with his hands bound behind his back, exposed to the insults of the whole army, and to the Scoffs of the people, who

(*d*) Salvian.(*e*) Prosper.(*f*) Isid. Chron.(*g*) Salvian lib. 7.

came in crowds from all parts, in order to upbraid him with his ridiculous vanity; which they did in a thousand bitter expressions; after which they flung him into a deep ditch, where he was reduced to such a miserable condition, that the Goths themselves at last, out of compassion to his miseries, delivered him out of them by putting him to death, at his own request. This victory would have occasioned to the Romans the utter loss of all the Narbonian Gaul, had not Aetius, who had at that time, a great many more enemies to deal withal, come to terms of peace with Theodoricus, by the means of Avitus whom he sent to him. (b) This was the same Avitus who not long after became Emperour; and he managed the negociation so well with Theodoricus that at last he prevailed with him to make peace. So that this prince, who some time before, like a vanquished enemy, begged for peace in a most submissive manner, now granted it with so much the more glory, being victorious. And by this we may see how much the fickleness of fortune and the uncertainty of human affairs, which the people of the world so often complain of, is equally useful to the fortunate and the unfortunate: Since it checks the insolence of those who swell with pride in prosperity, and gives fresh hopes to others who are oppressed in adversity.

A. D.
429.

In the mean while Gisericus, after the taking of Carthage, (i) finding it easy to make himself master of Africa minor, Numidia Bizacenum, and Getulia, he divided the lands amongst his officers, reserving the best part of them to himself. After which, most of the bishops, magistrates, and noblemen, who had concealed themselves, believing that, if they acknowledged him for Emperour, he would receive them as his subjects, ventured to present themselves before him one day as he was taking the air on the sea-side. They most humbly begg'd that he would grant them at least the liberty to remain in Africa, where they would live peaceably under his government, without demanding either their Churches, or their estates; since it was his will that they should be deprived of them. The bishops added besides, that the only favour which they begg'd of him was, that he would permit them to give spiritual assistance to the people, who by that means would be able to

440.

(b) Sidon. Apoll. in panegy. Avit.

(i) Victor.

A. D. support more chearfully the change of their fortune, and would be
 440. the more loyal to him. The Tyrant, far from being moved with
 compassion at so deplorable a sight, and so reasonable a request,
 looked on them with furious and threatening eyes, and made them
 this answer. "I am resolved to destroy every man of you all, and
 "not to suffer that any one of your name, or of your race should
 "remain alive; and after this dare you to come here to beg fa-
 "vours of me?" Whereupon, as an instance of his barbarity, he
 gave orders that they should immediately be cast into the sea,
 which undoubtedly the soldiers would have executed, had not the
 officers, who were about him, by their prayers, and remonstrances,
 prevailed on him to suspend his resolution; so he only caused them
 to be expelled his presence in a shameful manner. After which
 these holy prelates returned in great affliction to their retirements;
 whence, from time to time, they privately came out, in order to
 comfort the people, and to celebrate the divine mysteries with them
 in remote places, when they could find a favourable opportunity.

In a little time after Gisericus, (*k*) who had formed greater de-
 signs than that of the conquest of Africa, set out with a powerful
 fleet in order to invade Sicily; but being informed that count Se-
 bastian had passed over from Spain into Africa, he made the best
 of his way back to Carthage fearing least this Roman general should
 take possession of it during his absence. (*l*) This count was an ex-
 periented warrior, and had formerly been an intimate friend of Bo-
 niface, whose daughter he had married. And even Placidia made
 him general of the Roman armies, after the death of his father-in-
 law; (*m*) but being obliged to yield up his place to Aetius, who
 could not bear to see him at court, he repaired to that of Constan-
 tinople. There he found enemies who under hand had done him
 such ill offices, that, being privately informed of the resolution
 which was taken to seize on his person, he went over to Theodo-
 ricus, king of the Visigoths, who was then at war with the Ro-
 mans. This prince gave him a body of men, in order to pass over
 from Barcelona into Africa, on a design which was quite contrary
 to what Gisericus imagined. For, instead of undertaking any
 thing against him, he went over on purpose to beg his protection,

(*k*) Prosper. in Chron. (*l*) Victor. l. i. (*m*) Marcell. in Chron.

promising to serve him with the same fidelity which he had so long shewed for the Romans, who had rewarded his services with the utmost ingratitude. Gisericus was highly pleased to find so favourable an opportunity of increasing his forces, by the means of this great man, who being against the Romans, must prove to their disadvantage. He therefore received him with all the marks imaginable of honour and affection, shewing an extraordinary esteem for his merit, being of opinion, that Sebastian, declaring for his interest, many more of the discontented Romans would be invited over by so great an example. Thus revenge, which is a most dangerous rock to the virtue of extraordinary men, caused the son-in-law to fall wretchedly into the same abyss of misfortunes and crimes which his father had been guilty of, by his fatal alliance with the Vandals.

Nevertheless there was this difference in their fate, that, altho' revenge was the cause of Sebastian's misfortunes, yet it gave him an opportunity of behaving in a most glorious manner when he openly confessed JESUS CHRIST in the presence of Gisericus. (n) For this prince, fearing least a man, whose counsels he highly approved of, might repent of what he had done, and afterwards prove an enemy to him, resolved either to make away with him, or to engage him more zealously in his service by persuading him to become an Arian. Therefore having ordered him one day to attend him in the presence of his Arian bishops, and of the officers of his court, he said to him: " I have indeed a just cause to commend you, and to be satisfied with your behaviour, and the fidelity which till now you have shewed me, according to the oath you took, when you came to beg my protection. Besides I place a value on your friendship; but in order to render it lasting; you must be united to me, and to my nation, by a stronger tie than that of your oath, which I cannot entirely rely on, unless you strengthen it by a bond which I have still a greater dependence upon. This bond, my beloved Sebastian, (said he) is that of religion, which, by uniting men to GOD, does likewise unite them more perfectly together than any thing besides. Therefore, if you propose to make our friendship perfect, I require, in

(n) Victor. l. 1.

" the...

A. D. “ the presence of these bishops, and my subjects, who shall be
 441. “ witnesses of your compliance, that you embrace the true reli-
 “ gion, which the Vandals, who have adopted you, make profes-
 “ sion of.

Sebastian, was not prepared for this discourse, nevertheless he did not seem surpris'd; but answered the king with a most incredible presence of mind, and in a manner which appeared both serious and agreeable: “ I humbly beg the favour of your majesty, “ (said he) to order that one of the same loaves of bread which “ are served at your table, may be brought hither. ” Which being done accordingly by the king's command, who thought that he was going to answer his request after a surprising and satisfactory Manner: “ This bread which you see, (continued Sebastian) in order “ to be reduced to the state it is in, and made worthy of being “ served at the table of a great king, must be kneaded with water, “ and baked with fire; after that the bran is parted from the flow- “ er of the wheat: So likewise, in order to receive the divine cha- “ racter of a Christian thro' the catholick faith, which made me “ worthy of God, there was first a necessity that I should be “ cleansed by the water of holy baptism, and that my heart should “ be filled with the fire of the holy Ghost, after having separated “ it, by his mercy, from many others, who, thro' his justice, were “ left in the number of unbelievers. But pray, Sir, do one thing “ if possible; break this bread into several pieces, then let it be “ mingled with water and sent to the oven, in order to be baked “ over again; if you can, after this, make it a better loaf of bread “ than it is now at this time, I am heartily ready to comply with “ what you require of me.” The king understanding his meaning, made no reply, seeming as it were willing that he should continue peaceably in the profession of his religion; but soon after he caused him to be put to death upon another account, as it was
 442. easy for him to find a pretence. For after having concluded the peace with Valentinian, upon such conditions as were very disadvantageous to the Empire, he became so insupportably assuming in his prosperity, that some of the greatest men of his nation conspired against him. (o) But the plot being discovered, he caused

(o) Prosper. in Thron.

to be put to death, not only the guilty, whom he tortured in divers cruel kinds, but also treated in the like manner those, whose loyalty he barely suspected, which was enough in his opinion to convict them as criminals. So that it was no difficult matter for him to involve count Sebastian, with so many others, in this disaster. And in truth he sacrificed so many brave men to his capricious and inhuman suspicions, that, with a view of preserving himself by such unjust and barbarous means, he weakened his forces much more than he could have done by the loss of many battles. This affair proved prejudicial to religion, for he took this occasion indirectly to renew the persecution against the Catholics, to whom he had granted some kind of indulgence, in regard to the peace. (p) For whenever any bishop, in his sermons, mentioned the names of Pharaoh, Nebuchadnezzar, Holofernes, and other princes, whose crimes were reprov'd, and whose memory was rendered detestable in the holy scriptures, he was immediately accused of having hinted at the king's person, in order to render him odious to his subjects. And hereupon Gisericus, without admitting of any excuse, condemned him at once to banishment: So that, on such, or even slighter suspicions, most of the bishops were expelled their Churches; and if any of them happened to die, during their banishment, he would not suffer that their places should be filled up by catholic pastors. Yet nevertheless the people, being assisted by the special grace of JESUS CHRIST, which gave them comfort during the absence of their bishops, continued stedfast in the purity of the faith, notwithstanding the deceits and violence of the Arians. In short, the cruel suspicions of Gisericus, who was ever in fear of losing a life, which he seem'd to preserve only to destroy a multitude of men, were the occasion of the ruin and desolation of many countries, by the Huns, whom that prince had called over into Gaul. And thus he endeavour'd, by unjust means, to avoid the fatal consequences which he was afraid of, and the punishment that he justly deserved, for all the evils which he had committed thro' his brutal and suspicious temper. So that Gisericus, after having oppress'd Africa with his cruelty, applied to the barbarity of others, for the destruction of Europe; As if

A. D.
442.

(p) Victor. Utic. l. 1.

A. D. 442. fate had decreed that all the mischiefs which should fall upon christianity, should either be promoted by the Arians themselves, who were the persecutors of it, or by other people, thro' their means. But in order to give a more perfect account of the cause and consequence of so destructive an evil, which has been related in so many different shapes, I shall be obliged in a few words, to turn back to some former passages of this History.

The End of the VIIIth BOOK.





T H E
H I S T O R Y
O F
A R I A N I S M.

B O O K IX.

THE Huns, who had forsaken those large and vast countries which lie between the dead Lake and the Glacial Seas, having driven the Goths out of Dacia, in the year 376, continued peaceably there, from that time during the reign of the great Theodosius, whose fortune, courage and high reputation were, as we may say, so many strong bulwarks, which opposed the irruptions of the Barbarians. But after the death of this prince, from the beginning of the Empire of Arcadius, and Honorius, when all things were in disorder, the ambition and jealousy of the ministers who governed them, these

A. D.
442.

A. D. these fierce nations, finding no body to oppose them, (*a*) passed
 442. the Danube, and laid waste the neighbouring provinces of Constantinople, particularly Thracia, and Scythia minor, where the holy bishops Theotimus, (whose virtue and goodness they highly admired) appeased their fury, and even converted many of them to the faith. There were others amongst them, who, being invited
 395. ed by Ruffinus, made incursions into Asia minor, and Syria, where, finding no resistance, (*b*) they gave way to their unbounded cruelty, and acted openly all the crimes that could be expected from the most inhuman of Barbarians. Several of them, following the steps of those who first entered Dacia, took the same road; and having passed the Danube, marched into Thracia, and Pannonia, where they began to settle, making war sometimes against the Romans, and at other times, fighting for them, according as it suited most with their interest, as the other nations had done, who had passed before them into the provinces of the Empire.

They were divided under several little kings, or chiefs, who would sometimes even hire themselves to serve different parties. Some of them were in the army of Radagaisus, whilst others were in that of Stilico. Alaricus had numbers of them in his army, and Sarus at the same time commanded a body of them in the service of the Emperour Honorius. Aetius brought an army of them out of Pannonia, to the assistance of John, who had usurped the Empire after the death of Honorius, and sent for a considerable body of them, whom he made use of, under the command of Litorius in the wars against the Goths. But amongst all these kings of the Huns, he who became the most powerful, and made himself master of the rest, was the formidable Atila. The terror which his name carried with it, by the dreadful desolation, which he caused throughout the finest provinces of the world, made him assume to himself the surname of the scourge of God, who was resolved to punish the sins of mankind, with that terrible instrument of his wrath and justice.

This Atila was Son to Munzuccus, (*c*) the most potent of those who had taken upon them the title of king amongst the Huns,

(*a*) Sozom. lib. 7. cap. 25.
 Chnd. lib. 2. in Ruf.

(*b*) Sozom. lib. 8. cap. 1. Hieron. ep. 3. & 40.
 (*c*) Jornand. de reb. Get. cap. 35.

from the time that they began to pursue the conquest of new dominions for their establishment. For hitherto they had lived without laws, or policy; and were subject to no government. (*d*) After the death of his father and his two uncles Ostar, and Roas, (*e*) who were successors to the kingdom, he took the government upon him jointly with his brother Bleda, who reigned with him. (*f*) He soon carried his conquests much farther than his predecessors had done; (*g*) for, not being satisfied with Dacia, whence he had driven out the Goths, he marched into those provinces on the other side of the Danube, which were inhabited by the Gepidi, and the Arian Ostrogoths, who paid allegiance to him. (*b*) Ardaricus was then king of the Gepidi, and the Ostrogoths were commanded by three brothers, *viz.* Valarimus, Theodemirus, and Videmirus, under the authority of Atila. (*i*) Being thus supported by such valliant subjects he found it no great difficulty to render himself master of Pannonia, (*k*) where those of his nation had already gained great advantages. (*l*) He then marched towards the West, plundering the cities of Illyria, and afterwards to the East, and South, where he caused great devastations in Macedonia, (*m*) Greece, Mysia, and Thracia, destroying every thing in his way up to the very gates of Constantinople, and demolishing all the towns, except those of Andrinople, and Heraclea; so that he compelled the Emperour Theodosius the younger shamefully to beg for peace; which he could not obtain, without giving him large sums of money. He insisted upon an immediate payment of six thousand pounds of gold, and obliged the Emperour to pay him one thousand yearly: So that the Eastern Empire, whatever colour they might use, to make this pass for a pension, in order to save their honour, yet nevertheless they became tributaries to the Huns.

Atila, who was naturally vain, was now so puffed up with pride at his extraordinary success, that he could no longer bear a partner, with whom he was obliged to share his honour and advantages, (*n*) so caused his own brother inhumanly to be put to death, and then reigned solely over all the Huns, by the means of this

A. D.
442.

444.

(*d*) Amm. l. 31. (*e*) Jorn. *ibid.* (*f*) Paul. Diac. in Misc. l. 15. (*g*) Dacia Ripens. Dacia Mediter. (*b*) Jorn. c. 28. (*i*) Jorn. c. 48. (*k*) Marcell. (*l*) Marcell. in Chron. (*m*) Marcell. l. 15. (*n*) Prosper. Miscell. l. 35.

cruel

A. D. 445. cruel Parricide, which he endeavoured to conceal, in order to screen himself from the infamy of it. (o) Now, as he was at peace with the Emperour Theodosius, his warlike genius and ambition together set him upon forming new schemes for the increase of his conquests. Therefore he passed the Danube again, and in a short time, became so potent and dreadful both by force and policy, that 446. he subdued the Marcomani, Quadi, Suevi, and most of the other nations, who inhabited those countries, situated between the Danube, the Elbe, and the Vistula, down to the Sea: So great was 447. the name of Atila, and the fame of his conduct and forces, that it struck with terror even those very Barbarians who were dreadful to the rest of the world.

448. And indeed he possessed those qualities of body and mind which were able to create fear in a man of the greatest resolution. (p) It is true, he was low in stature according to the common size of the Huns; but every thing seemed terrible in his person; his shoulders were broad and his arms nervous; he had an extraordinary large head; his eyes were small and sparkling; he had a fierce look, and a flat nose; his complexion was very swarthy; he wore a long beard, which was but thin; his behaviour was proud and haughty, and he used constantly to cast round him such threatening looks, as terrified even those of great courage. Withal he had a genius, which was equally lively, subtil, and solid, full of art and dissimulation; he was wise and prudent in council, quick and bold in the execution, cruel to his enemies, but easily moved by the prayers of those who would submissively yield to him; and what is still more extraordinary amongst the Barbarians, he always religiously kept his faith to those whom he had once taken into his protection. Above all things he excelled in the art of war, which he practised, not as a Barbarian, after a furious manner, but like a great general with skill, performing much more with his head than with his arms. He had even found means to instil a superstitious notion into his soldiers, that he had something divine in him, to which his happiness was annexed. For whether or no he believed it, or that he only pretended to be convinced of it, he made them believe that he had found the cutlafs of Mars who was wor-

(o) Jorn. c. 35.

(p) Jorn. c. 25. Miscell. l. 15.

shipped amongst those people, and that the oracles had promised the Empire of the whole world to the person who should be master of that fatal sword.

A. D.
448.

Being thus fortified by so many nations, who acknowledged him for their sovereign, and who at last were all esteemed as Huns, there offered two occasions wherein he had it in his power to satisfy the exorbitant ambition which he had to enlarge his dominions, and carry his arms into the Empire of the West. Honoria, Sister to the Emperor Valentinian having prostituted herself to the steward of the household, was shamefully expelled the palace by her brother's order, and afterwards obliged to retire to the court of Theodosius in the East. This made her conceive so strong a desire for revenge, that not being able to find any other way of satisfying her passion; she sent privately to Atila endeavouring to persuade him to undertake the conquest of Italy, which he might easily do at that time, by reason of the weakness of Valentinian, and the disorderly state of affairs in the Empire. As he was meditating on this great design, there happened a thing, which made him determine and resolve to put it in execution by some other means which he thought more secure.

Gisericus had married his Son Hunnericus to one of the daughters of Theodoricus king of the Visigoths; this young prince and his wife lived together perfectly satisfied with each other, and their marriage was attended on both sides with an intire affection, when on a sudden the false suspicions of Gisericus disturbed their peace, by a most horrid and barbarous action of this distrustful and cruel king. For, according to the custom of Tyrants, as he was continually in fear that some attempt or other was making against his life, he conceived a notion that his daughter-in-law had a mind to poison him, being tired of his long reign, and impatient to see herself with her husband soon on the throne: And hereupon, without enquiring any farther into the affair, his bare suspicion being sufficient to render this unhappy princess guilty, he most inhumanly caused her nose and ears to be cut off, and still to add a greater shame and affront to his cruelty, he brutishly sent her back to her father Theodoricus in this dismal condition. As he did not doubt but this prince, who was brave and powerful, would seek all possible means of being revenged for so horrible an affront, he
likewise

A. D. likewise used all his art, in order to avoid his revenge, and prevent him from joining with the Romans to ruin him. He could not think on a better expedient than that of persuading Atila to declare war against the Visigoths, which he accordingly did, representing to him that, after he had once defeated them, he might with ease become master of Gaul, and Spain; that then Italy would fall into his hands of course. Whether Atila was prevailed upon by the solicitations of Gisericus, or that he was determined to make an irruption into the Empire, by the way of Gaul, as the other Barbarians had already so often done, he at last resolved to go on with this design; and after having mustered together all the soldiers that he could raise out of so many different nations, who were subjects to him, he marched thro' Germany, and passed the Rhine near Worms, and Mayence, (*q*) with a dreadful army of above five hundred thousand men, who carried destruction with them where-ever they went.

Nevertheless he would not intirely confide in his numbers; like a wise politician, he used art and subtilty to deceive both the Romans, and the Visigoths, and to prevent them from joining together against him. (*r*) For before he entered into Gaul, he sent Ambassadors to the Emperour Valentinian, with very polite and flattering letters, wherein he protested, "That as he was an Ally of the Romans, from the time that he had made peace with the Emperour Theodosius, he was resolved to live in perfect friendship with him, and entreated him to believe, that, if he came into Gaul with such innumerable forces, he had no other design, but that of driving out the Visigoths, who had usurped the greatest part of that country from the Romans, who should be masters of it again as soon as he had delivered them from the tyranny of so many strangers, who then held it in their possession." But at the same time he wrote in the like manner to the king of the Visigoths, against the Romans, intreating him to break off his alliance with them, in order to destroy with more ease those Tyrants of the world, and common enemies to mankind. Nevertheless this piece of policy did not succeed; for the Emperour, having acquainted Theodoricus with the deceitful behaviour of the

(*q*) *Miscell. l. 25.*(*r*) *Jorn. c. 36. Miscell. l. 25.*

Barbarian; this generous king wrote to him in answer: "That as
 " he despised the artifice of Atila, he neither feared his fame, nor
 " his forces which were so dreadful to the rest of the world; that
 " he would join the Romans, in order to fight him, where-ever he
 " met him, and that he knew how to bring down the pride of pre-
 " sumptuous men, as also to conquer, and lay in irons, those who
 " thought themselves invincible."

In the mean while Atila, (s) after having passed the Rhine, destroyed all the cities, which he met in his way. He burned Metz, plundered Rheims, and laid waste the whole countrey, excepting Troyes, which he spared at the request of St. Loupus, who came to meet him in a very submissive manner, as being the scourge of God; and after having left behind him the horrible marks of the fury and cruelty of such an infinite number of Barbarians, that followed him, he marched up to Orleans which he besieged in order to secure to himself a passage on the river Loire, that he might safely enter the kingdom of Theodoricus. (t) He attacked the town very furiously, and battered the walls with all sorts of engines, and just as he was going to take it by main force, and the bravest of his soldiers were already entering at the breach, Aetius and Theodoricus, whom St. Aignan bishop of Orleans had been to solicit as far as Arles and Toulouse, being at the head of a powerful army of Romans and Visigoths, entered the town on that side which was next to the river, and obliged Atila to raise the siege, and retire back into the countrey, with the loss of part of his troops, who were defeated on the borders of the Loire in their retreat. (u) Aetius being highly satisfied with so successful a beginning, left Atila, who took to the right, in order to return to Troyes, and marched directly towards the Bourguignons, Belgi, Saxons, and other nations whom he had artfully, on this occasion, drawn into a league against Atila, but chiefly the French, who in those days, were beginning to lay strong foundations for their kingdom in Gaul.

For after having for many years fought sometimes for, and at other times against the Romans, under dukes, or particular com-

(s) Greg. Turon. l. 2. c. 6. (t) Greg. Turon. l. 2. Sidon. Apol. l. 8. Ep. 15.
 (u) Idat. Aedit. And. Scot. Idat. in Chron. Jorn. c. 36.

A D. manders, the bravest men of that nation, who lived on the borders of the river Issel, anciently called Sala, from whence they took the name of Sali; joined with their neighbours the Sicambri, and chose for their king Pharamond, son of Marcomirus. This prince being resolved to establish a potent monarchy, (w) thought the first thing to be done, was to make good laws, which might be a steady foundation for it; and in order that the people should act unanimously, under a monarchical government, in a lawful and continued succession from male to male, according to the order of nature, it was decreed that the next male heir to the royal family, should succeed to the throne without depending on the capriciousness or will of the people, by which means it would, in a manner, become perpetual. (x) His son Clodion, who succeeded him in right of this law, having reunited in one monarchy the greatest part of those people, who were called Francones, and inhabited that countrey, which lies between the Rhine and the Elbe, as far as the Meyn, passed into Gaul and conquered most of those countries which are situated between the Sceld, and the Somme; but being surprised and defeated by Aetius, he was forced to repass the Rhine, and soon after he died just as he was going to invade Gaul a second time with a greater number of forces. (y) Merovee, who was related to him, succeeded him; and, pursuing the scheme of his predecessor with as much resolution, tho' with more conduct and good fortune, he was beginning to make a new conquest of those countries which had just been taken from him on this side of the Rhine, when the terror he was in at the approach of Atila, obliged him to join with the Romans, and those other nations who were in league together, against this common enemy.

When all these confederate forces were united, (z) it appeared that Aetius (to whom the command was given by a general consent) had almost as numerous an army as that of Atila. Therefore, without farther deliberation, they marched up directly to him in those vast and large plains, (a) called the Catalaunick, or Mauriack fields, which lie between the rivers Aisne and Marne,

(w) Prosper. Pyth. (x) Prosper. Pyth. (y) Greg. Turon. l. 1. c. 9.
(z) Jornand. (a) Greg. Tur. l. 9. c. 7. Jorn. c. 36.

near Chalons, where is seen the small river of Moivre, which gave the name to that famous Mauriack plain, so renowned in history for the battle which was fought in it. This place Atila had pitched upon, where he might draw up his horse in order of battle, which, (as it was the custom among the Huns always to fight on horse-back) composed the greatest part of his army. (b) Some of our modern writers have tried in vain to persuade us, upon very weak evidence, that these famous fields were those of Sologne; and others that they were situated near Cataleins in Languedoc, not far from Castel-saran, and within seven or eight leagues of Toulouse. For, besides all the circumstances of history, which the ancient writers have agreed on, and which are intirely contrary to the opinion of late historians, Idatius, bishop of Lemica in Galicia, who lived in those days, saith positively that the plains, (c) where the Romans fought Atila, were not far distant from Metz which that Barbarian had plundered. And certainly there is no likelihood that so exact a writer, as Idatius was in his chronicles, should be mistaken in quoting a place, where the greatest and most memorable battle that ever was heard of, was fought in his time. And I cannot believe that any judicious person would sooner give credit to men, who only speak by conjecture and relate a thing at random which happened above twelve hundred years before their time. Now these two dreadful armies, which together consisted of near a million of men, (d) (a number scarce ever heard of before) met each other in these vast plains, which lie between Chalons in Champagne, and St. Menchoud, and were preparing on both sides for an engagement. Their first attack began with smart skirmishes, where there was a good deal of blood shed, particularly between the French, and the Gepidi, (e) whereof two considerable parties, having met each other in the night, fought in the dark, with so much eagerness, that not seeing what they were doing, and being no longer able to avoid the blows which were given on both sides, there was such an universal slaughter, that there was scarce a man of them left alive upon the place.

A. D.

450.

451.

(b) Blondus. Joan. Magn. Marianus. Bertrandi. Nauguiez.
(d) Jornand. Paul. Diac. in Miscell. l. 15. Idat. Marcell.
Ger.

(c) Idat. in Chron.
(e) Jornand. in reb.

A. D. 451. Atila who feared the event of this battle, his adversaries being men of such great courage, consulted the demons by his diviners, who after having performed their detestable sacrifice, told him that the issue of it would not prove favourable to his army, but that the general of the enemies should lose his life in it. The second part of this fatal prediction made some amends for what was so disagreeable in the first; and he did not doubt but this answer, which he looked on as an oracle, promised him the death of Aetius; after which, believing that nothing could be able to resist him, he was of opinion that he could not purchase the loss of so great a man at too dear a rate, were it even at the expence of a battle. But in order to mitigate this misfortune as much as possible, he resolved not to give battle till late on the next day, to the end that, night coming on during the fight, his enemies might not compleat the victory, but give him an opportunity to retire into his camp, which he caused to be fortified for this purpose, by which means his troops, if defeated, might find no difficulty to make their escape in the dark. Therefore on the next day he accordingly marched out of his camp, affecting in the presence of his soldiers greater hopes of success than he really had; and the confederates on their side, who were in expectation of a battle, were likewise preparing themselves to receive him. (*f*) But the day was already so far spent, that two such numerous armies could not be drawn up in order of battle and ready for the charge till about three of the clock in the afternoon.

The army of Atila was divided into three bodies which he drew up, having room to extend them as far as he pleased in those wide plains. The first, which composed the right wing, was commanded by Valamirus, king of the Ostrogoths, with his two brothers, who were supported by some of the German nations, which increased the army of the Huns. He was a wise and brave prince, discreet, courteous, and obliging, sincere in his proceedings, having nothing exceptionable in him, but Arianism, which he professed in compliance to his nation, tho' at the same time he did not seem very zealous in the interest of it. The second body, which made the left wing, was composed of the Gepidi, (who were like-

(*f*) Miscell. lib. 15.

wife

wife Arians), and of some other foreign nations, amongst whom were even a few Bourguignons, and French, who still inhabited those territories situated on the outside the Rhine. (g) This body was commanded by Ardaricus king of the Gepidi, (h) who, besides his courage which was as great as possible, was moreover so faithful and generous, and particularly so skilful in military affairs, that Atila, notwithstanding his own ability and great experience, scarcely undertook any thing without his advice. The third part of his army, which was larger than the two others, was chiefly composed of natural Huns, and placed in the center; where Atila, attended by the bravest and most resolute men of his nation, gave out his orders with so much dignity and majesty to those kings, who fought under his standards, that they all were awed by his presence, and punctually obeyed him, upon the least intimation of his pleasure.

A. D.
451.

Aetius, on the other hand, followed the same order, and according to the discipline of the Romans, divided the army of the confederates into three bodies. He gave the command of the right wing to Theodoricus, king of the Visigoths, attended by Torismond, and Theodoricus, his two eldest sons, who headed a prodigious number of his subjects that inhabited those countries on this, and on the other side of the Pyrenees. Aetius himself, at the head of the left wing, commanded the Roman horse, in order to fight jointly with Merovee, who headed the French, having often experienced their courage, and knowing how invincible they were, when they fought in an open country, where they were in no danger of being surprised thro' their own carelessness. And as he suspected the fidelity of Sangiban who commanded the Alani, and had already been accused of having held intelligence with Atila, even at the time when he was besieging Orleans, he placed him in the center of the line, surrounded by the Roman legions, and other auxiliary troops; so that he could neither betray him, nor fly, without being exposed to certain destruction, by which means he was compelled to fight, and behaved with more courage and fidelity than he was thought capable of doing.

(g) Sidon. Apol. carm. 7.

(h) Jornand.

A. D. 451. The armies, being thus disposed, stood some time in the presence of each other, before they came to a general attack, because they were endeavouring on each side to take possession of a rising ground, which lay in the field of battle, and would be of a great advantage to those who could get possession of it. Atila sent a detachment of men, who were esteemed the most desperate amongst his Huns, to seize on that spot of ground; but they were prevented by Aetius, and Torismond, who having set out at the same time from the two wings of their army, took possession of it first, and stood their ground with so much resolution, that they repulsed the enemy, who after having made vigorous efforts to gain that post, were forced at last to retire to the main body of the Army, with the loss of their men, and their honour. Atila, seeing that his people seemed under some concern at so unsuccessful a beginning, made several signs to them with his eyes, and gestures, in order to encourage them: For it was impossible for him to make himself be heard by such an innumerable army. And at last, drawing his sword, he shewed it to his troops, expressing an haughty but cheerful air, and at the same time, looking at the enemy with a disdainful smile, which was to intimate that he was secure of the victory, he ordered his men to charge, and, by this bold action, inspired them with so much courage, that with a dreadful shout; which was heard from all the parts of the army, his soldiers marched up directly for the engagement, and shot off such a prodigious number of darts and arrows, that they almost darkened the air. Aetius, who appeared at the head of his troops on the rising ground, which he had made himself master of, convinced his army that the advantage, which he had gained in the first attack, and the situation of the place, promised him the victory; so he received the enemies, with a courage worthy of ancient Rome, and of the honour, which he had acquired by his former glorious actions. The French, who fought under his command, following so great an example, fell upon the Ostrogoths, who were at their head; the Roman legions, with the Alani in their center, charged the main body of Huns; and the Visigoths, who faced the Gepidi, who were of their nation, and professed the same faith, attacked with the more resolution, because they served their common enemies, even against their own brethren.

There

There never was seen a battle more obstinate and bloody than this was. They could no longer make use of their arrows at a distance, but were now all engaged close together, fighting with their swords in a most furious manner; and the combatants crowded in so fast and in such great numbers that they were not able to avoid the blows of each other. The foremost ranks were pressed so hard by those behind them, that they were forced upon the arms of their very enemies, who being treated in the same manner, by their own people, were under the necessity of losing their own lives at the same time that they were killing their enemies. The whole army now closely engaged, and all the different troops were mixed confusedly with each other, without either order, or distinction; being forced, in spite of their endeavours, to yield to that raging storm, which drove them backwards and forwards, according to the furious motions of this desperate and dreadful multitude of combatants. Whilst all was thus in disorder, Theodoricus, king of the Visigoths, who, notwithstanding his old age, fought with all the courage and resolution of a young hero, fell from his horse, by a wound which he received from Andages, one of the generals of the Ostrogoths, and was crushed to pieces by his own people, who, pursuing the heat of the battle, amongst the crowd, trampled him under their feet without knowing him, and immediately rushed on upon Atila himself, who was still endeavouring to support the fight thro' his own courage, tho' at the same time all his hopes were lost.

But when he perceived that his army began to lose ground; that the Romans were making a most horrible slaughter of his troops; and that he himself was so vigorously pursued by the Visigoths, that he was in danger of being either taken, or killed, he thought it high time to provide for his own safety. Therefore the night coming on very fortunately for him, he took that opportunity, in order to favour his retreat, and avoid the shame of his overthrow; so retired into his camp which he had fortified and surrounded with a prodigious number of those chariots which attended his army; his people followed him without much difficulty, the night being so dark that the victorious confederate forces could not pursue them, nor even be sensible of their advantage. For indeed, as they had fought a long while after the night was come on, and could

A. D. 451. could not see to distinguish their troops, Aetius, attended by a small number of soldiers, found himself in the midst of a body of the enemies whom he took for his own people; they likewise thought that he was one of them, and it was a meer chance that he did not meet with the same fortune which befel Torismond, who, not knowing where he was going, rushed into the intrenchments of the Huns. This prince perceived his error, by the blows which he immediately received from those who knew him to be an enemy; but he defended himself with so much courage, tho', at the same time, he was fallen from his horse, and wounded in the head, that he gave his Visigoths time to save him from the danger he was in, and bring him back to the camp, whither Aetius was at last repaired, after having wandered a long while amongst the enemies, not knowing precisely whether he had been defeated, or whether he had got the victory.

He passed the remaining part of that night in this uncertainty; and therefore rallied all his forces and fortified his camp fearing lest he should be surprised. But having marched out in order of battle on the next morning by break of day, he saw the field covered with dead bodies, and a rivulet, which divided the camp, dy'd and over-flowing with blood, (for it is said that, on this terrible day there perished about three hundred thousand men of both sides.) And besides, seeing that his army was yet very numerous, and that the loss he had sustained was much inferior to that of Atila, who dared not to march out of his intrenchments, he then concluded that he had gained the victory; and after having remained sometime in the field of battle, in order to assume those honours which are due to a conqueror, he marched up directly to Atila's camp, with a design to compleat his defeat, if he should be so bold as to appear; or to compel him to own the loss of the victory, by his not daring to meet him. But Atila, who was master of as much prudence, as courage, acted contrary to the notions of Aetius in doing neither the one, nor the other. He would not come out of his camp, because the loss of his best troops made it dangerous for him to try his fortune a second time in open field. But, far from shewing the least signs of fear, he never behaved with more resolution. He mounted all his chariots with archers, who, being thus intrenched and covered, were continually shoot-
ing

ing off arrows, which rendered the approaches of the confederates very difficult. His camp resounded with trumpets and other musical instruments of war, as if he were making a triumph after victory; and being resolved to die rather than suffer that his enemies should have the advantage either of taking him prisoner, or killing him, he caused a great pile to be made of all the saddles in his army, which he proposed to set on fire and fling himself into it as soon as he found that there were no hopes left, and that he could no longer prevent his camp from being forced by the Romans.

A. D.
451.

Nevertheless it was not these weak intrenchments of carriages and chariots, nor the resistance or desperate behaviour of Atila, that could have protected his whole army from being totally defeated, had not the policy or ambition of Aetius contributed to his assistance, and relieved him from the extremity to which he was then reduced. For, whether it was his design to carry on the war, in order to preserve to himself the command of the forces, or that he feared (as he gave it out) that after the defeat of the Huns, the French, Goths, and Bourguignons should turn their arms against him, to oblige the Romans to abandon Gaul, or whether, I say, he was induced by both these motives, *viz.* the interest of his own fortune, and that of the Empire, I know not: But he changed his first resolution, and finding that Torismond, in order to revenge the death of his father, was resolved to attack Atila, or destroy him in his camp, by the want of provisions, he artfully diverted the blow, by persuading this young prince, who was not so great a politician as himself, to take possession, with all the expedition imaginable, of the kingdom of the Visigoths, lest his four brothers, whom he had left behind him at Toulouse, should join together, in order to invade and share it amongst themselves. (i) After which he withdrew with the French and Bourguignons, who marched off separated, and returned into their own country, leaving Atila at liberty to make his escape and reinforce his army, which he did soon after, and came into Italy with a most powerful body of men, where, after having taken and utterly destroyed

452.

(i) *Idat. Cassiod. Chr. Miscell. lib. 5. Blond. l. 1. dec. 3. Sabell. Enn. 8. l. 1. Sig. de Occid. Imp. lib. 13.*

A. D. the famous city of Aquilea, he caused such horrible devastations
 452. throughout the whole country of the Venetians, between the Alps, the Po, and the Adriatick Sea, that those nations, but particularly the inhabitants of Padoua, in order to avoid the fury of the Huns, were forced to retire into the Islands which are situated at the mouth of the Gulph.

It was on this occasion that they resolved to shelter themselves from this prodigious inundation of Barbarians, by laying the foundations of the wonderful city of Venice, which is the metropolis of that august republick, whom GOD, thro' his singular goodness, which ever can bring forth good from evil, proposed himself to establish during these calamities, in order soon to restore again the wisdom, power, and virtue of ancient Rome, at the same time that his justice was going to destroy the Roman Empire in the West. And certainly its ruin was even then inevitable, had not GOD suspended his judgment sometime longer, in order to manifest the merit and glory of great St. Leo, (*k*) who was so deserving of the seat of St. Peter which at that time he possessed. For Attila, after having destroyed Milan, Pavia and the rest of the cities of Insubria, (*l*) which he attacked without resistance, was resolved to carry his arms even to Rome, where the affairs were then in so great a disorder, thro' the neglect and weakness of the government, that he might have taken possession of that city without much difficulty, had not this holy bishop, at the request of Valentinian, undertaken to mitigate the fury of this Barbarian, which he completed under GOD's protection in a most extraordinary and miraculous manner, as it ever has been related. (*m*) For having repaired to the camp of Attila, who had already passed the Po in the Mantuan country, and was marching towards Rome, this prelate addressed him with so much power and majesty, in order to dissuade him from the execution of his design, that whether he was influenced by his discourse, or whether he saw (as it was reported) or imagined that something extraordinary appeared to him, which disarmed him, it is certain that Attila complied with whatever he

(*k*) Cassiod. Miscell. (*l*) The country called Milanese. (*m*) Cassiod. in Chr. Paul. Diac. in Miscell. l. 15. A&C. St. Leo.

required of him, (n) and returned immediately into Pannonia, even beyond the Danube.

A. D.
452.

But as Atila was a man who never could bear to be at rest, and thought he had been deceived by Sangiban king of the Alani, who in the foregoing year had promised to deliver up Orleans to him, he returned into Gaul, in order to drive him out of those provinces, which are situated on the other side of the Loire, where he had not long before established his kingdom. (o) But Torismond, who came to his assistance, engaged this bold enemy a second time, and fought him with so much conduct, and good fortune, that, after having defeated him, as he had already done in the preceeding year, in the catalaunick plains, (p) he compelled him to return shamefully into Pannonia, where he became passionately in love with a very beautiful young lady, whom he married; and it is said that he drank so much at his nuptial feast, that he died on that very night, his blood gushing out at his mouth, eyes, nose and ears; tho' it is reported by some writers that his new bride, who did not love him, seeing him drunk and a sleep, (q) resembling Holo- phernes, killed him with the stab of a dagger.

453.

Yet notwithstanding, neither the brave Torismond, nor the valiant Aetius, who had conquered this Tyrant, enjoyed long after the fruits of their victory. Torismond who fell ill at Toulouse was unfortunately murdered by his two brothers, Theodoricus, and Fredericus, (r) who took an opportunity of executing this wicked design whilst a surgeon was bleeding him. His courage nevertheless did not forsake him on this occasion: For not finding his arms, which the traitors had hidden on purpose, he took up a stool that was near his bed, and using it both as a sword and shield, he contended for his life a long while, till at last, having received several wounds, he fell dead upon the bodies of four or five of his murderers, whom he had killed to revenge his death, and thus he died like a man of resolution. Aetius met with as cruel a fate: For Valentinian, who since the death of Placidia led a very disorderly life, having forced away the wife of Maximus, a Roman senator, the latter resolved to be securely revenged: And to this end, by

(n) Miscell. ib. (o) Iornand. de reb. Get. (p) Paul. Diac. in append.
Eutrop. (q) Cassiod. (r) Idat. Iornand. de reb. Get.

A. D. his false insinuations he made the Emperour so jealous of Aetius, 454. that this weak and violent prince, (s) having sent for him into his closet, under the pretence of treating with him upon some affair of moment, he with his own hands shamefully and barbarously murdered him; and by this fatal action destroyed the only support of his Empire, which like an old wall, whose foundation is undermined, soon after fell to the ground.

455. For indeed, at the very beginning of the ensuing year; (t) which we may properly stile the year of the destruction of the Empire, Valentinian the third was killed in the thirty sixth year of his age, on the seventeenth of March by some of Aetius's guards, whom Maximus had bribed, under the pretence of revenging the death of their master. After which he himself was proclaimed Emperour without much difficulty, having secured a strong party in his interest; and his first wife dying with grief soon after the affront which had been offered her by Valentinian, who had ravished her, he importuned Euxodia the Emperour's widow in so urgent a manner, that he persuaded her to marry him. (u) But Maximus was so misled by his passion, that he indiscreetly told the Empress, the night of his nuptials, that it was neither the desire of revenge, nor ambition, but the love only which he bore to her person, that had prompted him to find means to ascend the throne, by the death of Valentinian, whom he had caused to be murdered, in order to make himself happy in the possession of that princess. Euxodia, who had an aversion to this Tyrant, because he had forced her to marry him, conceived such a furious hatred to him, at this barbarous confession, that she resolved in herself either to perish, or be revenged, and would sooner be buried under the ruins, even of Rome and the Empire itself, than be disappointed in her design: So great is the anger of women, when justly provoked, that it supplies them with strength to support the natural weakness of the sex.

Upon this resolution, (x) she on the next day sent one of her confidants to Carthage with letters to Gisericus king of the Vandals, intreating him, by all the considerations of his own interest and glory, as well as the success of the enterprize, and his alliance

(s) Idat. Cassiod. Marcell. Misc. 15. Procop. de bell. Vand. l. 1. (t) Cassiod. Marcell. Procop. Anonym. Cuspin. (u) Misc. l. 7. (x) Idat. in Chron.

with the Emperor, who had been inhumanly murdered, to come immediately in order to revenge his death, against Maximus, and relieve her from the insupportable captivity which she endured under the power of that cruel tyrant. Gisericus readily embraced so favourable an opportunity of satisfying his insatiable avarice with the spoils and plunder of the most rich and potent city in the universe; and, as he always maintained a powerful fleet, with which, though it was a time of peace, like a pirate he ransack'd all the Islands which are situated between Africa, and Italy. He soon was in a condition to put out to sea, which he accordingly did, attended by the Vandals, and a body of Africans, (y) and in a few days came up to the port of Rome, where he landed without any opposition. At the news of his arrival, most of the persons of distinction withdrew from that city, leaving it without defence. Even Maximus himself, finding that his friends had forsaken him, was endeavouring to make his escape; but before he could get off, he was seized by the people, and even by his own guards, who tore him to pieces, and flung him into the tyber on the twelfth of June. Hereupon Gisericus entered Rome as freely as he might have done Carthage, finding no body in his way, nor at the gates, that would oppose his entering the city. The holy bishop St. Leo was the only person that went out to meet him; and, tho' he addressed him with the same powerful arguments, which he had used when he met Atila, nevertheless he was not so successful; for the only thing which he could obtain of him was, that he would be contented with the plunder of the city, without employing either fire, or sword against a people, who would not resist him.

Thus Rome, which had so often despised the warnings and judgments of God, became a second time a prey to the Arians, (z) who plundered the city at leisure for the space of fourteen days, and spared only the three principal Basilica's; viz. that of Constantine, and those of St. Peter, and St. Paul. "So Giserius, after having loaded his ships with the richest spoils of Rome, and a pro-

(y) Sidon. in Paneg. Avit. Imp. Procop. l. 1. Miscell. lib. 15. Evag. l. 1. cap. 7. Anonym. Cuspin. Miscell. l. 15. (z) St. Leo Ser. in Oct. Apost. Ibid. in Hist. Vandal.

A. D. “ digious number of captives, for whom he expected considerable
 455. “ ransoms, he returned well satisfied to Carthage, carrying along with him the Empress Euxodia, (*a*) and her two daughters Euxodia, and Placidia, who were granddaughters to the illustrious Euxodia, widow to the Emperor Theodosius, who received this news at Jerusalem, where she was retired in order there to pass the remainder of her days in the practice of piety. (*b*) She was deeply afflicted at this calamity, which God, through his mercy, was pleased to make use of in order to convert her from the Eutychean heresy, which she still adhered to, notwithstanding the decisions of the council of Calcedonia, which was held four years before. For, after having consulted the wonderful Simon Stylitus, who referred her to the holy solitary Euthymius, that led a most celestial life in Palestine; this great man told her, that God had afflicted her after this grievous manner, in what she loved above all the things of this world, only to save her from the abyss of darkness, which she was unluckily fallen into, by following the steps of a blind guide, the false bishop Theodosius, who had seduced her; that as she had abhorred Arianism after the holy Nicene council, and detested the impieties of Macedonius, after he had been condemned by the council of Constantinople, that as she had also renounced the blasphemies of Nestorius by acknowledging the decisions of that of Ephesus, it was likewise necessary that she should receive with a perfect resignation the holy decrees of the council of Calcedonia, against the errors of Eutyches. Hereupon she immediately submitted to the exhortations of this holy man, or rather to the voice of God, who made his will known to her afflicted mind, by his words, and at her return to Jerusalem, she went directly to the Patriarch Juvenal, who assisted her in making a publick reconciliation to the Catholick Church, with the applause of the whole city. Her conversion brought over a great number of Lay-men, Monks and learned Clergy-men, of the Eutychean opinion, on whom she had a great influence, and who followed her example. And indeed it was plainly seen on this occasion, what power a lady of understanding, merit, and virtue, (such was the learned Euxodia)

(*a*) Idat. Miscell. in Chron.
 20. Jan.

(*b*) Cyrill. Monach. in vita St. Euthym. Sur-

had over the minds, even of the greatest men, to incline them either to good, or evil, just as her inclination dictated. This conversion was chiefly the work which God had designed to effect by the captivity of these princesses: For afterwards, he changed the heart of Gisericus in such a manner, with regard to them, that he intirely forgot the tyrannical notions which he had maintained till then, (c) and behaved towards them with all the respect and politeness that was due to their imperial rank. (d) He even made the proposal himself for marrying his Son Hunnericus to the eldest of the two princesses; and as he was informed that the youngest was bethrothed to Olibrius, (e) who was the most considerable person amongst the senators of Rome, and had made his escape to Constantinople, he was so generous as to send her to him with a retinue worthy of her illustrious birth, together with her mother Euxodia, who was daughter to Theodosius the younger. This Emperor was succeeded by Marcian, who received her with all the marks of honour imaginable.

A. D.
455.

In the mean while it was a most lamentable thing to see the multitude of captives, whom Gisericus had brought over with him from Rome to Carthage. For the Vandals, and Africans, to whom that barbarian king had given them up, for their share of the booty, divided those wretched people amongst themselves, parting the fathers and mothers from their children, and the husbands from their wives, in order to sell them the more readily to those who came from all parts of Africa to buy them; (f) so that being out of all hopes of ever meeting again, they filled the air with their lamentable cries for their deplorable condition. The holy bishop *Deogratias*, whom Giserius, at the request of Valentinian, had permitted to be continued as pastor to the Catholics, could not bear to see the calamities which they endured; and fearing lest these unhappy captives, by losing their liberty in this cruel manner, might also more unfortunately lose their faith, through the barbarity of their Arian masters, he used his utmost endeavours to deliver them out of their hands; and after having collected what money he could amongst the Catholics, he sold all the gold and silver

(c) Theoph. Procop. (d) Evag. l. 1. c. 7.

(e) Niceph l. 15. c. 11.

(f) Viêt. Utic. de perfec. Vandal. l. 1.

A. D. vessels which belonged to the Churches, and were saved at the taking and plundering of Carthage; and by these means he at last compleated his generous design, having raised a sum of money sufficient to redeem them.

But his charity did not end here. After having made them free, he resolved likewise to put them in a condition of enjoying the freedom which he had procured them. Therefore as a great many of them were sick by means of the barbarous usage which they had received during their captivity, on board the ships, (being reduced to the extremity of wanting all manner of necessaries) and because they were so numerous that he knew not where to provide them with lodgings, he turned two of his greatest Churches into hospitals. There he caused fresh straw to be laid for those who were in better health, and ordered several rows of beds to be set up for the sick; after which he visited them day and night attended by those who belonged to him, and caused food to be distributed to them, in his presence, with such proper remedies as were prescribed by the physicians. Thus inspired with zeal and charity, his body and mind were continually employed; and, tho' at that time he was far advanced in years, he behaved with the vigour of a young man, and was so constant in this holy and laborious exercise that he scarcely allowed himself any rest. So that God, pouring down a blessing on his toils, he redeemed these poor wretches both from captivity, and death; and which was still more, from the danger of falling into heresy. This highly provoked the Arian ministers, who could not bear that a Catholick bishop should presume, in a city where they were masters, to deprive them of a prey, which they had already devoured in their hearts. Therefore they resolved to make a way with him; and it is very probable, (as they took the liberty to commit all manner of crimes with impunity) that they would soon have executed their horrible design, had not God prevented them by taking to himself this holy man whose heroick charity he crowned in heaven with everlasting glory.

The news of his death was a great affliction to the Catholicks, who were desirous of preserving some remains of him, in order to pay that reverence to him after his loss, which they used to do when present. And it was feared lest the people should tear his
body

body to pieces to secure his relicks; for which reason those, who had undertaken his funeral service, buried him privately the night before the time appointed for that purpose. So that both the Catholics and Arians were deceived in a different manner; the former, because they could not pay the honour to him which they intended after his death; and the latter, because they were prevented by his death from casting all their rage and fury upon his person. But they soon gratified their revenge, with the base treatment which they offered to the holy bishop Thomas, who had consecrated *Deogratias* three years before at Carthage. This good old man, in the midst of the insults, which he received from these impious people, who took delight in scourging him in publick as they would have done a boy, without any regard to his venerable years, returned praises unto JESUS CHRIST for being pleased that he should partake of the glory of his triumph, by his ignominious sufferings.

A. D.
455.

But on the other hand, as soon as Theodoricus, king of the Visigoths was informed at Toulouse of the death of Maximus, and the invasion of Rome, (g) he fearing lest the Vandals, who were his enemies, should also take possession of the Empire, he immediately prevailed on the Roman army, that was then in Gaul, to proclaim Avitus Emperour, whom Maximus not long before had made general of those forces, and sent Ambassador to Theodoricus. (b) This was performed on the second day of July; and the Romans and Visigoths having renewed their alliance, Theodoricus, by the advice and assistance of Avitus, marched into Spain with a powerful body of men, in order to attack Richiarius king of the Suevi, who, not being satisfied with the kingdom of Galicia, where he reigned, was resolved also to make himself master of all Spain, and had insolently threatened Theodoricus to drive him out of his possessions in Gaul, if he should dare even to complain of him. (i) But his pride soon ended with his life and fortune; for upon a Friday, the fifth of October in the same year 456. (k) The two armies having met, near the little river Urbicus, within a few miles

456.

(g) Sidon. in Panog. Avit. Cassiod. Anon. Cuspin. Idat. in Chron. (b) Jornand. de reb. Get. (i) Idat. Jorn. Isid. Chron. (k) Obregario. Astorga in the Kingdom of Leon.

A. D. of Asturica, which was a colony of Augustus, they came to a
 456. general battle, wherein Richiarius was totally defeated, with a prodigious slaughter of his people, and he himself, who was covered with wounds, made his escape with much difficulty; so that he now began to lose all hopes of keeping his kingdom, (*l*) and therefore put out to Sea: But being forced by stormy weather to land again at the mouth of the river Durius, (*m*) he was taken and carried to Theodoricus, who caused him to be put to death in his confinement. After this victory, the whole kingdom surrendered themselves to the conquerour, who on the twenty eighth day of October, having taken Braga, (*n*) one of the chief cities of the Suevi, he gave it up to be plundered. As the native inhabitants of that country were Catholicks, having lived so long under the government of the Romans, there was no profane action, with respect to sacred things, which those Visigoths did not commit in that wretched place, to shew their hatred to the Roman religion. They seized on all the Churches, pulled down the altars, and carried away the sacred vessels; the Virgins and Nuns themselves did not escape their fury; for tho' they did not make any attempt on their honour, nevertheless they took them into captivity with a vast number of persons of all conditions. They stripped the Clergy and exposed them naked by way of diversion, and these impious Arians, after having glutted their avarice with all the treasures they could find in the temples, in order to crown their sacrilegious wickedness, they converted them into stables.

But GOD would not permit them to ravage thus in all places. Theodoricus, who was resolved to carry his conquests farther, was marched into old Lusitania, which then contained more territories belonging to Spain than what we now call Portugal, and he proposed to exercise his barbarity in the same manner upon Merida, which was a very famous and powerful city in those days, (*o*) situated on the river Guadiana, and is now in the province of Estramadura. But the illustrious virgin and martyr St. Eulalia, who was the protectrix of that city, terrified him in so strange a manner by visions, and other prodigies, which threatned him with his

(*l*) Marian. 5. c. 4.
 Braga in Portugal Idat.

(*m*) Duero in Portugal.

(*n*) Bracara. Augusta.

(*o*) Augusta. Emerita. Anas fluv. Idat.

ruin, that he would not venture to attempt his design of carrying his arms farther. Therefore after having given proper orders for the government of the provinces which he had conquered, he returned into Gaul where his presence was required upon the account of the change which happened at that time in the affairs of the Empire.

A. D.
457.

For whilst Theodoricus was thus running over Spain with his victorious arms, (*p*) the Emperour Avitus, who, on the other hand, was no great warrior, not being assisted by his friends the Visigoths, was forced to quit the Empire, because the Romans had conceived an aversion to him, either out of contempt to his person, (*q*) or because he led a most licentious life from the time that he was made Emperour. (*r*) And, in order to secure his life, he even agreed to enter into holy orders, and was consecrated bishop of Placentia, where his own people had seized on him. And notwithstanding this piece of policy, it was not possible for him to escape death. For, being informed that the senate was resolved to destroy him, in order to prevent a civil war, he died with despair, (tho' some people say, of the plague) whilst he was on his journey to Auvergne, which was his own country, where he proposed to retire. (*s*) Within a few months after his death, Majorianus, who was both a brave soldier, and a great politician, and then General of the Roman forces, was proclaimed Emperour, with the title of Augustus, at Ravenna, on the first day of April, with the approbation of the senate, the people, and militia; but particularly with the consent of the Emperour Leo, who had just succeeded Martian that died at Constantinople in the beginning of this year 457.

These disorders and changes in the Empire gave an opportunity to the Visigoths, and Vandals, to encrease their power. (*t*) For Gisericus immediately after the death of Valentinian, and the ransack of Rome, seized on every thing belonging to the Romans in Africa, and sent his naval forces to the coasts of Italy, which

(*p*) Idat. Miscell. (*q*) Greg. Tur. l. 2. c. 1. (*r*) Miscell. Greg. Anonym. Cuspin. Greg. Turon. Evag. l. 2. c. 7. (*s*) Anon. Cusp. Novell. Major. tit. 3. ad Senat. Marcell. Sidon. Apollin. Paul. Diac. in Miscell. Idat. Marcell. (*t*) Victor de persec. Vandal. l. 1.

A. D. they invaded and laid waste, with the other provinces of the Empire; and in order to secure what belonged to himself in Africa, he caused all the fortified places to be demolished, excepting Carthage, (*u*) which in the end, proved to be the chief cause of the ruin of the Vandals. Thus human wisdom, which acts with so much caution in present things, where a trifling interest is concerned, cannot foresee those evils which it is treasuring up to itself in time to come. But what was now more deplorable, this Barbarian, who was no longer tyed by any consideration of the peace which he had formerly made with Valentinian, renewed his persecution against the Church in a more cruel manner than before. (*x*) For he not only forbid the election of a new bishop at Carthage, but even expelled all the priests from that city, as also throughout all Africa, where the Catholick bishops, before they were banished, underwent great sufferings, thro' the ill treatment which they received from the officers of that inhuman king, who would force them to deliver up their books of the holy scriptures, and whatever they had that was valuable and sacred in their Churches. They even carried things to such an excess of barbarity, that the holy bishop Valerian, who was a venerable old man of above eighty years of age, having stedfastly refused to deliver up what they required of him (which he looked upon as throwing pearl before swine) Gisericus caused him to be driven out of the city, forbidding all persons whatsoever to entertain him in their houses or even in the fields: So that he was reduced to the necessity of lying in the common roads, exposed to all the injuries of the weather, which soon compleated his martyrdom, by putting an end to that small share of life which he had left. (*y*) God, on the other hand, was pleased to manifest his justice and vengeance on the ministers and executioners of the impiety of Gisericus. For Proculus, who was one of the most cruel and insolent amongst them, having taken away by force the ornaments of the sacred altars which the priests had refused to deliver unto him, and having converted them into a garment for himself, turning into ridicule all the holy mysteries, he was suddenly struck in such a dreadful

(*u*) *Procop. de bell. Vandal. l. 1.*
cembro.

(*x*) *Victor. de Persecut.*

(*y*) 15. De-

manner by the hand of GOD, that he became furious and raging against himself, and perished by a most horrid kind of death, tearing his flesh to pieces, and eating his own tongue.

A. D.
457.

But neither these warnings from heaven, nor the prayers and remonstrances of men, nor the book, which victor, bishop of Carthenna in Mauritania, (z) had resolution enough to present to Gisericus in defence of the faith against the Arians; neither of these things, I say, could prevent this Tyrant from carrying on the persecution with more cruelty, and from making a vast number of martyrs, whom the Church continues to commemorate every year. The generous virgin Maxima, shewed her invincible courage in a most wonderful manner on this occasion. She was in the service of a noble Vandal, who had also a young man belonging to him, whose name was Martinian, and who was very much in the favour of his master, because he was a great artist in making arms. This Vandal lord, in order to engage the youth more strongly in his service, having given this holy virgin to him, whom he loved, for a wife, she not only persuaded Martinian to turn to the Catholick faith, but also to live in chastity, as she did herself, keeping her virginity, and to retire into a monastery, in order to devote himself to the service of GOD, with his three brothers, who were slaves with him at the same time. She on her side did the same, retiring into a monastery of women, which was not very distant from that of Martinian, but situated in a wilderness where they thought that no body would ever come to enquire after them. But they were at last discovered; and the Barbarian, their master, having forced them away, and flung them into a prison, inflicted all manner of punishments on them, in order to compel them, not only to live together as man and wife, but likewise to renounce the Catholick faith, and receive the baptism of the Arians. As they continued stedfast and inflexible in their pious resolution. Gisericus having had notice of it, he commanded their unmerciful master to repeat his cruelty, and not to cease tormenting them, till they obeyed him. This Barbarian readily complied with this inhuman order; and caused them to be unmercifully torn to pieces (with the blows of sticks, which were notched like a saw) in such

(z) Gennad. de Script. Eccl. c. 77.

A. D. a manner that their intrails were seen thro' their ribs, which were
 457. flead, and had no flesh left upon them. This way of torturing them, was daily repeated by his command; because that God by his omnipotence, in order to confound the cruelty of the Arians, used to heal these holy martyrs so perfectly, that there did not appear on their bodies any marks of their wounds.

At last, God, in order to punish this obstinate Barbarian, having destroyed him, and almost his whole family, Gisericus was ashamed to contend any longer with the invincible Maxima, and therefore set her at liberty, and sent the four brothers farther into the country, to the dominions of one of those little Moorish princes who were Gentiles. But the king, being informed that they had converted a great number of those people, he caused them to be fastened to chariots, which were drawn by wild horses, who, being let loose, ran full speed over thorns and hedges, and so put an end to the lives of these glorious martyrs, whose blessed bodies were in this manner torn to pieces. (a) The Church pays honour to their memory on the sixteenth day of October, as also to that of the illustrious Maxima, with two hundred and seventy other martyrs, who received the like crown of glory in the same cause.

The persecution grew very warm, chiefly at court, where Gisericus, influenced by the Arian bishops in particular, would not suffer any Catholick to appear. The count Armogastus, who attended one of the king's sons, after having endured divers horrible tortures, was condemned to keep herds of sheep in the fields of Carthage. The prince, his master, would not consent to his being beheaded, fearing lest the Romans (for the Catholicks were so called by the Arians) should pay him the honours which were due to the martyrs. Gisericus was under the like apprehension, with respect to one of the noblemen of his court, for whom he had a great affection, and whom he endeavoured to pervert by a thousand endearing expressions, and promises of riches and honours: But when he saw him steadfast in his generous resolution of preserving the purity of the faith even to his death, he condemned him to lose his head. But he gave orders privately to the executioner to hold his sword sometime suspended in the air; and told

(a) Martyrol. Rom. 16. Octob.

him, that, if he observed any fear in Armogastus, or that he offered to stir, he should immediately cut off his head, because it could not then be said that he died like a martyr; (b) but that, if he still continued stedfast in his resolution, he should bring him back in order to prevent him from acquiring that glory which nevertheless the Church allowed him in spite of that tyrant, who was overcome by his Stedfastness, in the same manner as Hunnericus, the successor to his Grown, was overcome by the invincible resolution of Satorus the steward of his household. A.D. 457.

This generous Christian withstood the greatest shock which nature, with all its forces united, could offer to the heart of a righteous man. For after that the king had endeavoured with prayers and promises to oblige him to become an Arian, he was told that he must immediately choose one of these two things, viz. either to obey the will of his master, or, after the confiscation of his estate, to see his wife, whom he passionately loved, given away before him to be married to a Muletier. This unfortunate lady who, with much difficulty obtained a short time to persuade her husband, used the strongest arguments which the love, fear, sorrow, shame, honour, jealousy and despair of a woman could suggest on this occasion, to make an impression on an honest mind, whose inward conflicts were already stirred up by these powerful passions; yet he resisted all these efforts with a more than heroick resolution, and made faith triumph gloriously over so many formidable enemies, who had all conspired together in order to deprive him of it.

In short, during this cruel persecution, many were crowned with glory, but particularly a whole congregation of the faithful; who, having shut themselves up in a Church, in order to celebrate the feast of the passover, were surrounded by a body of Vandal soldiers, under the command of an Arian priest. These men having forced their passage into the Church, they first killed the Lecturer, who fell dead on the spot by a wound of an arrow, which he received in his throat just as he was singing the sacred canticle *Alleluia*, in the same manner as we sing it to this day in our Churches. Then they massacred, without distinction, whomsoever they met in their way, priests, and Lay-men, men, women, and little chil-

(b) Martyrol. Rom. 16. Octob.

A. D. 457. dren, excepting only a very small number, who ran away, to save themselves from the slaughter, yet could not escape the cruelty of Gisericus; for, having caused them to be apprehended, they were all put to death. But these Barbarians carried their fury still farther. They went into other Churches, during the celebration of the sacred mysteries, and whilst the people were partaking of the holy communion, they threw themselves like men possessed with rage, on the body and blood of *JESUS CHRIST*. They acted a thousand insolencies against the blessed Sacrament, by flinging it on the ground, and trampling it under their feet, with many other blasphemous actions, so that the Arians followed the example of the Donatists their predecessors, who were guilty of the like sacrileges in the time of Optatus bishop of Mileva, (as he himself certifies) as the Protestants of our times have renewed those of the Arians, whose example they have followed by their abominable detestation of the blessed Sacrament on the altar. And certainly they must acknowledge, by the faithful testimonies of history, that we are as like unto those Catholics of the primitive ages, as they are to those Hereticks, who, according to their own confession, committed the greatest disorders in those days.

These were the advantages which Gisericus reaped from the broils of the Empire, in order to usurp part of it to himself, and oppress the Catholick religion. The king of the Visigoths acquired still greater benefits on the same occasion: For, having divided his forces into three bodies, he headed one of them, and took possession of the greatest part of the Narbonian Gaul; (c) then carried his conquests as far as the Rhone. The other two Armies he sent into Spain; (d) Cyrilla, who commanded the one, subdued Andaloufia, without coming to a battle; and the other, under the command of Nepotian, and Sunnericus, (e) marched into Galicia, where Acliulphus, whom Theodoricus had appointed governour of those parts, had revolted against his benefactor, and presumed to take upon himself the title of king. This army first seized on the city of Asturica which was betrayed to them; (f) and there committed as many sacrileges, as they had done at Braga, destroying, burning, and ransacking whatever came in their way; and, besides the

(c) Miscell. Marc.

(d) Idat.

(e) Jornand.

(f) Asterga.

greatest

greatest part of the inhabitants of that wretched city, they brought away with them into captivity two bishops with all the clergy. They acted in the like manner at Palentia; and, after having caused in all places most horrible devastations, they totally defeated the army of Acliulphus, who was made prisoner, and then beheaded; after which the Suevi, having in a submissive manner begged for peace, thro' the intercession of the bishops whom they sent to Theodoricus, he not only granted them their request, but also permitted them to choose a king. A. D. 457.

As they could not all agree on so nice a point, they divided themselves into two parties, who chose each of them a king, these were Frantanes, and Masdra; (g) the former died within a few months after, and was succeeded by Frumarus; and the other, after having killed his own brother, and caused great disorders throughout Galicia, and Lusitania; was put to death by his own people. His son Remismond, (h) after the death of Frumarus, having reconciled the minds of all the Suevi, became at last sole king of that nation, who, from being Pagans, had embraced the Christian religion, through the correspondence which they held with the Romans, and native Spaniards, and at last unfortunately became Arians, by the fatal political management of Theodoricus, and Remismond. This prince, who was of a generous mind, being resolved to restore the Suevi to the flourishing condition, which they were in under their king Rechiarius, entered into Lusitania with a potent army, and had almost made the conquest of it, (i) when he became master of Coimbra, and even of Lisbon, which was delivered up to him by the treachery of the governour. Now, in order to remain secure of his conquest, he thought on means to defend himself against the power of the Romans and Visigoths, who claimed a right to these provinces. As to the Romans, he had but little regard to them, knowing that the broils and disorders of the Empire had reduced them to the utmost extremities. But he was of opinion that the only way of engaging the Visigoths in his interest was, by recommending himself to their protection. A. D. 458. 460.

To this end he sent a magnificent embassy to Theodoricus, to assure him of the inviolable fidelity of the Suevi, who were resolved

(g) Idat. (h) Isidor. in Chron.

(i) Idat. Marian. l. 5. c. 5,

A. D. 460. to own themselves obliged to him for what they possessed, and were at all times ready punctually to obey his commands. That, in order to form a more perfect union between the two nations, he begged that he would grant him the honour of an alliance with the princess, his daughter, whose right it was to be seated on that throne which he had restored to the Suevi. Theodoricus, who was proud of having kings for his vassals, received these proposals with joy, and sent the princess with very rich presents to Remismond, under the guardianship of Salanus, who was the first great officer of his court, with whom he dispatched likewise one Ajax, a Gaul by nation, and a man of wit and politicks, but a most impious Arian, who embraced that heresy, only with the view of gaining the favour of his prince, following in this the detestable maxim of the worldly people, who always adhere to that religion which seems most to favour their interest. This man, according to the instructions which he had received of Theodoricus, did not omit representing to Remismond, “ That if it was true, as the prince declared, that the welfare of his dominions depended on the perfect union he was resolved to hold with the Visigoths, it was yet more true that such a thing could never be brought about between the two nations, so long as they were divided, concerning the most essential point of the Christian religion. That it was impossible, whilst people’s opinions were so contrary to each other, with respect to a matter of that moment, not to have an aversion to each other; and that this being the case, there was no probability to expect that the alliance, which he was contracting with Theodoricus, could form a lasting union between these two Nations. That it had been observed in all times, when ever religion was the pretence, which often happened where there was the least dispute between people of a different belief, that this interest being stronger than any other, there was no tie in nature ever so binding, but what it would break. That it made children rise up in arms against their parents, wives against their husbands, and brothers against brothers. That on this occasion people thought their piety was the greater towards God, as they were the more merciless towards their nearest relations, and then made it a meritorious thing to commit the most abominable crimes in violation of the sacred laws both of
“ God,

“ GOD, and man. That for these considerations, as also, in order
 “ to render this alliance eternal, Theodoricus conjured him to en-
 “ ter into a perfect union of mind with him by embracing the
 “ true Christian religion in its purity, as it was professed by the
 “ Visigoths. That, by this unity of religion, their two nations
 “ being made one people, and renouncing the superstitions and cor-
 “ rupt belief of their common enemies the Romans, they would
 “ then join their forces together, in order to complete the destruc-
 “ tion of those men, whom God had already abandoned because
 “ of their impieties.

A. D.
460.

In short, this wicked apostate carried on his negotiation so well, that he perverted Remismund, who was already influenced by the advantage which he proposed to himself in the friendship of Theodoricus, as also by the prayers and caresses of the Arian princess his spouse, who took a proper opportunity of instilling into his mind the poisonous notions of heresy, during the first transports of his passion. So this wretched prince renounced the Catholick faith, and made a publick profession of Arianism, which the Suevi embraced also, by following his example, according to the damnable custom of some of the northern countries, who always model their belief upon the religion of their prince. But this happened only about five or six years afterward, not long before the death of Theodoricus, who had been all this while very unsuccessful in his war against Majorianus.

For this Emperour, who was a man of great courage, and had the soul of a Roman, not being able to bear the insolences which the Barbarians acted against the Empire, (*k*) entered into Gaul with a powerful army, and, having defeated the Visigoths, he compelled Theodoricus to deliver up to him all the imperial provinces which he had lately usurped from the Romans. After these fortunate beginnings, he marched into Spain with his victorious army, and ordered a strong fleet to be fitted out at Carthage, in order to pass over into Africa, to make war against the Vandals, (*l*) having before-hand been himself over amongst them in disguise to make some discoveries: But whilst he was making preparations for an expedition of this great importance, Gisericus

(*k*) Idat. Marian.

(*l*) Procop. l. 1. cap. 6.

A.D. having received notice of it, he came to meet him at Sea with
 460. those mighty naval forces which he always kept ready, which, having fallen upon his fleet, before it was in a condition to fight, he took one part of them without any great resistance, and burned the rest. This fatal accident obliged Majorianus to suspend for some time the design which he had formed of carrying on that war. But as he was returning to Rome, after having pacified the people of Gaul, he was miserably destroyed by the treachery of Ricimerus.

This man was a person of great distinction amongst the Goths, and born of one of the daughters of Vallia, king of the Visigoths. (*m*) As he had continued in the service of the Romans, being a brave and experienced general, he was honoured with the first dignities of the Empire, being made count, patrician, and consul, (*n*) and was likewise possessed of the greatest employments in the army, where he did considerable services, having even defeated, under the government of Avitus, a vast number of the Vandal forces, who according to their custom came over in sixty ships of war to plunder the coast of Italy; and now under Majorianus he enjoyed the first post in the Empire, being made general of the Roman armies. But withal he was a most inveterate Arian, and of all men in the world the blackest and most perfidious, being capable of committing the wickedest actions, in cold blood, when they were of service to his ambition. This passion placed him in his own imagination above all mankind, insomuch that he could not bear the thoughts of a rival in power and greatness, no not even in the throne, unless he would bend to him on all occasions, and be subject to his will. Therefore, finding that Majorianus who, by the greatness of his soul, and his extraordinary virtues, was worthy of his fortune, preserved his character with a proper authority, and behaved himself, in every respect, like a Roman Emperour,
 461. he conspired privately with Vibius Severus, one of the senators, who was entirely devoted to him; and as he had the army at his command, he caused the latter to be proclaimed Emperour; (*o*) but first seized on the person of Majorianus, who was then at Tor-

(*m*) Marian. l. 5. c. 5.
 cell. Anon. Cuspin.

(*n*) Idat. ad ann. 456.

(*o*) Idat. Cassiod. Mar-

tona, and, having deprived him of the Empire, on the second day of August, he caused him to be murdered after a barbarous manner about five days after. A. D. 461.

He was a prince worthy of commanding such Romans as had still any remains of the virtue of their ancestors. But he had the misfortune of being raised to the Empire at a time when, we may venture to say, he himself was the last of the Romans. Nevertheless he used his best endeavours not to appear as such: For he made extraordinary good laws, which he strictly observed, and by his example was labouring to restore that ancient virtue, by which Rome once became the mistress of the world; but by having lost it, was now almost reduced to be a slave to the Barbarians. He also acted jointly with St. Leo, bishop of Rome, in order to bring piety again into a flourishing condition, and reform abuses; amongst which was that, whereby young virgins were sacrificed by their parents, who used to shut them up in monastries, that their fortunes might serve to bring up their other children in the world. (p) For he made an edict, by which it was forbidden (as St. Leo had done before by a constitution) that any virgin, who was designed for a religious life, should take the veil before she had attained to the age of forty years, in order, that continuing till that time at liberty to choose the manner of life, which they were most inclined to, their parents could not have an opportunity of treating them with their usual severity. (q) In short, besides the beauties of his person, he was master of all the eminent perfections becoming an Emperour; and the only thing with which we can reproach him, was the too great value he set on this perfidious Arian Goth, who put Rome into irons, and made slaves of its Emperours.

For indeed, after the death of Majorianus and that of the great St. Leo, who died four months before him in the same year, Ricimerus, conceiving that nothing could now oppose either his ambition, or his cruelty, assumed a tyrannical power over Rome, disposing, as he pleased, of the Empire, and of his imaginary Emperour, whom he had promoted to that dignity only to be subservient to his passions. He even carried his violence and impiety so

(p) Majorian. Novell. tit. 8.

(q) Procop. l. 1. de bell. Vand.

- A. D.* far that no body could bear it, bringing the abomination of desolation into the holy place, (*r*) by usurping, with an arbitrary power, one of the Churches of Rome, which was that of St. Agatha, wherein with his Arians he publickly celebrated the profane mysteries of his heresy. In the mean while all the Arian kings acquired great advantages during the disorders which succeeded the death of Majorianus, whose virtues they admired, and whose courage they dreaded. (*s*) Gisericus, who not long before was forced to beg for a peace, having now renewed the war, laid waste the whole coast of Italy, and Greece, (*t*) and carried the terror of his arms even into Egypt, from whence nevertheless he withdrew, without having made any exploits, as the wonderful Daniel Stylitus had foretold it to the Emperour Leo. (*u*) The Suevi, on the other part, took advantage of these disorders, with a design to establish, and carry on their conquests farther into Lusitania. (*x*) Theodoricus, king of the Visigoths, took possession a second time of Narbona, which was delivered up to him by count Agrippinus, in order to obtain his protection against count Gilles, governour of Gaul for the Romans, who about the same time defeated, in Britany, and killed Fredericus brother to the king of the Visigoths. But after the death of this count, Theodoricus began to take courage again, and, improving so favourable an opportunity, found it no difficult task to regain the provinces situated on the other side of the Loire, which Majorianus had taken from him, whilst Childericus, king of France, after having defeated in battle the same Roman governour, (*y*) was conquering those countries which lie between that river, and the Seine. So that the Romans, who were beaten and repulsed on all sides by the French, the Goths, and Bourguignons, who marched forwards on the borders of the Saone, and Rhone, had nothing now left them in Gaul but the meer shadow of Empire in a few of its provinces.

Nevertheless Ricimerus shewed very little concern for these losses, because his thoughts were wholly employed upon the establishment of his tyrannical dominion in Rome, (*z*) where he

(*r*) Greg. lib. 3. ep. 19.
Dan. ap. Sur. 11. Decemb. Idat.
Aim. l. 1. cap. 8.

(*s*) Idat.
(*x*) Idat.
(*z*) Marcell.

(*t*) Procop. l. 1.
(*y*) Gregor. Tur. l. 1. c. 12.

caused Hermenericus, an Arian Goth, to be chosen consul, and there reigned over the Romans under the names of those insignificant Emperours, whom he used to make, and destroy just according as his own fancy led him, or as he was influenced by his passions, or interest. For having promoted Severus to the imperial throne, and not finding proper dispositions in him to gratify his ambition, he caused him to be poisoned; after which he treated with the Emperour Leo, offering him to proclaim Anthemius, for whom that Emperour had a very great value, (a) but with this condition that the latter should give him his daughter Euphemia for a wife. This Anthemius was a man of the first rank by his birth, as also by his employments in the court of Constantinople, being at that time patrician, and prefect of the East. (b) He was grandson to the great Anthemius, who was first minister to the young Theodosius; and Marcian, his successor, had honoured him with his alliance, by giving him his own daughter in marriage. Leo, who was highly pleased that a Grecian, and one of his creatures, should be raised to the Empire, readily approved of this proposal; and Ricimerus, who was well assured that he should still continue to have all things in his power as before, thought it would be of great advantage to him to be son in law to an Emperour. Therefore this affair being agreed upon by both parties, Leo, after a years interregnum, sent Anthemius with count Marcellinus and a most magnificent attendance into Italy, where he was received by Ricimerus, who came with the senate to meet him within eight miles of Rome, (c) and there solemnly proclaimed him Emperour with the title of Augustus, even before he entered the city.

His arrival had like to have caused great disorders in Rome, with respect to the religion. For whether it was that he had a mind to make himself agreeable to Ricimerus, who was an Arian, or that he did not foresee the evil which his behaviour might occasion, he had brought with him amongst his attendants one Philotheus, a Macedonian Heretick, who had a great interest with him. (d) This man, seeing himself supported by the favour and authority of the Emperour, took upon him immediately to dictate publicly.

(a) Cassiod. in Chron. Sidon. in Paneg. Anth.
ceph. l. 25. c. 11.

(c) Idat.

(d) Gelas. ep. 11.

(b) Evag. lib. 2. c. 16. Ni-

A. D. in Rome, and to appoint meetings, where he set forth the principles and false reasons of those who had sequestered themselves from the Roman Church, in order that people might be at liberty to choose the religion which they liked best; but withal he positively maintained his own opinion, and thus artfully infused the venom of his heresy into the minds of those who were apt easily to be drawn away by new doctrines. And by this means he certainly would have caused great disorders, had not Hilarius, bishop of Rome, who was successor to St. Leo, opposed him at first with an invincible steadfastness. For as the Emperour was one day in the Church of St. Peter, this holy bishop addressed him in the presence of the whole Congregation, and spoke with so much force and persuasion against the insolent liberty, which Philotheus had preached up, that Anthemius, (either out of fear lest the Romans should rise up against him, or because he could not resist the power of the spirit which spoke by the bishop) promised him solemnly, and with an oath in the hearing of the people, that he would put a stop to these disorders, and forbid all meetings of that kind, which he accordingly performed. Thus we see how great an influence a man of God, supported by a holy life and character, may have over the princes of the earth, since he can humble them, and make them submit to the power of God, by this means the heresy of Philotheus was prevented from taking root in Rome, tho' at the same time the Hereticks in other parts encreased prodigiously by the over-growing power of the Visigoths, after the death of Theodoricus their king.

For whilst this unhappy prince was using his utmost endeavours to bring the Suevi to the Arian religion, by means of the alliance which he made with Remismond, their king, to whom he had given his daughter for wife, (e) God, by a just judgment, permitted that, as he had inhumanly massacred his brother Torismond, he likewise should be put to death by his other brother Evaricus; who by the means of this parricide, ascended the throne himself. And, as he had cause to fear that Remismond would revenge the death of his father-in-law, he resolved (being a man of equal courage and ambition) to prevent him by marching with his forces

(e) Idat. Isid. in Chron.

into Spain, which at that time was divided amongst the Romans, the Suevi, and the Visigoths. The latter were masters of Andalusia, and Catalonia. The Suevi held old Galicia in their possession, with the major part of Lusitania, and the remainder was under the government of the Romans. Evaricus, having surprised Remismund, plundered his whole country, and took possession of Lusitania; then, after so successful a beginning, having resolved to invade the whole monarchy of Spain, he sent a considerable body of men towards the river Ebre as far as the Pyrenees, where they took Pampeluna, and Sarragossa. Whilst he, on the other side, with his army, fell upon the remaining provinces, and behaved with so much valour and conduct, (f) that, after having taken and plundered Tarragona, which in those days was the most considerable city in Spain, he drove out the Romans, and reduced the whole country to his subjection, excepting only Galicia, which continued sometime longer under the dominion of the Suevi. And indeed, it is probable that he would even then have destroyed them intirely had not fortune, which was so favourable to him at that time, procured him an opportunity of making greater conquests in Gaul, where he returned in order to attack the Romans, at the request of Gisericus, king of the Vandals, for the reason of which I shall now relate to you.

A. D.
467.

Leo, Emperour of the East, who was a prince truly Catholick, and of a great soul, not being able to bear any longer the affronts which Gisericus daily offered, both to the religion and to the Empire, resolved at last to make war against him with all his forces, in order to regain what he had usurped from the Romans. To this end he made the greatest preparations of war that any Emperour was ever known to have done before him. For he fitted out three great fleets almost at the same time, in order to fall upon the Vandals on all sides. (g) The first he sent under the command of Marcellinus, who after the death of Aetius, his intimate friend, had fortified himself so well in Dalmatia, that he continued master of that country. The Emperour, in order to bring him over to his interest, gave him those naval forces, with which he drove the Vandals out of Sardinia, which they had in their possession. The se-

468.

(f) *Ibid.* in Chron. Marian. l. 5. c. 5.

(g) *Procop. de bell. Vandal. lib. 1.*

A. D. 468. cond fleet was left to the command of Heraclian, who set out with it in order to attack the Vandal fleet, which he defeated in sight of Tripoli, which was delivered up to him after his victory. Then, having landed his forces, he marched by land towards Carthage, with count Marcellinus, who was come to meet him; and being arrived at the Cape, where anciently stood the temple of Mercury, within a few miles of Carthage, he waited there in expectation of the third fleet, which had orders to attack Carthage by Sea, whilst he engaged the enemy by land. (b) There never was seen so fine a fleet, which was composed of twelve hundred ships with oars, and all perfectly well fitted out, the expence whereof amounted to one hundred and thirty thousand (i) pounds weight in gold, which the Emperour expended on this account. These naval forces were under the command of Basiliscus, brother to the Empress Verina, who, having sailed from the Port of Constantinople with a fair wind, came in very good time to the Cape of Mercury: Which caused so great a terrour in Gisericus, who (after the many losses he had just received, could not oppose such a formidable fleet) that had they marched directly to Carthage, without giving him time to consider of it, they might have easily taken that city, and from that very time rooted out of Africa, both the name, and Tyranny of the Vandals. But, through the treachery of Basiliscus, this favourable opportunity was lost, with the destruction of so glorious a fleet, having first entered into a conspiracy with Asparus.

This wicked man, who was a Goth, (k) and an Arian, tho' at the same time, an experienced officer, had been a long while general in the militia of the East. As he could have no hopes of being raised to the Empire, by reason of the Arian heresy, which he professed, (l) and which was then detested at Constantinople; and as on the other hand his power was great, he managed affairs, after the death of Marcian, so as to cause Leo, who was one of the first generals in the army, to be proclaimed Emperour, believing

(b) Nice. l. 15. c. 27. Procop. l. 1. c. 6.

(i) Fourteen millions of gold.

French, and six hundred and twenty five thousand crowns. Procop. l. 1. c. 6. (k)

Procop. l. 1. c. 6. Jorn. c. 45.

(l) Niceph. l. 5. c. 27. Cedren. Evag. l. 2. c. 16.

that he would be intirely devoted to him, and that he would confer the title of Cæsar on one of his three sons. But finding that Leo took upon him the authority of Emperour, and would not suffer any one to govern him, and also that he mentioned nothing concerning the creation of a Cæsar, Asparus resolved upon his ruin. To this end, he carried on a private correspondence with Gisericus, whom he had a mind to preserve, in opposition to all the endeavours of Leo, in order to maintain so powerful a patron for the execution of his designs. And as he perceived that the command of this great fleet was given to Basiliscus, who was an Eutychean Heretick, and whose wicked dispositions and ambition were very well known to him, he, with his son Ardaburus, promised to place him on the throne in the room of Leo, provided that he would hold a private intelligence with Gisericus, who would assist them with all the forces of his kingdom in the execution of this project. This alone was sufficient to draw an ambitious man into a conspiracy of this nature. Therefore Basiliscus readily agreed to whatever Asparus required of him, which he accordingly performed by doing the most base, shameful, and detestable action that ever was known. For, instead of investing Carthage by sea at the same time that Heraclian and Marcellinus had agreed to besiege it by land, he kept his fleet in the Port of the Cape of Mercury, under the pretence that Gisericus, with whom he had conferred, only desired a truce of five days, during which time he would resolve to submit to whatever the Emperour demanded of him. But in the mean while the Vandal, having filled his large ships with all the forces he could muster up, and converted the small ones into a vast number of fireships, he sailed by night, with the first favourable wind, and fell at once upon the Emperour's fleet. The latter, being thus suddenly surprised in a Port where they had no room to act, could not prevent such a prodigious number of fireships from setting fire to their fleet, which, by the fierceness of the wind, that carried the flames from ship to ship, was soon involved in a most horrible conflagration.

So dreadful a sight was never seen. This prodigious forest of ships, intermixt with each other, in a short time appeared to be but one fire. What with the roaring of the wind and flames: The

A. D. noise of the fire-brands and falling masts; the soldiers and sailors, 468. by their hideous cries confounding each other, and running up and down half dead and burnt, without knowing where they were going, it created so much horror and confusion throughout the whole fleet, that there was no possibility either of commanding, or obeying, or giving any assistance in this general disaster. Those, who endeavoured to prevent the fireships from burning them, were forced to push them back against their own people to whose ships they set fire, as they themselves were likewise fired by other fireships which were forced against them by their next neighbours. Thus the soldiers of the same fleet were consuming each other in the flames which their enemies had prepared for them, and were destroying one another, whilst they were endeavouring to save themselves. And all this while the Vandals were shooting darts and arrows by the light of the flames, and were sinking down, with poles, and oars, those who flung themselves over-board into the Sea in order to get to shore, and so destroyed by water, all those who had escaped the violence of the fire.

There were nevertheless some brave men who, during this disorder fought with great courage and resolution, tho' at the same time all their endeavours were rendered fruitless thro' this abominable treachery. Amongst others, there was John, lieutenant general of the imperial forces, who, having with much difficulty got out of the Port, defended himself so bravely at Sea, that he was even admired by the Vandals themselves. For, seeing himself surrounded on all sides, he generously withstood every ship that came up to him, and killed several of the enemies that attempted to approach him, till at last, the Vandals having laid hold of his ship, he saw himself upon the brink of being crushed by the multitude. And now, whilst Genzo, one of the sons of Gisericus, was entreating him to surrender, and promising him, upon the word of a prince, that he would treat him as a man, whose courage and virtue he greatly admired, this valiant officer, despising these proposals and immediate death, consulted nothing in the height of action, but his undaunted courage, and calling out aloud to the enemy with an haughty and disdainful air, he said — "It never shall be related that John fell into the hands of such dogs as you are." And then flung himself into the Sea, in his armour, and buried himself

himself under the waves. Now of all this prodigious fleet, there hardly escaped any one ship, but that of Basiliscus, which they let pass; and we may say that this was the only reward, he received for his abominable treachery. For at his return to Constantinople, Asparus, who did not expect that the affair would be carried so far, did not dare to declare himself in his interest: So that being loaded with the imprecations of the people, who all required that he should lose his head, he was forced to fly to the great Church for sanctuary, from whence he at last was taken out, and thro' the mediation of the Empress his sister, was sent into banishment to Perinthus in Thracia. After this fatal overthrow Heraclian marched with his army by land to Tripoli. (m) As for Marcellinus, he had been killed some time before in the camp by a Roman officer, who afterwards made his escape to the territories of the Empire.

A. D.
468.

In the mean while the Emperour Leo, who knew the dispositions of Asparus, and Ardaburus, having inquired into the affair, had room to believe that they were both concerned in this conspiracy with Basiliscus, and that they held a private correspondence with Gisericus; therefore he resolved to use their own method of dissimulation, and destroy them by the same artifice which they practised against him. (n) To this end, he expressed more affection for them than he had done hitherto; and seemed as if he intended to perform his promise to them, by bringing the whole family of Asparus into his interest and alliance, (o) and so conferred the title of Cesar on his second son Patriciolus, to whom he promised to give his daughter Ariadne in marriage. In this he did two things, which were very serviceable to his design. For, in the first place, he deceived Asparus, who, believing his fortune as great as he could desire it, and himself at the same time restored to favour, did not harbour any suspicion of the Emperour: And in the second place, he made him by these means odious to all the orders of the Empire, who never would admit an Arian to the dignity of the imperial crown: So great was the abhorrence which they bore in those days to Arianism in the East, where it had for-

469.

(m) Marcell. Procop. Evag. l. 1. c. 16. Cand. ap. Phot.

(n) Niceph. l. 15. c. 27.

(o) Cedren. in Comp.

- A. D.* merly reigned with the utmost rage and insolence. (*p*) And indeed, this news caused great murmurings at Constantinople, particularly amongst the clergy, who made strong representations to the Emperour, in order to prevent an Arian from being his successor. The fathers of the desert, the holy Abbots, and Monks, quitted their monastries, (*q*) and came in crowds into the very hyppodromum, crying out aloud, that the abomination of Arianism should be driven from the sanctuary, and that an Arian should not be created Cesar. The Emperour, who was pleased to see his design meet with success, replied in a cool manner, that all things would go well in time: But under-hand he declared that what he had done, was only in order to secure himself from the plots and attempts of Asparus and his children; (*r*) which coming to the knowledge of the people, they rose up one day against them with so much fury in the hyppodromum, loading them with imprecations, that, fearing lest they should be torn to pieces, they made the best of their way towards the Streights of Calcedonia, and retired to the Asylum of St. Euphemia. (*s*) The Emperour, who still carried on his dissimulation, and was no wise suspected by them, went himself to the place where they were retired, in order to bring them back; hereupon they thought themselves so secure of his protection, that they went to visit him at his palace where he received them after a civil manner, and admitted them even to eat with him at his table. But afterwards Zeno, who was the Emperour's confidant, and who had received private orders from him, caused them all to be massacred by the Eunuchs of the palace; and for his reward Leo gave him Ariadne for wife, and made him prefect of the East. Ostris, who had a great value for Asparus, and was his protector, with Theodoricus, whose sister Asparus had married, (both Arians and princes of the Goths) came some time after with a potent body of men, and marched up to the very gates of Constantinople, (*t*) in order to revenge his death, but they were soon obliged to retire, being repulsed and beaten by Zeno and Basiliscus, who by the means of the Empress his sister, had been recalled from banishment not long before.

(*p*) Aët. S. Marcell. ap. Sur. 29. Decemb.
 ceph. l. 15. 27.
 (*t*) Theoph.

(*q*) Zonar. Ann. t. 3.
 (*s*) Niceph. ibid. Marcell. in Chron. Iornand. de reb. Get. c. 45.

After this bloody revolution, Gisericus, who now had no protector at Constantinople, nor any intelligence from thence, began to apprehend that Leo on the one part, and Anthemius his creature on the other, would renew the war against him in Africa, with all the forces of the two Empires united. For which reason, as he was a well-experienced politician, he immediately thought of making a diversion, that scheme having been already so successful to him, when he sent Atila into Gaul against Theodoricus, king of the Visigoths. (u) Therefore applying now to the same artifice, he sent two Ambassadors; the one into Pannonia to the Ostrogoths, in order to persuade them to rise in arms against the Emperor Leo; and the other to Evaricus in Spain, with pressing solicitations to improve so favourable an opportunity of making himself master of what remained in the possession of the Romans in Gaul; promising him that he would, on his part, cut out so much work for them, as would prevent them from sending any of their forces against him, in order to obstruct his conquests. Evaricus, whose courage was naturally great, and who, at this time, was puffed up with the success of so many victories, which he had gained in Spain, received with pleasure these proposals, which equally flattered his expectations, and ambition. On the other hand he received intelligences from Gaul, thro' the treachery of two governours; (w) Arvandus, and Seronatus, who were convicted of having secretly treated with him, in order to deliver up the provinces to him, which were under their Government: And tho' they had been punished as Traitors, there were nevertheless several accomplices with them in this conspiracy, who he doubted not but would declare themselves in his interest. Besides, the Tyranny of these governours, (x) and of some other Roman officers, was become so intolerable to the Gauls, who were treated by them with great injustice and cruelty, that they would rather have had a Hun, or Goth, or any other Barbarian, for their master, than a Roman. This gave him room to believe, that, as the Visigoths had governed in Toulouse with a great deal of lenity and moderation, most of the Gauls would the more readily side with him, in

A. D.
472.

(u) Jornand. de reb. Get. c. 47. Marian. l. 5.
Ep. 7.

(w) Sidon. l. 1. Ep. 7. L. 7.

(x) Sidon. l. 2. Ep. 1. Salvian de vero Jud. l. 7.

A. D. order to throw off a yoke which they could no longer bear. But at
 472. last, what prevailed upon him to take a Resolution, was, the great weakness of the Romans, and the dreadful disorders then raging in the Empire of the West, under the cruel Tyranny of Ricimerus.

For this Barbarian, (*y*) who was resolved to destroy the Empe-
 rour Anthemius his father-in-law, whom he thought a man of
 too much virtue, having been disappointed in his attempt, declared
 open war against him; and some time after, having wickedly de-
 ceived him under the false pretence of a peace, which he had pre-
 vailed on St. Epiphanius bishop of Pavia, to demand of him, (*z*) he
 killed him in the very city of Rome, where he also massacred all
 those whom he suspected to be over-zealous in the interest of An-
 themius. He had not long before caused the senator Olybrius to
 be proclaimed Emperour, (*a*) who had married the young Placi-
 dia; (*b*) but neither the one nor the other enjoyed long the fruits
 473. of so horrible a crime. (*c*) The wicked Ricimerus, who was the
 author of it, died forty days after on the eighteenth of August,
 and Olibrius, (*d*) who was one of the accomplices, did not out-
 474. live him much above two months. So within four or five months
 after his death, as no body declared for the Empire, Glyserius, en-
 couraged by Ricimerus's Goths, and chiefly by Gondiband, to
 whom Olybrius had given the title of patrician, caused himself to
 be proclaimed Emperour at Ravenna. (*e*) But in the following
 year, Julius Nepos, son of the sister of count Marcellinus, who had
 driven the Vandals out of Sardinia, dethroned him, and, in order
 to save his life, compelled him to enter into holy orders, after
 which he admitted him to be made a bishop at the Port of Rome,
 from whence he departed, and took upon him the government of
 his Church at Salona in Dalmatia, whither Nepos banished him.
 475. But this new shadow of an Emperour soon vanished, as had done
 the others: For in the following year, Orestes, an officer of the
 Goths, (whom he had made general of the militia, in order to be
 assisted by those of his nation) having risen up against him at the

(*y*) Cassiod. Marcell. Miscell. lib. 15.

(*a*) Cassiod. Anonym. Cuspin
 Chron. Marcell.

(*b*) Idat.

(*c*) Marcell. Iorn. de reb. Get. c. 45. Evag. lib. 2. c. 16.

(*z*) Ennod. in reb. gest. Epiph.

(*c*) Idat.

(*d*) Cassiod. in

head of the army, he quitted the Empire, and retired into Dalmatia, (f) where, after having lived a private life during five years in a country house which he had near Salona, he was murdered, by the treachery of his own servants.

A. D.

475¹

Nevertheless Orestes, about two months after expelled Julius Nepos, (g) and, being desirous of reigning under the name of another, caused the army to proclaim his son Momyllus Emperour, whose name also was Augustus, (b) and who afterwards was called Augustulus by way of Derision, because that, having nothing august in him, but the bare name, with the vain shadow of Empire, he was the weakest and meanest of all the Emperours who had born that title. For those amongst the Romans, who were concerned for the loss of Nepos, and could not bear to see a man so unworthy of the Empire seated on the throne of the Cæsars, applied, as it commonly happens in rebellions, to a remedy yet worse than the disease; and in order to deliver themselves from the son of a Goth, they called in another Barbarian for their master, who was an inveterate Arian.

This was Odoacer, king of the Eurily, the Sciri, and Turcilingi; who, having passed the Danube, as the Goths, and Huns had done before him, had made his way thro' the Noricum up to the Alps. (i) He was a young prince of a beautiful form, an extraordinary courage, and eminent natural parts; and had nothing in him of a Barbarian but his birth, and heresy, which all those people had taken from the Goths thro' a fatal infection. He was chosen king by his own nation, who were in hopes that he would one day make them masters of part of Italy; and it is reported that St. Severinus, the Apostle of the Norici, (k) had foretold him when he was in a private station, that he should reign in Italy, and be happy there during the space of thirteen or fourteen years. (l) As he now only waited for a favourable opportunity of compleating this good fortune, he passed the Alps, (m) as soon as he found that the Romans invited him over, in order to oppose Orestes; and, after having taken Pavia, where that general proposed to stop his march,

476.

(f) Cassiod. Jornand. Marcell. (g) Anon Cuspin. (b) Cassiod. Marcell.
Jornand. (i) People of Pomerania, Prussia and Poland. (k) Cluver. l. 3.
Part of Austria, Styria and Carinthia. (l) Procop. de Bello. Get. l. 1. Eugipius
in vita St. Sever. (m) Cassiod. Marcell.

A. D. he pursued him vigorously to the very gates of Rome, which were
 476. opened to him by those of his party. Now to secure his conquest, he immediately caused Orestes and his brother to be put to death: But having little to fear from the youth, and much less from the weakness of the wretched Augustulus, he only confined him to the stately house of Lucullus, situated near Naples, that he might pass his life more agreeably there than he could have done on a throne, which he was no wise capable of gracing. Thus the Empire of the Romans in the West, five hundred and twenty years after its establishment by the great Augustus, fell from the unfortunate Augustulus into the hands of the Arian Barbarians, who held it under several kings, beginning with Odoacer, who reigned about seventeen years. Nevertheless he would not wear the purple, nor would he assume any other marks of Empire, or title, but that of king of Italy, which his successors retained ever after him, either in honour to their nation, who had a great regard to the name of king, which the Romans had abolished for so many ages; or in order to convince the French, the Bourguignons, the Visigoths, and Vandals, who possessed Gaul, Spain, and Africa, that they had no design to make any attempt on their conquests, being sufficiently satisfied with the kingdom of Italy. The Empire was thus reduced to this deplorable state after so many terrible revolutions.

Evaricus, being solicited, during these disorders, by the king of the Vandals, to drive the Romans out of Gaul, did not doubt but he might undertake it with success in so favourable a conjuncture; so he marched immediately towards Toulouse into the provinces of the Empire with a powerful army which was just returned victorious from Spain. As all things were now in confusion throughout Gaul, and no Roman forces in the field to oppose him, he advanced towards Bourges, where he defeated Rithimus, king of Brittany, (*n*) who was come with twelve thousand men to the relief of the Romans, and who after the defeat of his army retired into Burgundy on the other side of the river Loire. After which a fresh body of Ostrogoths, (*o*) under the command of Vilemirus, whom Glycerius had diverted from Italy by

(*n*) *Jorn. de Reb. Cct. c. 45.*

(*o*) *Jorr. c. 56.*

the force of money, came and offered themselves to the Visigoths, in order to make but one nation with them. Therefore Evaricus, finding himself so timely reinforced with such a potent army, carried his conquests up towards the Rhone. (p) This obliged the Emperour Nepos to beg peace of him by the intercession of St. Epiphanius bishop of Pavia, with whose request he complied in appearance. Tho' soon after he marched into the field; (q) and, having run over all the provinces which lie between the Garone, and the Rhone, he even passed this river and went into Provence, where he made himself master of Arles and Marseilles, and subdued the Bourguignons, who had declared themselves in the interest of the Romans; but the latter not being able to appear in the field, from the time of Odoacer's entring Rome, (r) he compelled all the Gauls who were between the Ocean, the Loire, the Rhone, and the Mediterranean, to submit to his Empire, for the sake of obtaining peace; and to deliver up to him Clermont in Auvergne, which was the only place that remained un taken, and that had been a long time defended by the arms of Ecditius, son of the Emperour Avitus, and thro' the sollicitations of the famous Sidonius Apollinaris his brother-in-law who was bishop of that city.

A. D.
476.

480.

Yet, what proved still more deplorable in this conquest, was, that Odoacer, who was strenuously zealous for his sect, and could not bear so much as the name of a Catholick, having now no more enemies to oppose him, (s) he turned his arms against the true religion, which he endeavoured to destroy in his dominions, by using all imaginable means to suppress the exercise of it. For he expelled the bishops and pastors from their Churches; some he put to death, and would not suffer that any one should succeed them. He behaved in the same manner to those who died after having escaped his fury. He caused most of the Churches both in town, and country to be destroyed, (t) so that the very cattle went to eat the grafs which grew at the foot of the Altars; and he ordered that the passages into other Churches should be filled up with

(p) Ennod. Ticin. de reb. St. Epiph.
l. 3. ep. 1. l. 7. ep. 16. Greg. l. 1. c. 25. Jornand. Marian.
Epist. 6. (t) Greg. Turon. l. 2. c. 25.

(r) Sidon. Apol.
(s) Sidon. l. 7.

A. D. thorns. He expelled the priests, (*u*) whereof many were massacred,
 480. some thrown into prison, loaded with irons; and others, in a manner banished; insomuch that the people, particularly the inhabitants of Bordeaux, Perigueux, Rodez, Limoges, Mendez, Bazas, and Auch, besides many others who were barbarously treated, finding themselves without bishops, priests, Churches and Sacraments, were in danger at last of losing their faith and piety, for want of proper food for the support of the one, and the other. But GOD
 483. put an end to this cruel persecution by taking out of the world Evaricus, who died at Arles, (*w*) three months after, leaving his son Alaricus for his successor, who was not of so inhuman a disposition as his father.

On the other hand the embassy, which Gisericus had sent into Pannonia to the Ostrogoths, was likewise as fatal to the Empire as that which had brought Evaricus and his Visigoths into Gaul; but we must first give some account of the state which the Ostrogoths were in at that time. After the death of Atila, (who was king of so many princes, and of such a number of Barbarian nations,) (*x*) his sons, (who were very numerous), being all desirous to succeed him in his Empire, were deprived of their expectations. For the other kings, seeing them divided amongst themselves upon the account of their portions, joined altogether against them, and drove them out as far as Pontus Euxinus, after a battle wherein Ardaricus, king of the Gepidi, had defeated them and killed El-larus the bravest of them, whom Atila had appointed to be his successor. Hereupon they applied to the Emperour Marcian, praying that he would grant them those provinces which Atila had possessed, and which they were desirous to enjoy under him, promising at the same time that they would serve him faithfully; upon condition, that he would also give them a yearly pension. As the Emperour could not well refuse them a thing which they might have taken without his consent, they easily obtained what they required. Therefore the Gepidi took possession of Dacia as the reward of their victory; and the Ostrogoths, under the command of these three valiant brothers, Valemirus, Theodemirus, and Videmirus, their kings, who fought with Atila in the Cata-

(*u*) Sidon. *ibid.*(*w*) Jorn. c. 47.(*x*) Jorn. de reb. Get. c. 50.

launick plains, had Pannonia for their share, which they divided, tho' at the same time they governed their subjects with a perfect union among themselves. (y) Nevertheless they did not continue long in peace with the Emperour; for their pension not being duly paid to them, and believing that they were despised by Marcian, they fell upon Dalmatia, and Illyria, where they paid themselves out of the plunder of those wretched provinces. This obliged the Emperour to send Ambassadors in order to pacify them; and at last the peace was renewed, upon condition that all the arrears that were due should be paid to them immediately, and that for the time to come their pension should be continued by more punctual payments. This being agreed upon, the Ostrogoths, on their part, offered the son of Theodemirus as an hostage of their fidelity. This young prince was the great Theodoricus, who then was not above seven years old, and being brought to Constantinople, he was presented to the Emperour Leo, successor to Marcian; who, finding him a lovely youth, gave him his education in the palace, till he attained to the age of eighteen, (z) and treated him with as much regard and tenderness as if he had been his own son. After this, Theodemirus having done considerable services, in defence of the Empire against the Suevi and Sarmati, he sent Theodoricus back to his father, indued with so many princely qualities, that the Goths held him in admiration. And, in order to give them a trial of what they might expect from him, he passed the Danube with six thousand men who followed him, unknown to his father, and attacked Babaius, king of the Sarmati, (who was now puffed up with the success of a victory which he had lately gained over the Romans,) and killed him with his own hand, then returned home to his father loaded with spoils and plunder, and gave him an account of his voyage and victory. After which he went into Mysia, where he took Singidona, which the king of Sarmati had formerly seized on; and tho' this town was situated in the territories of the Empire, he nevertheless, kept possession of it for the Goths.

This was the condition which they were in when the Ambassadors from Gisericus came to entreat them to make war against

(y) Jorn. c. 52.

(z) Jorn. c. 55.

A. D. the Romans. They did not find much difficulty to succeed in a
 483. negociation of this moment. (a) For the Goths, seeing that a peace was disadvantageous to them, and that their substance was wasting, with the small pension they received from the Romans, which was in no manner sufficient to maintain them, they daily importuned Theodemirus, in order to persuade him to take up arms against them. (b) Therefore the promises, and reasons, and much more the presents of Gisericus, working strongly upon him at so favourable a conjuncture, a fresh war was at last declared, (c) and it was resolved to fall upon the Empire both in the East, and West at the same time. Whereupon Theodemirus, who, since the death of Valemirus, (who was killed in a battle against the Suevi and Scythians,) had taken upon him the principal command, divided the Goths into two Bodies. (d) The one he gave to his brother Videmirus, in order to march with it into Italy, where he died; and his son being bribed with money and other presents which Glycerius made him, went into Gaul, where he joined the Visigoths. As for Theodemirus, who commanded the greatest number of forces, having passed the Savus with his son Theodoricus, he laid waste the countries of Illiria, and Dalmatia, as far as Epirus, then entered into Macedonia, and Thessalia, where he took Larissa and Heraclea, and plundered the finest and richest country of Greece; after which, marching back towards Thracia, he laid siege before Thessalonica, where Clarianus, general of the imperial army, who did not dare to keep the field, had shut himself up. But at last a peace being purchased with money and additional territories, he died soon after, leaving the whole kingdom of the Ostrogoths to his successor Theodoricus, who did not reign very long before he broke that peace which his father had made.

This was the consequence of Gisericus's two embassies, who, thro' those political proceedings, obtained what he had proposed to himself, and, by these two powerful diversions enjoyed a perfect peace in Carthage, where at last he died in the same year wherein Odoacerus entered Rome. (e) Hunnericus, his eldest son, succeeded him, and in the beginning of his reign gave some cause to be-

(a) Jorn. c. 56. (b) Idat. c. 47. (c) Cap. 53. (d) Cap. 59. (e) Victor. de Utic. Perfect. Vand. l. 2.

lieve that he would prove much more compassionate than his father. He at first shewed an aversion to the Manichees, whom he prosecuted with severity; and would not spare even his own Arian priests, who for the most part were infected with that pestilential heresy. As for the Catholicks, he took so little notice of them that they began to believe themselves at liberty to assemble in their Churches in order to celebrate the holy mysteries in publick. He even permitted them, at the request of the Emperour Zeno, and of Placidia, widow of the Emperour Olybrius, to choose a bishop at Carthage, where Gisericus had not suffered any for twenty four years. Accordingly they made choice of Eugenius, who was a man of an extraordinary piety, but in particular, so charitable towards the poor, that he daily distributed amongst them whatever mony he had left, after having reserved what was barely sufficient for a very frugal maintenance; and relied solely on that divine providence, which (during the extreme poverty which his Church was reduced to, from the time that Gisericus had seized on all the revenues) was ever assistant in supplying him, thro' the charity of the faithful, with a sufficient provision for the support of the poor.

A.D.

483.

This Hunnericus dissembled for some time out of policy, in order to settle his government, and take proper measures for the execution of a cruel design which he had formed. But as soon as he found that his power was absolute, and that he might undertake whatever he pleased, without fear of any one's opposing him, he threw off all disguise, and acted openly in the most cruel and inhuman manner that was ever done by any Tyrant. For as he had no children, and could not bear the thoughts of any one's having a right to succeed him, he became the executioner of his own relations. He expelled his brother Theodoricus, and caused him to be treated so barbarously in his exile that he soon died. He put to death the princess his sister-in-law, with her eldest son who was a young prince endued with many excellent qualities, whom Gisericus himself had esteemed worthy of the Empire. All the rest of his family, with his other nephews the sons of Genzo, he banished to the deserts of Africa, in order that they might perish there. And because Jocundus, the first of all his Arian bishops, was an intimate friend of Theodoricus, he caused him to be burned.

A. D. ed in the publick place at Carthage, destroying likewise by some
483. cruel torment or other, all those who had been zealous for the service of that unfortunate prince.

These were only trials of his cruelty, which soon after broke out most violently against the Catholicks, who were persecuted in a more terrible and inhuman manner than had ever been practised by any barbarous Tyrant, who had resolved the destruction of christianity. He began this persecution upon his family and those of his attendance. For he immediately broke and banished all the officers and soldiers, who refused to be baptised, in order to profess Arianism, which was a thing that even the Arians did not require, because in their baptism, they used to observe the same form with the Catholicks. He forced the holy virgins from their monasteries, and caused them to be tortured in a most cruel manner, by applying red hot irons to their bodies, in order to compel them in the height of their torment, to accuse falsely both priests and bishops of having a criminal conversation with them, because this Barbarian was willing to cover his cruelty under this pretence, in order to deprive the clergy, by this calumny, of the honour of being martyrs. But seeing that the steadfastness of these holy virgins (whereof several expired in the midst of their torments,) rendered his cruel and villanous design fruitless, he at once, without any farther dissimulation openly declared himself; and after having caused about four thousand nine hundred clergymen to be taken up, bishops, priests, deacons, lecturers, and acolythes, nay even the children who were employed in the service of the Churches, he delivered them into the hands of the Moors, in order to carry them into their most dreadful deserts, where they were condemned to perish with hunger. But before they could arrive thither, they endured the most inhuman treatment that can be imagined, even worse than death itself. For the Moors wounded, with their darts, those, who, being tired, could not walk fast enough; and as for those who fell down on the road with fatigue and faintness, he tyed them by the feet with ropes and dragged them along like beasts, thro' stones and thorns, till at last, their bodies being torn to pieces, they expired.

But what was most wonderful and comfortable in the midst of much misery, was to see on the one side these illustrious confessors

fors of JESUS CHRIST, expressing the joy of their soul, by singing canticles of praise unto GOD, and glorying in their sufferings, by openly confessing the Trinity of three persons in one only GOD; and on the other side to see an infinite number of people coming from all parts, and walking before these martyrs with burning tapers in their hands, then flinging themselves at their feet with these lamentable expressions. “ In whose hands do you leave
“ us, ye glorious confessors of JESUS CHRIST, who are now going to receive that crown of glory which is designed for you?
“ who shall hereafter baptise our children? and who shall bury our
“ dead with the solemn prayers of the Church? who shall absolve
“ us from our sins, by a reconciliation to GOD thro’ repentance?
“ and whom shall we now have to offer up for us the divine sacrifice with the holy ceremonies?” I ought not, in my opinion, to have suppressed so beautiful a circumstance of this history, in order to convince the world, that the Christians and Martyrs of the African Church, speaking like us, and acting as we do to this very day, in the use of the sacraments, were no wise Protestants, and that as they in those times were the true Catholicks, so likewise are we the same in this age.

A. D.
483.

In the mean while Hunnericus, after having deliberated upon this affair, with his Arian bishops, was of opinion, that, before he went on with this violent persecution, it was proper to appoint a conference wherein the Catholick bishops should be obliged to prove the consubstantiality of the word by scripture. And as it would be an easy matter to give it out that they were not able to do it, there would be a good pretence after this, in case they should persist in their belief, to treat them as obstinate Hereticks. This being agreed on, Hunnericus sent Zeno’s Ambassador to the bishop Eugenius, with an edict dated on the twentieth of May in the seventh year of his reign, which he likewise published throughout Africa, whereby he commanded him and all Catholick bishops to repair to Carthage on the first day of February in the following year, in order to give an account of their belief in a publick conference. Eugenius used his utmost endeavour in humble representations to bring the matter about (as the cause of the whole catholick Church was here concerned) so as the other bishops who were out of Africa might also be summoned to assist at his conference, and particularly

A. D. 483. Early that deputies of the Roman Church, as being the head of all the other Churches, should be admitted to it. But far from granting so powerful an assistance to the party of Eugenius, Hunnericus, who was absolutely resolved to take all opportunities of suppressing them, excluded from the assembly those who were reputed the most learned amongst the Catholics, and condemned them for supposed crimes, some to banishment, and others to death. He even caused Lætus, who was one of the most ingenious and learned men in Africa, to be burnt alive, in order to terrify those who were called to this conference, and by this means dispirit them, and prevent their being ready to defend and maintain their cause.

484. But GOD was resolved to maintain it himself, which he did in a most miraculous manner, before the day appointed for the assembly. A blind man, whose name was Felix, and who was well known throughout the city, in the night time, on the Eve of the Epiphany, heard three times following, in a dream, a voice which commanded him to go on the next day and present himself before the bishop Eugenius, who would restore his sight to him, by touching his eyes, at the same time that he was consecrating the waters which were designed for the baptism of the Catechumens. This command being repeated a third time with threatnings, he obeyed, and having caused himself to be conducted very early in the morning, to the Church, where the people (who in those days celebrated that feast with great devotion) were already assembled in order to sing hymns and the psalms appointed for Matins, he prostrated himself at the feet of Eugenius, acquainting him with the command, which he had received. And upon the holy bishop's refusing, out of humility, to grant his request, he still protested that he would not leave him till the command of GOD was fulfilled. At which Eugenius complied, and prayed to GOD that he would bless the blind-man's faith, then touched his eyes with the sign of the holy cross, and at that very instant Felix recovered the use of his eyes in the presence of all the people, who saw him with admiration, walk without any guide up to make his offering unto GOD, into the hands of the holy bishop who laid it on the altar. The whole city, who knew Felix to be blind, and now saw him restored to his sight, witnessed this miracle with transports of joy not to be expressed; and the man who was born blind, never occasioned

occasioned a greater noise at Jerufalem, than Felix did at Carthage.

A. D.

484.

Hunnericus, who was furprised at fo wonderful a thing, was refolved to be fatisfied himfelf of the truth of it, and therefore ordered Felix to be fent for. He knew by the testimony of thoufands of people that he was actually blind before this happened; and feeing now that his eyes were very good, he examined him, and heard from his own mouth the whole hiftory of his recovery: Hunnericus feeming to be moved at this relation, his Arian biftops, who had not the affurance and impudence to conteft a fact which he faw with his own eyes, were wicked enough to fay what the Pharifees ufed often to report of JESUS CHRIST, viz that Eugenius had performed this cure by a diabolical and magick operation. As they were very defirous of being delivered from this troublefome witnefs, who was (as may be faid) a living and undeniable conviction of the falftiy of their feft, they would have made away with him, if they could have done it conveniently.

But Cyrola, who was one of the moft confiderable amongft them, and whom the Arians called their Patriarch, found out another expedient which feemed to him more moderate and fafe for the honour of his party, tho' at the fame time it only ferved to make it more odious. (e) For having bribed, with a fum of fifty crowns, a poor wretched fellow, who feigned being blind, and who in a large place of the city in the prefence of the people, prayed him to reftore him to his fight, as he had done to many others; this falfe biftop rendered him really blind, at the very time that he was gravely acting his part as if he intended to heal him, by way of a confirmation of that belief which he profefled. Hereupon the wretched counterfeit flung the fifty crowns to him, and in a lamentable voice urged him to reftore to him the ufe of his eyes, which he had juft deprived him of by his impiety, and thus difcovered the impofture. Then praying fome perfon who was ftanding by to lead him to St. Eugenius, who was then in company with two other holy biftops, Vindemialis and Longinus, and having openly profefled the catholick faith, he received the grace of a miraculous recovery, the two biftops holding their hands over

(e) Greg. Tur. Hift. Franc. lib. 2. c. 3.

A.D. his head, and St. Eugenius, crossing his eyes with the sign of the
 484. cross, and saying in the name of the Father and of the Son, and of the Holy ghost, whom we confess to be one only true God, in three persons of co-equal power, may thine eyes be opened. This confirmed the Catholicks in their faith, but did not change the hardened hearts of Hunnericus and his Arian bishops. (*f*) For the first day of February being come, they insisted upon the appointed conference, which was only a snare contrived against the Catholicks.

There came to this meeting four hundred and sixty six bishops, from all the provinces of Africa, Corsia, and Sardinia, which, Gisericus had retaken after the defeat of the Emperour's army commanded by Basiliscus. But some days passed before they began the conference, during which time Hunnericus made away with those bishops whom he thought most eminent for their learning, besides others whom he had banished for false crimes which were laid to their charge. As soon as they began to meet, it plainly appeared that nothing would be transacted according to the laws of a formal conference, and that the Catholicks would be tyrannically oppressed by the Arians. (*g*) For in the first place Cyrola, who assumed to himself the title of Patriarch, would be president, or rather give laws to this assembly: And to this end he had caused a magnificent throne to be erected, which he immediately ascended, leaving the orthodox clergy standing without any mark of distinction. The latter, who had chosen ten bishops out of their whole number, who were appointed to speak for all the rest, in order that the Arians might have no room to say that they interrupted the conference by their multitude, first of all demanded by what authority Cyrola took upon him that pre-eminence; then said, that as he was a party concerned, it was not convenient that he should be judge; and that it was but reasonable that arbitrators should be named, who were capable of enquiring into the cause and proceedings of those who should dispute. Hereupon the Arians cryed out in a loud voice, with abusive expressions from all parts, saying, that as the Catholicks could not prove the *Homo-*

(*f*) Sirmond. Notit. Provinc. & Urb. Eccl. Afric. t. 4. Concil. Edit. Paris. A. 1671. (*g*) Victor. l. 2.

ousion by scripture, nor give a reason for their belief, they were only endeavouring to find evasions, in order to prevent a conference. To this they modestly replied, that, since the Arians would not admit of any arbitrators, it was but just that some of the most considerable persons and eminent citizens of Carthage should be permitted to be present at the conference, in order to witness what was debated on both sides. This alone was sufficient to exasperate those furious men against the Catholics, whom they aspersed, saying that they were endeavouring to excite the people to sedition, and hereupon they called in the soldiers, who were upon guard without the doors, and who at a signal which was given to them, made a reply for the Arians, by falling upon the Catholics, whom they beat unmercifully with sticks.

A. D.

484.

Eugenius, who was the chief of the orthodox bishops, called upon God and man to witness this violent treatment: But at last, in order to convince the Arians that, notwithstanding the injustice of their proceedings, they had no mind to evade a disputation, he addressed himself to Cyrola, desiring that he would begin the conference, by propounding what he had to say against the belief of the Catholics, assuring him that they were ready to answer him. This false Patriarch, who was very ignorant, and dreaded nothing more than to enter upon a dispute, replied, that he did not understand the latin tongue. They immediately told him, that he understood it of course, since he generally used to speak it. So that being confounded, and finding that he had people to deal with, who were prepared to dispute resolutely with him, he himself acted that shameful part, with which he had so falsely and arrogantly reproached them not long before. He endeavoured to bring himself off by evasions and little subtleties, which plainly shewed that he was no wise inclined to bring matters to a debate. (b) Therefore Eugenius who had foreseen this, caused his colleagues to present the assembly with an ample and excellent exposition of the catholic faith relating to the consubstantiality of the Word and of the Holy ghost, (i) which he proved by scripture, by the fathers, and by the continued and inviolable tradition of the

(b) Gennad. c. 97. (i) Apud. Victor. l. 2, folio sub ejus Nomine. Tom. 1. Biblioth. Patr. t. 4. Concil. Paris. A. D. 1671.

A. D.
484.

Church down from the apostles, and this he composed with the consent and approbation of all the bishops of his party in whose name it was presented. The other bishops could not refuse reading it, in as much as the Catholics were summoned to give an account of their belief. But as it was perfectly well drawn up, and the Arians, who were then present, could no wise resist the invincible force of those reasons and quotations which were therein set down in a most wonderful light, they interrupted the reading of it with a tumultuous noise contrived on purpose, which occasioned the assembly to break up; and the Arians laid their complaints before Hunnericus, representing to him that the *Homo-ousians* (for thus they styled the Catholics) had caused a most horrible disorder by their seditious murmurings, and furious behaviour, in order to prevent the assembly from enquiring into the truth of their doctrine, (k) which had been condemned by so many councils, and particularly by that of Rimini.

Hunnericus hereupon, without examining any farther into this accusation, caused a decree to be published which was already drawn up by the management of his bishops, whereby, after having falsely declared that the catholic bishops had endeavoured to excite a sedition, in order to prevent the conference, he took their Churches from them, and having given them to the Arians, it was resolved that all those who would not profess Arianism by the beginning of June, should undergo the punishment which had been decreed by the edicts of the Emperours against Hereticks. This being done, he expelled all these bishops from the city, after having stripped them of their possessions, and forbidden, upon pain of being burned alive, any one to receive them or give them any subsistence. And as they had proposed to represent their unhappy case to him, they watched an opportunity one day as he was taking the air out of the town, and presented themselves before him; but instead of giving them an answer, he ordered his guards to trample them under the feet of their horses, who killed several of them, particularly some of the eldest of them, who were not able to save themselves. In short, not one of these prelates could escape his cruelty: For he sent some of them to till the ground like

(k) Victor. l. 3.

flaves; (l) others he banished to the Isle of Corsica, in order to cut down timber for the use of his ships; and some he put to death after a most cruel manner; amongst others the holy bishops Vindemialis, and Longinus; several more with the bishop of Carthage were sent into the deserts, where, in a most distressed condition, they suffered a long and painful martyrdom.

A. D.
484.

The pastors being thus cut off, the whole flock was not only dispersed, but horridly tortured by all manner of torments which were inflicted on those who generously persisted in confessing the divinity of the son of God. (m) Hunnericus sent executioners throughout Africa in order to persecute the Catholics, on whom the cruel mandates of this inhuman Tyrant were unmercifully put in execution. All the torments that ever were invented by the first persecutors of christianity, as wooden horses, scourges with steel points, iron hooks, fire, flaming blades, wild beasts, and other instruments of cruelty; all these, I say, were put in use by this Barbarian against the Catholics, without distinction of condition, age, or sex; ladies even of the first quality were not exempted from these inhuman tortures. All Africa abounded with martyrs, who suffered with a resolution equal to that of the first christian heroes; and God likewise on his side wrought miracles on this occasion, that were not inferiour to those, which he had done in favour of those primitive martyrs; one particular instance hereof he was pleased to shew in a manner, that had never been seen before, which both declared and most miraculously proved at the same time the divinity of his only son.

Cyrola, the false patriarch of the Arians, having invaded the bishoprick of Typasus in Mauritania, the inhabitants of that city bore so great an aversion to him, that the major part of them quitted the country, and set out to sea in order to retire to some other part. Nevertheless he used his utmost endeavours to persuade the remainder of the people both with prayers or threatnings to be rebaptised, and profess Arianism; but he found them so stedfast; that, far from complying with his request, they disdained him; and, having upbraided him with his impiety, they left him in the Churches which he had seized, attended only by the ministers of

(l) Gregor. Tur. l. 2. Hist. Franc. c. 3.

(m) Vist. l. 3.

A. D.
484.

his rage, whilst they repaired to other places in order to celebrate the holy mysteries, and sing openly the praises of JESUS CHRIST consubstantial with his Father. This impious man being enraged to see himself thus affronted, as he thought, made his complaint to Hunnericus, at which this Tyrant was so highly incensed against those holy people, that he immediately sent his officers to Typasus, with orders to cut out the tongues even to the root, and the right hands of all those who would refuse to become Arians. This cruel order was executed with more barbarity than it was given; and as they all came in crouds to receive their martyrdom, this bloody execution was performed indifferently on people of all conditions, tho' nevertheless it did not prevent the divinity of JESUS CHRIST from being loudly proclaimed. For after their tongues were cut out, they cried more distinctly and with a stronger voice than ever, saying, that JESUS CHRIST was true GOD, and thus gave a testimony of it, in a manner which was so much the more divine, in that nature, in the condition they were in, could no wise have assisted them in the doing it. (n) What gave an addition to this miraculous work was, that a young man who was born dumb, tho' at the same time he had a tongue which he had never had the use of, began to speak like the rest as soon as his tongue was cut out; and to the end that this miracle, which had no other witnesses but the executioners of Hunnericus's cruelty, should not be contested, and that it might be known to the whole world, (o) these wonderful confessors of JESUS CHRIST spoke ever afterwards during life upon all subjects in this manner without their tongue, excepting two only, who, having sometime after fallen into the sin of incontinency, were deprived of this grace, and became utterly dumb. For GOD had decreed that so great a miracle, which he had performed in behalf of his son, who was the infinite pure production of his knowledge, should have no effect on the person of those who razed his image out of their hearts by the impurities of their body.

Now this is not one of those imaginary wonders, or fables, nor any of those deceits, or subtle illusions which your too credulous

(n) Marcell. in Chron.

(o) Procop. l. 1. de bell. Vandal. c. 8.

people are apt to take for miracles. For there are so many undeniable witnesses who assure it, not only upon the credit of those that saw it, as hath done St. Gregroy the great, (p) but upon having seen it themselves, and enquired into the matter with all the strictness imaginable at Constantinople, where several of those Saints had retired, that it is impossible to disown it without purposely and impudently belying those men whose veracity is incontestable. Victor of Utica, who was then on the place, wrote some time after concerning it, wherein he says, that if any one cannot easily believe it, he desires him to take a journey to Constantinople in order to be confirmed in it by his own Eyes, because he may there see the Deacon Reparatus, who speaks perfectly well, without his Tongue, and is for that reason in great honour at the Court of Zeno, and particularly esteemed by the Empress Ariadne, (q) who even pays him a kind of religious veneration. The Emperour Justinian, who was then at that court, declares that he himself saw those venerable men, who gave a plain account of their martyrdom without any tongue. Procop the historian (r) who was a man of undeniable honour, and who served in that Emperour's army with great reputation, that in his time he saw several of them at Constantinople, who could talk with a great deal of freedom. Æneas of Gaza a Platonick philosopher, (s) who has given us an excellent dialogue upon the immortality of the soul, and who flourished in those days, says in this work which was written under the name of Axitheus, that being invited thither by the report of so wonderful a thing, he was resolved to see with his own eyes, and examine these miraculous men, and having caused them to open their mouths, he found that their tongues were cut out to the root, and that nevertheless they talked freely and distinctly, and gave him a perfect account of the whole affair. So many great men all agree in the same thing, and give testimonies of it in their publick writings, and undoubtedly would have been convicted of falsity by a prodigious number of the inhabitants of Constantinople, had they been so impudent as to aver publickly that they had seen a thing in that city which had never happened. Now after this I cannot well conceive that any

A. D.
484

(p) Dialog. l. 2. c. 32. (q) Constitut. de Offic. P. Præt. Afric. Niceph. l. 17. c. 11. (r) Lib. 1. de bell. Vand. c. 9. (s) Tom. 5. Bibl. P. P.

A. D. man of common sense would say that he did not give credit to it.

484.

But in short this persecution was too violent to continue long. GOD declared his wrath against it, and severely punished the Vandals, by the famine and plague which destroyed, and were the forerunners of a war, which he had designed for their utter extermination, and in the mean while, he shortened the days of Hunnericus, (t) who died in the same year of a most horrible kind of disease, being eaten up alive by worms, which issued out of all the parts of his body; he tore his flesh to pieces with his own teeth, and at last became his own executioner, after having put to death an infinite number of martyrs, in order to restore Arianism, and, what is particular, he died like the impious Arius, (u) whose bowels fell from him whilst he was yet living. He was succeeded by Gondabond the eldest of his nephews, whom he had banished from his court, and who, in hatred to his uncle that had used him so ill, at first restored peace to the church, (x) and called home all those whom he had sent into banishment. But some years after being led away by his cruel and barbarous inclinations, he renewed the persecution against the Catholics.

A. D.

487.

During this interval of time (y) many of the priests and lay-men, having been seduced by fair promises, or terrified by fears and tortures, had submitted to be re-baptized, and being desirous to be received again into the church, they applied themselves for this purpose to Felix the third, then bishop of Rome, (z) who on this account called a council of thirty eight bishops, wherein such penances were ordered to be inflicted on every one, as were suitable to the nature and circumstances of their crimes before they could be re-admitted to the communion. Thus the church of Rome acted freely with respect to spiritual affairs, even under the government of Odoacerus, who, tho' he was an Arian, did no ways concern himself with matters of religion. But his good fortune, which had continued till then, according to the prediction of St. Severinus, was at last destroyed by a more powerful Arian than himself. This

(t) Victor. l. 3.

(u) Greg. Tur. Hist. l. 2. c. 3. Isid. in hist. Vand.

(x) Isid. ibid.

(y) Procop. l. 1. c. 8.

(z) Conc. Rom. Sub.

Fel. l. 4. Conc. Edit. Paris.

was Theodoricus king of the Ostrogoths, who became master of Rome about that time.

**A. D.
487.**

This prince, notwithstanding the peace which Theodemirus his father had made with the Emperour, being desirous to make himself agreeable to the Ostrogoths, who could acquire no riches but by means of a war, (a) invaded from time to time the imperial provinces, and caused great devastations throughout the country. Zeno, in order to bring him over to his interest, paid him all the honours imaginable. He first made him general of his forces, and gave him that part of Dacia which was adjacent to the Danube, with part of the lower Mysia, and at last conferred on him even the dignity of consul, which he held with Venantius in the year four hundred and eighty four. (b) But seeing that all these favours could not prevent this fierce nation from often rising up in arms, (c) having even fired and ransacked Thracia, up to the very gates of Constantinople, he found means artfully to remove such dangerous neighbours who in the midst of peace became his enemies whenever they had a fancy to satisfy themselves with plunder. In order to complete his design, as he was well acquainted with the dispositions of Theodoricus, who was full of ambition, and fond of great undertakings, he took an opportunity, whilst the Goths were peaceably inclined, and proposed to him the conquest of Italy, then in the possession of the Eruli, (d) who had usurped it from the Empire. He told him that as he was Emperour of the Romans he had an undoubted right to Rome and to all Italy, and that he could dispose of it as he thought proper; But that having the same value and affection for him, as if he were his own son, he would be highly pleased to acknowledge him for his colleague, and therefore would call him to the Empire, provided he would drive out the usurper. It was no difficult matter for Zeno to give away what he had not in his possession, tho' at the same time it was an advantage to him that That Theodoricus would accept his offer, by which means he might be delivered from a troublesome neighbour, and procure to himself a most powerful friend at a very small expence.

(a) Marcell. in Chron.

(b) Marcell. in Chron.

(c) Idat.

(d) Procop. de bell. Goth. l. 1. c. 1. Paul. Diac. in Miscell. l. 15.

- A. D.* 488. Theodoricus whose sentiments were noble, and who had the soul of a Roman, being of opinion that nothing could be more glorious for him, and for his nation, than to be placed on the throne of the ancient Cæsars, and preside over Rome, (e) very readily accepted the proposal; and after having returned his humble thanks to Zeno, to whom he promised whatever he required of him, he easily persuaded his Ostrogoths to follow him with their wives and children, into the finest country in the world. He therefore quitted Pannonia, and marched along the river Savia, till he came to the head of it, where he entered Italy by (f) the Carniolan Alps, and fixed his camp in the province called Frioli, upon the borders of the river Sontius, in order to refresh his forces. But his incampment there was not very long. (g) For Odoacerus, who was come to meet him with an army, tho' too late to prevent him from passing the Alps, challenged him to battle, which he accepted. And hereupon Theodoricus fought with so much courage and conduct, that he soon routed the whole army of the Eruli; (h) then pursuing Odoacerus, who had made his retreat towards the river Athesis, he defeated the remainder of his troops, in a second engagement which he gave him in the plains of Verona. After these two victories, having wintered his army in so plentiful a country, he marched with his forces, and gave battle for the third time to Odoacerus, who was incamped near the river Adda. Fortune still continued to be favourable to him at this juncture; for he defeated his enemy, who retired to Ravenna, where, in spite of his perverse fortune, he behaved with all the courage and resolution imaginable, and held out the siege for the space of three years, (i) making continual sallies by night, till at last Theodoricus, who had no naval forces to prevent Odoacerus from receiving succours by sea, having no hopes of forcing the place, agreed to make peace with him upon condition that they should both reign jointly together in Italy. But it has been seldom seen that ambition could long be easy under this dividing of Empire.
- A. D.* 490. Theodoricus having entered Ravenna, according to the Treaty, (k) at first lived pretty well, at least outwardly, with Odoacerus. But whe-

(e) Jorn. de reb. Gct. c. 57. (f) Carniola. (g) Silorze Jorn c. 57.
 (h) Cassiod L'Adiret. (i) Cassiod Jornaud. Procop. (k) Procop. l. 1.

ther he had discovered that Prince was carrying on some secret design against him, or whether he laid hold on this occasion to colour over a very wicked action, and induce the world to believe that he had only been beforehand with his enemy; however it might be, a few days afterwards, having invited Odoacerus to an entertainment, (l) he had the unfortunate Prince cruelly massacred; who having no mistrust, by his frankness, plain enough shew'd, he had no thoughts of surprizing Theodoricus. But at length, as the dead no longer had it in his power to prove his innocence, so the world was willing to believe the living, who was the stronger, to be in the right. Thus the Romans, and the Eruli themselves, who were at Ravenna, and afterwards all Italy, acknowledged Theodoricus, who resolved to take upon him no other Title than that of King, as Odoacerus had done.

A. D.
439.

After this, he shewed plainly that if he had till then appeared a great captain, he was still a greater politician. For the more strongly to establish himself in his new dominions, he endeavoured to gain the friendship of all the most considerable Princes then reigning in the world. He had already treated with the Vandals during the siege of Ravenna, (m) and afterwards gave his sister Amalfreda to Torismond their King. Tho' he was master of Italy, he entered into alliance with the three princes who held the Empire of the Gauls. (n) He gave his two natural daughters, one to Alaric, King of the Visigoths, and the other to Sigismund son of Gondeband, King of the Burgundians; and as Clovis (o) the French king was every day gaining ground on the Gauls; he demanded his sister Andofleda for a wife; and he obtained her, because it was of consequence to the reputation of the French, that a king, in possession of the Empire, should think himself honoured by an alliance with them.

Anastatius had succeeded Zeno in the Empire of the East. He sent ambassadors to him to desire a peace, and the honour of his friendship, and so artfully gain'd him by flattering letters, (p) and feigned submissions, by offering always to act in concert with him, as if they both govern'd but one Empire, that it is highly

(l) Cassiod. (m) Cassiod. (n) Procop. de Bell. Vandal. (o) Jorn. c. 58.
(p) Aim. l. 2. c. 1. (q) Cassiod. Ep. 1. ad Anast.

A. D. probable that it was particularly in favour of Theodoricus, that
494. Anastasius, who otherwise was a heretick of more than one sect,
 (r) gave a toleration to the Arians, and allowed them a great deal
 of liberty at Constantinople. Indeed, after that time we find that
 they there had both Churches, and a bishop named Deuterius, to
 whom happened a strange accident, which contributed more than
 ever to discredit those hereticks. (s) For as that wicked wretch
 was going to baptize one whose name was Barbarus, he, according
 to the custom of some new Arians, changed the form of baptism
 instituted by JESUS CHRIST, and said: *Let Barbarus be babtiz'd*
in the name of the Father, thro' the Son, in the Holy Ghost, and in
 the very instant the water in the Font vanished, which so frighten-
 ed this poor profelyte of the Arians, that he immediately ran out
 of the church, and went and published the miracle all over the
 city. It is even said, that a learned orthodox Bishop, not being
 able to reduce an obstinate disputant, who was always using his
 false philosophical subtilties to support Arianism, ordered a great
 fire to be made, and proposed to him, that, without longer amus-
 ing himself with philosophical disputations, they should both go
 into the fire, which would be a sensible and convincing proof of
 his faith, who should come out of it without being burnt. The
 Arian refused to accept of this condition, or to put his sect to so
 dangerous a proof. But the orthodox Bishop animated by a great
 confidence which he had in God, who inspired him with this
 action, went courageously into the fire, and from the midst of
 the flames began to preach to the standers by, the Divinity of the
 Son of God, which he prov'd by this miraculous argument, to
 which the Arian was able to make no reply. But Anastasius,
 hardened in his heresies, was not moved by it, (t) no more than
 he had been some years before, by the terrible punishment of
 Olympius, another Arian, who having blasphemed the holy Tri-
 nity in the publick baths, to the great scandal of all Catholicks,
 was no sooner got into the cold bath, than he began to cry out
 sadly that he was burning. And indeed, he was taken out so
 consum'd, that notwithstanding all the assistance they could give
 him, his flesh falling off from his bones, he soon after expired in

(r) Cedren. (s) Theod. lect. Collect. l. 2. Theoph. Cedren. (t) Damasc.
 Grat. 3. de imagin.

the most excessive torture. Such was the Emperor, with whom *A. D.*
Theodoricus entered into alliance, and who permitted the Arians 494
again to establish themselves at Constantinople.

After this, one would have said that Arianism, protected by so many powers, and supported by such strong alliances, was going to triumph in the West, and chiefly among the Gauls, and in Italy, where all the princes were Arians, except the French king, who was a heathen; but God disposed affairs otherwise, for Theodoricus, who was a prince extremely politick, (u) did not pique himself upon a false zeal for the advancement of his Arian sect, about which he gave himself very little trouble, being in all probability very indifferent in matters of Religion. He not only reigned many years at Rome, in a manner no way inferior to that of the greatest and wisest of the Roman Emperors, but likewise would not suffer the Catholicks to be molested, whom he made use of in employments of the greatest consequence in his kingdom. He even always, till a little before his death, heartily and sincerely supported the authority, rights, and liberty of the Church of Rome, even to the extinguishing a dangerous schism by his presence in a legitimate council at Rome, and even to the causing Odoacerus's ordinance to be abolished, which decreed that a Pope could not be chosen without the king's consent. (x) It is also said that he did an action which made a great noise, and which gave all the Catholicks at Rome as much assurance, as it took away from the Arians the hopes of spreading their heresy. For, as one of his officers, for whom he had some esteem, from a Catholick which he had been before, was turn'd Arian, thinking thereby to advance himself in his favour; this prince, far from looking upon himself as obliged by this change, ordered him to be beheaded, saying that he who had so basely betray'd the faith he owed to God, could never be faithful to his King. And as to the Gauls, these alliances which Theodoricus had made with the Arian Kings, and with Clovis, who was still a heathen, did not hinder God by a miracle of his power, from making use of this French King, in order at length to destroy the forces of Arianism there: And we must now see how so wonderful a thing was effected.

(u) Procop. l. 1. c. 1. (x) Theod. l. 2. Niceph. l. 16. c. 35. Cedren.



T H E
H I S T O R Y
O F
A R I A N I S M.

B O O K X.

IHE Eastern Empire was groaning under the shameful yoke of Anastasius, an heretick of the Eutychian and Accphalian sects; and the Western, divided into several Kingdoms by strangers who had conquered the Romans, was reduced under the power of Kings, either Arians, or Heathens, when God resolved again to establish the Church, and deliver his people from the tyranny of Arianism, by beginning this important work with the conversion and victories of the great Clovis. This prince, now in the thirtieth year of his age, and fifteenth of his reign, had made a considerable conquest by defeating the remains of the Romans under Syagrius then reigning at Soissons and the Thuringians: But

A. D.
494.

A. D. 494. But still he put off the accomplishment of the promise he had made to queen Clotilda when he married her, to embrace the law of **JESUS CHRIST** whom she adored. (a) The extreme danger he was in upon the day of the battle of Tolbiac near Cologne brought his promise fresh into his mind, and obliged him to make a vow to keep it, if the **GOD** of Clotilda should assist him on that occasion. Victory ensued upon his vow, and his conversion was the consequence of his victory. After being fully instructed by several godly bishops; (b) and especially by St. Remi archbishop of Rheims, he was baptized by him, who caused him to make profession of the catholic faith, and particularly of the mystery of the holy trinity, against the Arian heresy, which the Visigoths maintained in a great part of the Gauls, (c) which they held on the other side the Loire. After which he baptized him in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, which the Arians did not at that time. For at first they baptized in the name of the three persons of the Trinity, keeping to the form which the Catholics used. Wherefore the Church held their baptism valid, but not that of the Paulianists, and Photinians, who absolutely denied the Trinity. But after the Arians thought that this form, instituted by Jesus Christ himself, too clearly expressed the equality of the three persons, which they denied, they altered it, as they had done the doxology, and baptized in the name of the Father, by the Son, in the Holy Ghost.

Above three thousand French of the king's army at the same time received the same benefit, the rest soon followed. Alboflada, one of his sisters, who was baptized at the same time with him, (d) died soon after her being baptized: and the other, named Lautilda, abjured Arianism with which she had been unfortunately infected, this heresy insensibly spreading it self by the intercourse there was with the Arian Visigoths and Burgundians. St. Remi endeavoured to comfort Clovis on the death of his sister, by a beautiful letter, which we have remaining from amongst the works of this

(a) Greg. Tur. l. 2. c. 31. (b) St. Vast. Bp. of Arras. St. Solemme B. of Chalons. St. Medard B. of Soissons. (c) Greg. Tur. l. 2. cap. 31. (d) Tom. 1. Concil. Gall. Tom. 4. Concil. Edit. Paris. ibid. Ado. in Chron. Martyr. Rom. 9. Feb.

great man: and we have that too, which the famous Alcimus Avitus Bishop of Vienna, the scourge and conquerour of the Arians of his time, wrote to him, with as much force and eloquence as piety, to congratulate him upon his so happy Conversion.

In the beginning of this letter he says, “that the choice he had made of the Christian Religion by rejecting the other sects, into which the hereticks had endeavoured to seduce him, was an excellent precedent for all nations to direct them to the belief they ought to embrace, as the only true one, and that the faith of which he had lately made profession, was an illustrious victory for the Catholicks over heresy. And after a very eloquent elogium upon his piety in his baptism, which he tells us was on Christmas Eve, and not in Easter Eve, as had been hitherto believed on the testimony of Hinemarus, he adds, “that if he takes the freedom of exhorting him, it is not to cause the faith to encrease in him, for that he was perfect: nor christian humility, of which he had given such shining instances by his submission to the Church: nor compassion, nor clemency, since the captives he had set at liberty, so fully proved them to all the world: but that it was to conjure him in the name of God to take care of the conversion of other foreign nations not yet corrupted with heresy, that he would be pleased to draw from the treasure of his heart, the good grain of the faith, which he had received, and cause it to be scattered amongst those poor people, by sending them even ambassadors to that purpose, to the end that he might, to his utmost, encrease the kingdom of God, who had already so gloriously raised his own in the world.” This is part of the holy arch-bishop’s letter to Clovis. Pope Anastasius, who was but just entered upon his pontificate, at the same time sent him one, wherein he tells him, amongst other things, (e) “that the holy Church his mother was rejoiced at having spiritually begotten unto God so great a king, who would defend her against the attacks of all her enemies, and of those pestilent men, who were risen against her.

(e) Tom. 4. Concil. edit. Paris. Specileg. t. 5.

A. D.
497.

I believe, that after these circumstances of Clovis's conversion and baptism have appeared, it will not be taken amiss, if I demand of the present age and of posterity, (*f*) that they would do me justice upon that French writer, who has dared to question, whether Clovis at his conversion became a Catholick, or an Arian, as was the king of the Visigoths, and of Burgundy, whose niece he had married. For if that author was acquainted with the least part of what I have just now mentioned, he cannot avoid the charge of the blackest malice, in betraying truth wholly evident, by a sort of insincerity, not in the least pardonable. And if he was not acquainted with it, can it be denied to be an extream ignorance joined to as great a rashness, to have thus unworthily treated the memory of so great a prince, who acquired for his successors the glorious title of most christian, and eldest son of the church, by having been the first Christian and Catholick king.

And indeed, all the princes then reigning were without the pale of the church: and this holy mother of christians, who has children all over the earth, had not one on a throne. The emperor Anastasius was not only a heretick, but a persecutor of the Orthodox; Theodoricus at Rome and in Italy: Alaricus in the Narboneſe Gauls, in Aquitain, and Spain; the suevi in Galicia; the Burgundians in the Lionese Gaul, and along the Saône and the Rhône as far as Durance; Traſamond king of the Vandals, who had just ſucceeded to his brother Gondamond in Africa, were all Arians; and the other kings in Germany and Great Britain, were ſtill wholly buried in idolatry; ſo that Clovis having been beyond diſpute the firſt king, really chriſtian and catholick, the firſt rank amongſt Kings, and that illuſtrious title of eldeſt Son of the Church, cannot be denied the Kings of France, his auguſt ſucceſſors. This reflection is ſo eſſential to my ſubject, and ſo neceſſary to the hiſtory of Arianism, that I am not afraid of cenſure for lightly reprimanding this author, who certainly deſerves a ſeverer puniſhment for having ſo diſreſpectfully treated a truth ſo well backed by ſuch a number of convincing proofs.

Clovis then being ſo happily converted to the chriſtian and Catholick faith, reſolved to make war upon the two other Arian

(*f*) Paquier in his *Recherctus de la France*.

kings, reigning in the Gauls, beginning with the Burgundian. The cause was just, and the pretence specious, Gondericus king of the Burgundians had left four sons heirs to his estates, Gondeband, Godegesil, Chilperic, and Godemar. Ambition which easily breaks tho' the strictest ties of nature, soon disunited the four brothers, and armed them against each other. The two last being assisted by the Germans their neighbours, conquered their elder brothers, and put them to flight, but Gondeband having surprised them at Vienna, at a time when they thought him dead, had Chilperic beheaded, his male-children killed, his wife thrown with a stone about her neck into the Rhone, and Godemar burnt in a castle whither he had escaped. The two daughters of Chilperic, Mucurune and Clotilda were preserved from this Barbarian's cruelty, who did not think he could reasonably be under any apprehensions from them. The eldest became a Nun, and Clotilda, who was as good a Catholick as her sister, was kept as a prisoner in the palace, so strictly was she guarded, and narrowly watched by her uncle's guards.

A. D.
497.

However, tho' the Burgundians professed Arianism, which the Goths had spread all over the barbarous nations, yet they suffered the Gaulish Catholicks under their government to live at peace, and the bishops exercised their office with as much liberty as they had done under the Roman Emperors. Nay, they even laboured to convert the Burgundians without any opposition, and Avitus, the holy arch-bishop of Vienna, endeavoured to convert king Gondeband. This prince, who had a great deal of wit, tho' a very wicked man, willingly heard him, and was so moved by his discourse, and convinced by the strength of his reasons, as freely to confess that in his heart he believed the equality of three persons of the trinity, and even to press him to reconcile him privately to the church. The holy man did what he could to induce him to make a publick profession of his faith. (g) He represented to him, "that the son of God protested in his gospel, that he would own before his heavenly father him who should own him before men, and that he would reject all such as should be ashamed of confessing

(g) Matt. 10.

him.

A. D. 497. “ him in publick. (*b*) That according to the divine Apostle we
 “ believe with the heart to obtain justice, and with our mouth con-
 “ fess what we believe to attain salvation. That he ought to imi-
 “ tate that holy king, (*i*) who so often tells GOD, that he will con-
 “ fess his holy name before all nations, and in the great assemblies
 “ of his people. (*k*) That it were shameful for a great king, like him,
 “ and who was so absolute in his state, to betray his conscience out
 “ of fear. That it would be not only an obstacle to his salvation,
 “ but to his glory too, to deny GOD what was due to him, for fear
 “ of displeasing any of his subjects, who could not approve such an
 “ action in him. That it was his duty to give the law, and not to
 “ receive it, that his people ought to follow him, and not draw
 “ after them: and that it was better for his subjects to embrace
 “ the truth in following his example, as they did in war, than to
 “ leave them to continue in error, by unworthily condescending
 “ to their weakness.

These words, though they satisfied his judgment, yet they had not their proper effect upon him, but a worldly fear prevailed over the convictions of his mind. He was too wicked, and too cunning to become a sincere believer: And GOD leaving him to his own malice he till his death persisted, by a terrible obstinacy, to contend against the divinity of the son of GOD before men, (*l*) which he acknowledged in his heart. The holy bishop however did not lose courage. He often returned to the charge against this so hardened a heart, and still to make the greater impression on him, composed an excellent treatise against the Arian Heresy by way of dialogue, which he dedicated to him.

In short, during the war which Clovis made upon this miserable prince, and shortly before his entire ruin, Avitus made the last effort to bring him over in a conference the Catholics had with the false Arian bishops, which was held by his consent, and in his presence at Lions. (*m*) The kings of Burgundy allowed the Catholick bishops so great a liberty, that those of the province of Lions met every year on the festival of St. Justus at his sepulchre, in

(*b*) Rom. 10.
 12. Sigismundo Gond. filio. Ado. in Chr.
 Ep. 58. and 59.

(*i*) Psal. 34.

(*k*) Psal. 56.

(*l*) Avitus Ep.

(*m*) Sidon. l. 5. Ep. 117. Avitus.

order then to celebrate his memory, and afterwards treat of ecclesiastical affairs. The arch-bishop Stephen, (n) who had a mind to engage the Arians to a conference, being strongly solicited to it by St. Remi, took his opportunity when the king was at Lions and invited the bishops to be at this festival in as great a body as they could, to the end that under pretence of waiting on him to pay their complements together, this conference might be desired, as it were by accident, without any formed design appearing. The thing succeeded as he had imagined. Going all together to pay their duty to the king, who was at one of his country-houses, Avitus who had been chosen for their speaker, as he was very adroit, and eloquent, turned his discourse, very appositely, upon the peace of the church, which the king seemed to desire in his kingdom, and said very gracefully that he should be very glad to enjoy so great a blessing as soon as possible, if the king pleased: *For, my lord*, said he, we are all ready so clearly to demonstrate the truth of our faith by the gospel, and by the constant doctrine of the apostles, that there will no longer be any room to doubt our being in the true belief, and your being against God, and his church. Your majesty, who has such bright parts, and so good an understanding, may have the pleasure of informing your self in this matter in person, you have your bishops here, who are skillful men, and well instructed in all sorts of learning; be pleased only to command them to confer with us in your presence, and to “ observe whether they answer our reasons, as we are ready to “ give a satisfactory reply to whatever they may be willing or “ able to object to us. “ The king, who saw himself embarrassed with the war, which the French began to make upon him a little briskly, answered with chagrin; “ If yours be the true belief, how “ comes it that your bishops do not prevent the French king’s “ injustice, who has declared war against me, and made alliances “ with my greatest enemies, to ruin me? can the true faith be “ reconciled with a desire of seizing upon the possessions of another, and with that insatiable thirst which he shews for the

(n) Collat. Episc. coram rege Gundebal. ex Hist. Episc. Gall. Hieron. Vignerii Spicileg. to. 5. Tom. 4. Concil. Gall. Edit. Paris.

A. D. “ blood of nations? Let him shew the genuineness of his faith by
499. “ his works.”

After these words from an Arian (for these are king Gondeband's, own words) can we ever doubt of Clovis's belief? Avitus answered with a holy liberty, together with an extream respect, “ that they “ knew not the reasons why the French king made war upon “ him, but that they well knew, having learnt it from the scrip- “ ture, that GOD often pulls kings from their throne, who have “ abandoned his holy law, and that he raises enemies from all sides “ to those who have declared themselves his. But return, my “ lord, ” added he, “ return to GOD, with your people, and you “ will surely have a blessed peace over your kingdom, which GOD, “ who will be then on your side, will defend against the insults “ of your enemies. Why then, ” replied the king, “ do I not “ profess the true faith? You say I do not, because you are pleased “ to take it amiss that I do not worship three GODS as you do; “ yet I do not find in the scripture that there are more than one. “ GOD forbid, answered the bishop, that we should ever be “ guilty, either of imagining, or of uttering such a blasphemy. “ There is but one GOD in essence, but in three persons, which “ consisting but of one indivisible substance, can be but one “ divinity.” Whereupon, as he had already more than once in- structed the king in private on this great mystery, he had no great trouble in informing him in the Catholick faith, touching the unity of nature, which is reconcileable in GOD with the trinity of the divine persons, of which the son is consubstantial with the Father, and the Holy Ghost with both. And as he saw he was favourably heard by the king, who seemed pleased with the discourse, he enlarged with great strength and eloquence, on this sublime subject: And on a sudden added, as by a divine enthusiasm, that if his majesty had a mind to have this great truth explained, and laid open before him, and all his people by a regular conference with his bishops, he could assure him it might turn aside GOD's wrath, which the enemies of his Son were going to bring down upon the kingdom, and thereupon throwing himself at the king's feet, embracing them, and weeping bitterly, he was immediately followed by all the rest, who did the same, which drew tears from the whole assembly.

The king was exceedingly moved at it, and stooping very low *A D.* to raise him, answered with great humanity, that he would con- 499. sider of what the bishop of Vienna had just been saying to him, and would soon let them know his pleasure. He did so the next day, when, being returned to Lions, he sent for archbishop Stephen and Avitus, whom he told that they had what they desired, that his bishops were very ready to shew them that nobody could be consubstantial with God; but that he would not have the conference held in publick, before all the people, to avoid confusion and disorder; that it should be held before the members of his council and some others whom he would appoint on his side; as he likewise promised them to chuse some of the members of the same on theirs, but in a small number, and that it should be held in his palace the very next day, which was the festival of St. Justus, being the second of September. The bishops, having returned the king their most humble thanks, went and informed their brethren, who, in order to be prepared for that celebrated day, passed the night at church in prayers at the tomb of St. Justus, to ask of God, by the intercession of his servants, the accomplishment of their desires, and the king's conversion. But at that very time there happened a melancholy presage, which plainly shewed them they would not be heard in the manner they intended. For as the reader, according to custom, was beginning the holy reading by the books of Moses, he happened upon those terrible words of Exodus: (c) "I will harden his heart, I will multiply my signs and wonders in Egypt, and he shall not hear you." When the psalms had been sung, he opened the book of Isaiah, (p) and there found what God says to his prophet: "Go, and thou shalt say unto this people; hear, and understand not; see, and comprehend not: blind the heart of this people, and stop their ears, and shut their eyes, lest they see, hear, or understand, and should thereupon be converted, and I should heal them." This very much surprised and astonished the bishops, but their astonishment still became greater, when, after singing some psalms, they heard read out of the gospels the reproach made by JESUS CHRIST to Chorazin

(c) Exod. 7.

(p) Isai. 6.

A. D. and Bethsaide, (*p*) and when upon reading the Epistle to the
 499. Romans, (*r*) these astonishing words were found: "know ye not
 " that the goodness of GOD inviteth you to repentance? But by
 " your hardness and impenitence of heart, you heap up to your-
 " selves a treasure of wrath against the day of vengeance." They
 saw plainly, by so surprising an accident as this, that GOD
 manifestly shewed, that the king's heart was hardened; and that
 GOD had abandoned him to make his justice shine out. The
 rest of the night passed in sighing, and bewailing the misfortune
 of this miserable prince; however, they prepared for the con-
 ference they were to enter upon: firmly to maintain the inte-
 rests of the son of GOD against the Arians.

The hour then which the king had appointed them drawing
 on, all the bishops, together with many priests and deacons, and
 some catholicks of the court and city, and, amongst others, with
 Placidius and Lucanus, two of the chief officers of the army,
 proceeded to the palace, whither the Arians also came. When
 every one had taken his place, Avitus, who spoke for the Ca-
 tholicks, set forth the faith of the church, with so much force
 and eloquence, and proved it by so many passages from the
 scripture so convincing, and so fairly laid before them, that as
 great astonishment and confusion appeared amongst the Arians,
 as assurance and joy amongst the Catholicks. And indeed, Boni-
 face, the most learned of the Arians, whom that party had made
 choice of to support their cause, instead of a precise answer to
 what Avitus had advanced to prove the divinity of the son of
 GOD by testimonies from scripture, entered into a long, tedious,
 confused discourse, wherein he proposed by philosophical argu-
 ments, all the difficulties which human reason, not enlightened
 by faith, finds in the mystery of the trinity. When he had ended,
 Avitus replied, that philosophy was not the business at present,
 but faith arising from the word of GOD, and which, being a-
 bove reason, is not however against it, whatever difficulty she
 could urge against it. Wherefore that he besought him to give
 a plain answer to what he had proposed; drawn from the scrip-
 ture: and that after that, he promised him satisfaction, as to

he had advanced, according to the Maxims of philosophy. But *A. D.*
Boniface, finding himself pinched, instead of answering, fell into 499.
invectives, saying the Catholicks were idolaters, who held a plurality of Gods; and nothing more could be got from him. This was a direct confession of his weakness. Therefore the king, who perceived the perplexity his party was in, broke up the assembly, telling them that this was sufficient for that time; and that Boniface should answer the next day.

The Catholick prelates, very well pleased with this first skirmish, being returned to the palace the day after, met Aredius, one of the chief lords of the court, and a Catholick, but one who favoured the Arians, out of a servile complaisance to the king. The first thing he said to them was, that, as their humble servant, he advised them not to pursue their design, but go back: that these disputes were disagreeable to well-meaning persons: that they only sharpened peoples tempers; that no good could come from them: and for certain the king was not pleased with them. But the archbishop answered him, that an enquiry into truth, from a mere spirit of charity, in order to procure the salvation of his brethren, far from disturbing the peace, was the properest means of reuniting hearts by a perfect christian friendship, and that in short they were come by express command from the king. To which Aredius not daring to reply, they went in, and the king, as soon as he saw them, received them very graciously, and seating himself between the archbishop and Avitus, entertained them with what he had most at heart, the war which king Clovis was making upon him, of whom he complained extreamly, telling them that he solicited his own brother against him. The bishops answered, that there was no better method to have a peace with that king, than to embrace the faith he professed: and that if his majesty would be pleased to take that method, they eagerly offered themselves to negotiate the peace. But as the king made no answer to it, each went back to his place: and the bishop Avitus made an excellent discourse, wherein, in relation to Boniface's insinuating, that the Catholicks worshiped many Gods, he shewed with so much solidity, prudence, and perspicuity, and in so agreeable and eloquent a manner, that they acknowledged but one God in the trinity of the persons,

A.D. that he was admired by the Arians themselves, who could not
499. help giving signs of their astonishment. They waited a long time, expecting something to the purpose from Boniface; but the king seeing the poor man (who knew not whereabouts he was,) did nothing but heap an infinite number of abusive words one upon another, crying out with all his might, so as to grow hoarse, and to be able to go no farther, he rose up hastily, looking with an ill eye on Boniface, shewing the contempt he had of his weakness, and his indignation at his manner of proceeding. Avitus, that he might make all the advantage that could be expected from so remarkable a victory, took all imaginable pains in order to oblige the king to reconcile himself to the church, seeing his bishops could make no answer. He went so far as to propose to him, by a sudden inspiration from GOD, that they should all, at that very instant, go in one body to St. Justus's tomb, and that each side should enquire of the saint which of the two was the true faith, and that by an internal motion which he felt within his soul, he took upon himself to assure his majesty, that GOD, to confirm the Catholick faith by a miracle, would order the saint to answer. But, tho' this prince was convinced, and tho, surprised by a proposal which promised him the sight of a miracle, he seemed to accept it; yet his fear of his subjects, and above all of his Arian bishops, who made a terrible outcry in the assembly, that recourse was had to magick and enchantments, to destroy the true belief, had so great an influence over his mind, that he had not the courage to proceed any farther. However, he could not help shewing the sentiments of his heart, and the violence he put upon himself by resisting truth so self-evident. For as he went out of the hall where the conference had been held, he took the arch-bishop by the hand, and having carried them into his chamber, tenderly embraced them, and conjured them to pray to GOD for him. But he in vain desired those two bishops to beg that of GOD for him, which he himself was resolved not to obtain. What was matter of consolation to the Catholicks was, that this example of the king had no influence on his subjects. For several Arians, having learnt what had passed at the conference, owned the falleness of their sect, and were converted; and after they had for a few days

days been prepared to receive the favour of baptism, were baptised according to the form of the church.

A. D.
499.

Such was king Gondeband, on whom Clovis was making war, not only for the sake of queen Clotilda, but to revenge the death of Chilperic and his wife, whom that king had inhumanly caused to be murdered, but also upon a secret correspondence which he had with Godegesil, who solicited him to enter Burgundy, and to rescue him from the oppression of his brother who molested him in the possession of his share. Gondeband, who was a stranger to this correspondence, seeing Clovis had declared war against him, pressed Godegesil to join with him, and oppose their common enemy. But he was extremely surprised, at the time the three armies were in view of each other before Dijon, to see that of his brother joined with Clovis against him. (r) This accident which he had not foreseen, so disconcerted him, that he fled towards the Rhône, almost without striking one stroke, and took refuge in Avignon, where Clovis, in pursuit of his design, having besieged him, he was at last forced to humble himself, and to sue for peace to Clovis, by making himself his tributary, and yielding up Vienna to his brother. But Clovis was no sooner retired into his own Territories than Gondeband went and laid siege to Vienna, (s) which he took by surprise by an aqueduct shewn him by one who had the care of it, and who had been turned out of the city with such people as they looked upon as useless. And poor Godegesil, having taken refuge during the hurry in a church belonging to the Arians, was killed there, together with the bishop of the sect, by the command of the Barbarian, who thus became the murderer and executioner of his three brothers. It is even reported, (t) that he caused all the French who were at Vienna in his brother's service to be massacred: But others affirm he only made them prisoners, and sent them to Alaricus, whom he knew to be the most dangerous and formidable enemy that Clovis had. However it might be, the treachery was too black; and the injury done to Clovis too remarkable, and of too high a nature, not to be revenged and punished by so great a king. Clovis therefore returned

500.
501.

(r) Greg. Turon. l. 2. c. 32.
c. 19. Greg. Tur. l. 12. c. 33.

(s) Greg. Tur. c. 33.

(t) Aim. l. 1.

A. D. into Burgundy with a strong army, (*u*) engaged Gondeband, and
 .502. entirely defeated him without the assistance of Theodoricus king
 503. of the Ostrogoths, who had entered into an alliance with the
 French to have a share in the conquest. He afterwards easily made
 himself master of the whole kingdom; but at last, at the instance
 of Clotilda, he relinquished that part of it which is on the other
 side the Rhône (containing Savoy, Dauphine, and Provence, as
 far as Durance) to Segismund, Gondeband's son.

After so happy a conclusion of the Burgundian war, Clovis found himself in a condition to undertake that which he had long resolved upon, against the Visigoths. Many reasons obliged him to this attempt. The protection Alaricus generally gave to his enemies and rebels, the hatred and jealousy which that Prince on all occasions shewed against him, (*x*) the pains he took to raise him enemies on all sides, the ambuscade he had laid to surprise him at an interview: (*y*) The law of nations violated in the person of his ambassador, who had been treated with great indignity: But above all, the uneasiness Clovis was under to see the greatest part of the Gauls in the hands of the Arians. (*z*) For in an assembly of the principal of the French nobility which he called in order to propose the war to them, he told them plainly, he could not bear to see the avowed enemies of JESUS CHRIST reigning over the Gauls, and that they must rescue the remains of those people from so unworthy a slavery, by reducing them under their own Empire, to which they all unanimously consented. Besides, altho' Alaricus was not at all of his father Evaricus's humour, who cruelly persecuted the Orthodox; and tho' he suffered them to live unmolested, yet the Gauls, who were extremely zealous for the true religion, very impatiently bore to see themselves governed by those Arians, whom they abhorred above all other hereticks. And as they saw that Clovis, and, in imitation of him, all the French had embraced the Catholick faith which flourished under him; they most ardently wished to have him for their master. (*a*) Then they gave the Visigoths some jealousy who mistrusted them, and especially the most pious amongst the bishops, some of

(*u*) Procop. de bell. Got. l. 1. Paul. Æmil.

(*x*) Aimoin. l. 1. c. 20. (*y*) Ibid.

(*z*) Greg. Tur. l. 2. c. 37.

(*a*) Greg. Tur. c. 36.

whom

whom Alaricus himself banished, upon suspicion of holding a correspondence with the French, as amongst others St. Quintianus bishop of Rhodéz. And for the same reason, three or four years after St. Cæsarius arch-bishop of Arles was made a prisoner by the Goths, who accused him of intending to betray the city to the French, and were going to throw him into the Rhône, had not his innocence appeared by the discovery, and apprehending of the criminal.

All these reasons, with others respecting the state, and the desire of aggrandising himself, which is natural to conquering kings, determined for a war, for which Clovis made such vast preparations, that Theodoricus king of Italy took umbrage at it, fearing, should the Visigoths be defeated, lest the French, mortal enemies to the Arians, would fall upon him. (b) He did all he could, by remonstrances, by prayers, and even by threats, and by his Ambassadors to the rest of the kings of Germany, bordering upon the French, to divert Clovis from the war. But that prince, more exasperated than ever at those letters of the Ostrogoth, whose menaces he despised, and whose power he was not afraid of, far from laying down his arms, and referring himself to arbitrators, as Theodoricus demanded, sent Alaricus a defiance even into Thoulouse; offering him to make an end of their quarrel at the head of both their armies, to save the blood of their subjects, and to see to which of them God would give the victory, and determine the Empire of the Gauls. But Alaricus, who, tho' a man of great valour and courage, did not intend to fight but like a king with a powerful army, (c) refusing the challenge, accepted the war; and having drawn together all his forces, marched to make himself master of an advantageous post, where he kept within his camp which he had strongly fortified, waiting for a powerful assistance which Theodoricus had promised him.

In the mean while Clovis took the field, (d) in order to march directly against Alaricus, and one way or other to oblige him to fight, and perhaps both ways, if he could once bring him to an

(b) Cassiod. Var. l. 3. Ep. 2. 3. 4. (c) Procop. de bell. Goth. l. 1. (d) Hincmarus in vitâ St. Remig. Epist. Remig. ad Clodov. Tom. 4. Conc. Edit. Paris. Hinc. in Vit. S. Remig. Epist. Clodov. ad Episcop. Tom. 4. Conc. Edit. Paris.

A.D. engagement. Before he sat out, he received letters from St. Remi with his blessing, who promised him the assistance of Heaven; and that he might prepare himself by his actions to receive it, he, by queen Clotilda's advice, gave orders for the building a church to the holy Apostles St. Peter and St. Paul, which is at this time consecrated to God in the memory of St. Genevieve. (e) He made admirable regulations for the preservation of order and discipline in his army, even to the putting to death a soldier, who had forcibly taken a few trusses of hay from a peasant near Tours, in the territory of St. Martin. He sent offerings to his shrine, by his intercession to implore help from God, (f) whom he himself besought that he would vouchsafe to give his deputies some happy omen of the victory he was in hopes of gaining; and as they were going into the church, they heard them singing this verse of the psalmist; (g) "Lord, thou hast surrounded me with strength, to make war: "thou hast cast under my feet those who have risen against me; "thou hast turned back my enemies, and thou hast utterly destroyed those that hated me." With so favourable a presage, the king passed the river Loire, and came to Vienna, which he forded by the means of a hind, that starting out of a wood at the noise of his army, had thrown herself into the river: this the soldiers took for an assurance that God himself took care to conduct them by extraordinary ways (h) After which, as the king, who found no enemy in the field, laid the country waste all around, Alaricus was at last constrained, by the complaints and murmurs of the Visigoths, to quit his entrenchments, and march to give the enemy battle, without waiting for the Ostrogoths.

Clovis was advanced towards Poitiers, where, as he had done before Tours, he forbade his soldiers to take any thing, intending by this to shew his respect to St. Hilarius, who in his time had been the great scourge of the Arians. (i) It is even said that he saw a bright flame rising out of the church of that holy bishop, which came and settled over his royal tent,

(e) Greg. Tur. l. 1. c. 37. Ibid.

(h) Procop. l. 1. de bell. Goth.

(f) Aimoin l. 1. c. 21.

(g) Psal. 17.

(i) Greg. Tur. c. 37. Aimoin. cap. 21.

whether it was one of those flaming exhalations that are some- *A. D.*
times seen spreading in the air, and falling in the form of 505.
long trains of light, or whether there was really any thing
extraordinary in it, whereby that holy conquerour of Arianism
meant to promise him his assistance against the same enemies
which he himself had formerly fought against, both with his
tongue and pen, as this great king was going to do with his
sword. Be that as it may, it is sure that it inspired the whole
army with an extraordinary courage, who no longer doubted that
heaven declared itself in their favour. Thus the French and Vi-
sigoths each severally desiring nothing more than to come to a
battle, this great affair was soon decided.

The two armies met five leagues from Poitiers, in the plain
of Voclade, then so called, and which is between that city and
Vienna. The forces were numerous on both sides, and their cou-
rage animated, not only by the desire of glory, and by the emu-
lation that was between those two celebrated nations, but by the
aversion too which difference in religion generally raises, and
by the hatred which the two Parties, in imitation of their kings,
had for each other. These two princes were both in the strength
of their age, being each about forty years old, and tho' Alaricus
whose reign had seldom been disturbed by wars, had neither the
experience, the glory, nor the reputation which Clovis had ac-
quired in so many wars, and by so many victories, yet he was
brave, and might have pretended to the rank of the most valiant
of his predecessors, had fortune thrown any other enemy than
Clovis in his way. However, in drawing up their armies for
the engagement, they neither of them neglected to improve what
courage and ardor they already found in their men, by laying
before them every motive that could induce them to behave well
on this occasion, which was to decide the fortune of those two
great kingdoms. Clovis animated the French, "by putting them
" in mind of the victories they had under his auspices gained
" over the Romans, the Burgundians, the Germans, and by the
" contempt they ought to have for the Visigoths, so long buried
" in idleness, having nothing remaining of the valour of their
" ancestors; but especially by the consideration of the glory they
would acquire on earth, and of that which they would secure

A. D. 505. “ to themselves in heaven, should they rescue the Gauls from
 “ the tyranny of the Arians, enemies of the true religion, which
 “ themselves had embraced, and which the poor oppressed Gauls,
 “ who stretched their hands out to the French, had no hopes of pre-
 “ serving but by their means. Alaricus laid before them the
 “ glory of their victorious nation over Pannonia, Thrace, Ma-
 “ cedon, Illyrium, the Gauls, Spain, and Rome itself, whom she
 “ had subdued to her Empire under the great Alaricus, whose
 “ name alone, which he had the honour to bear, ought to be
 “ an earnest of victory to them. He added, that after conquer-
 “ ing so many nations, a single one could not so much as bear
 “ up against their first efforts, if they fought with the same ar-
 “ dour, as they had not long since demanded an opportunity of
 “ fighting, and conquering; only let them follow him, and do
 “ what they should see him do, and that then he would answer
 “ for the victory.

Thereupon each side fell on courageously, and for some time they fought with equal hopes, the danger, and advantage being equal. Those of Auvergne, when Appollinarius, a relation of the bishop Sidonius, and a vassal to Alaricus, had brought to his aid, generously bore the first shock of the Van of the French; But when Clovis, who fought at the head of the main battle, came thundering with the troupes of his own guard upon Alaricus; he charged so furiously, being seconded by the French nobility, who after his example fought like so many lions, that having beat down the bravest and most resolute, who in vain opposed his fury, he forced the enemy to retire, and then pushed them so vigorously, without giving them time to rally, bearing down and killing every thing in his way, that at length they turned their back, and ran away in confusion. (*k*) The Visigoths who by the long peace they had enjoyed ever since Alaricus's death, were grown rather haughty than brave, first took flight, and almost all the Auvergnat auxiliaries with the flower of their nobility, (*l*) disdaining to run away as they had done, were cut in pieces. However Alaricus clearly made appear, that it was out of prudence only that he had endeavoured to defer the

(*k*) Greg. Turon.(*l*) Marian. l. 5. c. 6.

battle: for in this engagement he performed every thing that *A. D.* could be expected from a great commander. He was every 505. where, he gave the orders, he executed them himself, he encouraged his soldiers with his eyes, his motions, his voice and hand by his own example: and when he saw they every where gave way, and yielded to the fury of the French, and that the Visigoths every where lost ground, he ran himself to the colours, in order to stop them; he forced such as were running away to turn again, and rallied his troops, in order to bring them back to the fight.

It was then that Clovis perceiving him, and knowing him by his behaviour, and the beauty of his gilt armour, performed a memorable action, and worthy of a hero. For tho' he had it in his power to conquer without danger, and to dissipate with ease that remnant of an army, which the shame alone of deserting a king, made still to deliberate whether they should fly or fight, yet he scorned to make use of his advantage, but riding forward a good distance before his troops, he called to Alaricus both with his voice and his hand, and defies him to a single combat. Alaricus, who plainly saw all was lost, if he had not recourse to those means, which fortune and Clovis's bravery offered him the only means to raise again by killing his enemy, spurred on immediately full speed against him with his lance couched. Clovis, on his side, did the same, and at first gave his enemy so violent a shock, as stretched him upon the ground. At that instant two Visigoths leaving their ranks, so rudely assaulted the king, striking both on the right and left, that had it not been for the goodness of his armour and the valiant Clo-dericus, who threw himself upon those infamous wretches, he had been in danger of his life, at the same moment he was depriving his enemy of it; for immediately dismounting, he plunged his sword thro' the extremities of the armour into Alaricus's body, just as he was rising sword in hand to renew the combat.

The battle being ended, Clovis, who knew how to make the best use of victory, as well as to conquer, divided his army into two bodies. One part he gave to Thierry his natural son, who marching on the right to the east, easily reduced Au-vergne, and the rest of the provinces as far as Languedoc to the

A. D. king's obedience. As for himself, having reduced all Poitou, (*m*)
 505. which surrendered without resistance, he marched to the left, entered Aquitain, made himself master of Bordeaux, about two leagues from thence, in the Lands defeated another army of the Visigoths, composed of such as gaurded that province, and those who had escaped from the battle of Poitiers, or Voclade; received the submissions of all the cities of Novempopulania, now Gasgogne, and was at last received into Toulouse, where he seized upon the treasures of the Visigoth kings. After which, having sent Thierry his natural son, to take in Carcasson, he returned thro' Aquitain, and as he was beginning the siege of Angouleme, where the remainder of the Visigoths of the province had shut themselves up, resolved upon a vigorous defence, a great part of the walls suddenly falling, the army, which took this favourable and wonderful accident for a miracle, (*n*) entered the town thro' that breach, which God had made for them, put most of the Goths to the sword, and in compassion turned out the rest. At last, having no more enemies to fight against, and every thing being reduced, he repassed the Loire, and came to Tours, in order to pay his vows in the church of St. Martin.

507. It was there he received ambassadors from the emperor Anastasius, who, to honour his merit, and gain the friendship of a prince, whose reputation over the earth, and who might be useful to him, sent him the ensigns of Consul and Senatour, (*o*) with the imperial Diadem woven with gold, and covered with pearls, which Clovis received in ceremony, as an instance of the friendship of so great a prince, who courted his alliance, and treated him with the title of emperor. (*p*) And indeed, after that time, the king always had the title of August given him. It was then too that having settled the empire of the French upon so firm a footing in the Gauls, they began to call it France. (*q*) After this Clovis came to Paris, which he pitched upon from amongst all the rest of the cities, tho' then larger, to be the seat of it, as if he had foreseen the grandeur and majesty in which we at at this day see this capital of the French;

(*m*) Greg. Turon. l. 2. c. 38 Aimoin. l. 1. c. 21. 22.
 22. Greg. c. 37. (*o*) Greg. c. 38. (*p*) Greg. Ibid.

(*n*) Aimoin. c.
 (*q*) Greg. Ibid.

and whereas that it was then almost upon the Frontiers, the day should come when it should be the heart of France, by the victories of another Louis, who should, in one campaign, push his conquests as far as the ocean which washes Holland. But at the same time, to shew he had been fighting for GOD, and for the faith of the Church of Rome, against the Arian heresy, (r) he sent a crown of gold to Rome to be consecrated to JESUS CHRIST the true GOD, at the shrine of the Apostles. A.D. 507.

In the mean while the Visigoths, soon after the loss of the battle acknowledged Gisalicus, natural son of Alaricus, for king, because his legitimate son Amalaricus, grandson to Theodoricus king of Italy, was but five years old. This new king having passed the Rhône, threw himself hastily into Languedoc, which king Evaricus had conquered; (s) but as he was mean-spirited and cruel, and as besides Theodoricus was dissatisfied with their setting up a king in prejudice to his grandson, he did not remain long on the throne. For, Theodoricus who had been making ready, tho' slowly, to go to the assistance of Alaricus, in a short time compleated his preparations, passed the Alps with a powerful army of fourscore thousand men, without any trouble made himself master of provence, passed into Languedoc where he raised the siege of Carcasson: and the French having fortified themselves in Aquitain, (t) where he did not dare to attack them, he left them wholly unmolested: after that caused his grandson Amalaricus to be declared king, to whom he resigned the lower Languedoc, he kept Provence to himself; and took care of Amalaricus's territories, in the quality of guardian: leaving in his room Theudis an Ostrogoth nobleman for governour, who, after the young king's decease, seized on the kingdom of the Visigoths.

Thus the greatest part of the Gauls was rescued out of the hand of the Arians by the great Clovis, who left his children little to do towards the accomplishment of so glorious an enterprize, and of so much importance to the glory of JESUS CHRIST. But yet, as it was impossible but the church of France must have suffered much during this oppression, and great abuses have crept in amidst the confusion of so many wars, the king, by St. Remi's advice, re-

(r) Hincmar. in vita S. Remig. Procop. de bell. Goth. l. 1. c. 12.
in Chron. (t) Procop. ibid.

(b) Ibid

A. D. solved (*u*) that the Bishops of his ancient dominion on this side the
 511. Loire, and of that which he had lately conquered on the other
 side of the same river, should meet at Orleans, as in the centre of
 the two parts of his kingdom, to rectify all disorders, upon the arti-
 cles themselves and heads which he had taken the pains to propose
 to them. (*x*) The fathers thus assembled, writing to him to com-
 mend the zeal he had shewn in the advancement of the Christian
 religion, in the superscription of that letter gave him the glorious
 title of son of the holy Catholick church. After which, in answer
 to all the king's articles, (*y*) they send him the thirty one canons
 which they had composed for a Rule to the Churches, whereby,
 amongst other things, they ordain that such clerks as shall sin-
 cerely abjure Arianism, and lead a life agreeable to their profession,
 may be admitted by the bishops to any of the ecclesiastical orders,
 whereof they shall be by them thought capable, first receiving
 imposition of their hands; and that those churches which such
 Goths as had been Arians had employed and prophaned by the
 exercise of their heresy might be made use of by the Catholicks,
 being again consecrated and blessed by the bishops.

This council was purely for reforming abuses, and drawing up
 rules for ecclesiastical government, according to the king's desire;
 but another was held for matters of faith, and the confounding of
 Arianism, tho' the time and place of it are uncertain. (*z*) What we
 are very sure of is, that, among so many Catholick prelates as came
 to this assembly from all parts of the Gauls, there was one of those
 Arian bishops, who had had the government of some churches under
 Alaricus, and that God wrought a miracle on him, which contri-
 buted more to confirm the faith, than all the most learned and subtil
 discussions could have done. This Arian, who was extremely
 proud, and a great sophist, challenged all the Fathers to dispute:
 and trusting much to his philosophical arguments, which he
 thought invincible, boasted with insupportable pride and arrogance,
 that he would confound the most skilful among them, and that he
 would reduce him to that degree, as not to be able to answer him,

(*u*) Hincm. in vita S. Remig.

Paris. Tom. 1. Concil. Gall.

S. Remig. Flodoard. l. 1. Hist. Eccles. c. 16. Tom. 1. Conc. Gall. 4. Concil. Edit. Paris.

(*x*) Concil. Aurel. 1. Tom. 4. Conc. Edit.

(*y*) Can. 10.

(*z*) Hincm. in vita

S. Remig. Flodoard. l. 1. Hist. Eccles. c. 16. Tom. 1. Conc. Gall. 4. Concil.

Edit. Paris.

and put him to silence out of shame. Tho' there were several very learned men met, to be present at the council, yet they had so much respect for the great St. Remi, whose learning was as famous among men as his piety, that they would not permit the matter to go any further, till he came. As he came later than the rest, and was entering the assembly, where the fathers were already waiting, all the bishops rose in honour to him, except the Arian, who looking at him with a haughty and scornful air, did not vouchsafe to stir, to pay him a regard which civility and decency alone required. But as the saint was passing by him, the insolent man found himself of a sudden struck by a secret and invisible power, which upon the spot deprived him of the use of speech, without any one's preceiving it. The saint in the mean while taking his place, made an admirable discourse, wherein, as he was profoundly learned in the knowledge of the scripture, and a great master in the art of reasoning, he proved the divinity of JESUS CHRIST, and the mystery of the trinity, with so much strength, by the principles of the faith which he had laid before them, that it was not doubted but this Arian philosopher, who boasted of perplexing others, would soon be found in a great perplexity himself, and all present were preparing, with pleasure, to hear his answer. But they were exceedingly surpris'd to see that being got up in order to answer, still imagining that by making an effort he should be able to speak, they saw he several times in vain opened his mouth, and that remaining in this sad condition, quite stunned and speechless, he did not bring out one word, and they were much more surpris'd, when the poor man, so visibly finding the hand of God upon him, went and threw himself at St. Remi's feet, and melting into tears, by his gestures and signs begged of him to pity his calamity, making him and the whole council plainly enough understand by such sensible expressions, that God had struck him dumb, as a punishment for his crime, and his insolence. Upon this, the saint who clearly saw what so wonderful a blow had wrought in the soul of this bishop said to him with a becoming majesty and confidence in God: "In the name of our lord JESUS CHRIST, the true son of God, if thou really hast the sentiments, that man ought to have of his divinity, speak, and openly confess that which the

A. D.
511.

A. D. “the Catholick church believes concerning it.” This powerful
 511. voice of St. Remi, animated by the spirit of God, who spoke, and operated by his mouth, immediately restored both voice and speech to that bishop, who from a proud and obstinate Arian, was become an humble and submissive Catholick. He publicly confessed the trinity of the divine persons, inseparable, and most distinct, in a perfect unity of essence and nature. By this signal confession, he restored to the son of God the glory he would have robbed him of, by the blasphemies of his heresy, and protested he would be as constant and firm till death, in professing this truth before all the world, as he had till then been obstinate in maintaining the error and impiety of Arianism, which he condemned with all his heart.

After this, it is not known what was done in this council; but sure it is that this great event was a decision, which had more effect in it than many canons and decrees would have had, towards rooting out this heresy from amongst the Gauls, to which Clovis had given the mortal blow by his victory, and which he absolutely put an end to and destroyed, by the care he took of the Church. And indeed, God resolved to crown him soon after. For he died at Paris the same year he had caused this first council of Orleans to meet, in the fortyfifth year of his age, and thirtieth of his reign, leaving France divided amongst his four sons, Thierry, Clodomir, Clothaire, and Childebert, who enlarged it with the Remains of the kingdom of Burgundy, already become Catholick under king Sigismund.

This prince, to whom Clovis had left a part of Gondeband's kingdom, (*a*) had taken the title of king after his father's death, whom sometime after his losses died without honour amongst the Ostrogoths. As the son's soul was entirely different from that of the father, the holy bishop of Vienna, Avitus, who had so long in vain laboured for the conversion of the latter, soon had reason to comfort himself of the son, whom he found well disposed to receive the fine instructions he gave him. So that being fully persuaded by the reasons he had so strongly and so clearly laid before him at the conference of Lions, (*b*) and by the excellent

(*a*) Greg. Tur. l. 3. c. 5. Sigebert. in Chron.

(*b*) Ado Vicerun. in Chron.
 things

things he still was saying to him every day, to convince him of the truth of the Catholick faith, he solemnly renounced Arianism; and the Burgundians, of whom the king his Father had been so much afraid, as not to dare generously to profess the truth he was convinced of, far from taking it ill, all followed his example, and became Catholicks. For besides that this people had never been strict professors of Arianism, which they only followed from a national engagement, the commerce they had carried on with the Gauls, who were suffered to live unmolested in the exercise of the true religion, had in a great measure fitted them for that happy change, which is wrought from error to truth, in imitation of a king; since it is but too often seen, that the single example of princes, who pass from truth to error, can easily enough draw their people into the same ruin. In short, Sigismund, with the gift of faith, received the principles of the Christian virtues, which he learnt from the lessons which St. Avitus gave him, by whose advice he had a council assembled at Epaone, a town or borough not now known by that name, and which probably might be some where near the Rhône, in the lands belonging to the jurisdiction of the bishop of Vienna, (c) for it was Avitus that called, and presided at that council. Forty canons were made for the regulation of church-discipline, (d) and there appeared so great an abhorrence of Arianism in them, that it was not thought that such churches as had been built by the Arians, could be sufficiently purified, so as to serve for sacred uses: And it was resolved that such only as had been taken by violence from the Catholicks should be reconsecrated. But all these excellent qualities of Sigismund, and all these virtues were obscured by an horrid crime, which the wickedness of a mother in law, and jealousy of state, made him commit.

He had married one of the queen's daughters, after the death of that princess his wife the daughter of king Theodoricus. (e) This new queen, not being able to bear the contempt of prince Sigericus, son of the deceased, so prepossessed her husband that That prince was endeavouring to come at his crown by parricide, that without far-

(c) Tom. 1. Conc. Gall. Tom. 4. Concil. Edit. Paris. (d) Can. 33. (e) Greg. Tur. l. 3. c. 6. Aimon. l. 2. c. 3.

- A.D.* ther examining into a thing of that consequence, he had him
 526. strangled in his sleep. He had no sooner committed so wicked an action, than opening his eyes, which his passion had shut, he was convinced of the enormity of so horrible a crime, which he wore out by a long and very severe repentance in the famous monastery of Agaunum, (*f*) which he had built and endowed for the maintainance of a great number of Fryers, who were to divide amongst themselves all the hours of the day and night there without interruption to sing the praises of God. But tho' he had blotted out his sin, by his tears and fastings, God was determined to punish him more rigorously in this world, (*g*) that he might spare him in the other, as he had earnestly begged in his most fervent prayers. Clodomir king of Orleans, part of whose territories were surrounded by those of Burgundy, some time afterwards made use of this circumstance to make war upon him, in which he engaged his brothers, and principally Thierry king of Austrasia, who was Sigericus's brother in law, whose sister he had married. (*b*) Sigismund was overcome in the battle, and taken with his wife and children by Clodomir, whom he carried to Orleans in irons. And as after the retreat of those victorious kings, Gondemar, Sigismund's brother, had easily retaken all Burgundy, Clodomir was so enraged at it, that before he returned to the war he inhumanely ordered his prisoners to be massacred, and
 527. their bodies thrown into a well, from whence they were taken sometime after with great honour: God having by many miracles signally declared Sigismund's piety, whose repentance, by the wonderful use he made of his afflictions, (*i*) has deserved that place which the church has given him in the number of such saints, whom she every year solemnly honours. After that Clodomir and Thierry returned against Gondemar, whom they defeated in a second battle before Vienna: But Clodomir was killed in it by
 528. some Burgundians in disguise, whom he took for French; and four years after Childebert king of Paris, and Clotaire king of Soissons having revenged his death, by the entire destruction of Gondemar, divided amongst themselves and their brother Thierry the kingdom

(*f*) St. Mauritius, or Chablais.(*g*) Greg. Tur. de glor. Martyr.(*b*) Greg. Tur. l. 3. c. 5.(*i*) Mart. Rom. 1. Maij.

of Burgundy, which became a part of that of France. Thus of *A. D.* two kingdoms which the Arians had possessed in the Gauls, only 528. the first and second Narbonese Gauls, (*k*) remained to be wrested out of their hands. To which the sudden change, and afterwards the death of Theodoricus king of Italy at once extremely prepared matters.

After the death of Anastasius the heretick Emperor, (*l*) who was killed by a clap of thunder, Justin, who from a private soldier taken from the dregs of the people, had risen thro' all the degrees of honour to the imperial throne, soon established the Catholick faith in all its strength, by his edicts, exterminating all the Heresies, except the Arian, which he seemed resolved to spare, for fear of exasperating Theodoricus, with whom, for reasons of state, he had been obliged to make alliance. (*m*) But in the sixth year of his reign, seeing himself so firmly settled, as no longer to be under any apprehensions from that Arian prince, he renewed his edicts against the Hereticks, therein comprehending the Arians, from whom he took all their Churches. Theodoricus, who till then had permitted the Catholicks to live in full peace, without shewing any great warmth for the interest of his sect, looked upon himself so highly offended by this Edict, that whether thinking his honour concerned, or fearing the Chatholicks might enter into some engagements with Justin, to turn him out of Italicus, he resolved either to have it revoked, or to carry matters to an extremity. (*n*) To this end, he obliged Pope John, who had succeeded Hormisdas, to go Ambassador to Constantinople, with four of the chief members of the senate, which he suspected to have an intelligence with the Emperor. Two things he gave them principally in charge; the first, to take care that Justin undertook nothing against his interests; the second, to oblige him to re-establish the Arians, (*o*) protesting that if they failed in either of those points, he would revenge himself on the Catholicks, on whom he would make a cruel war throughout his dominions. (*p*) The Pontif found himself under a necessity of undertaking the journey, during which God was pleased in an

(*k*) Lower Languedoc and Provence. (*l*) Misc. l. 15. (*m*) Misc. l. 15.
 (*n*) Anast. Bibl. in Joann. Boet. de. Consol. l. 1. Prosp. 4. Marcell. in Chron.
 (*o*) Anast. (*p*) Greg. Mag Dial. l. 3. c. 2.

A. D. extraordinary manner to signalize his eminent piety by uncommon
528. miracles, even to the restoring a blind man to sight at his entrance into Constantinople, (q) where he was received with all imaginable honours. All the city came out to meet him, with crosses, banners, and tapers in their hands, to the number of twelve thousand, (r) and the Emperor, at his coming up, condescended so far as to throw himself at his feet, in order to adore JESUS CHRIST's vicar on earth, tho' this Pontif had so slender an equipage as to be forced to make part of his journey upon borrowed horses.

He celebrated Easter-day in the great Church, in Latin, and according to the Roman ceremonies; and the Emperour who had already been crowned, had a mind again to receive the Imperial crown from his hand. (s) After this, when they were to go upon business, he did all he could for Theodoricus's interest, and to make Justin observe the peace, that he might remove the suspicion the Goths had conceived against the Roman Senate. But far from endeavouring to prevail on the Emperour to let the Arians alone, to revoke his Edict, (t) and restore them their churches, to prevent any persecution falling upon the Catholicks in Italy, as some have written; he himself protests in a letter he wrote the year after to the bishops of Italy, to encourage them to suffer, (u) and vigorously oppose the Arians, that he reconsecrated all the churches which the Emperour had taken from the Arians; by this new consecration, making them holy and Catholick, whereas before they were prophane and unholy. (x) And indeed, Theodoricus was so provoked at it, that as soon as the holy Pontif was returned to Ravenna, to give him an account of his Embassy, he threw him into prison loaden with chains, where he died the year after, oppressed with miseries, thus ending his Embassy by a glorious Martyrdom, which the church yearly celebrates. (y) He added impiety to his cruelty, having insisted on the nominating a pope, which no Emperor, except Constantius, an Arian as well as he, had ever dared to attempt; and ever since the Emperours pretended to a right

(q) Anast. Bibl.

(r) Greg. Mag. ibid. Marcel. in Chron.

(s) Anast.

(t) Paul. Diac. in Misc. l. 15. Marian l. 5. c. 6.

(u) Ep. 2. Jo. Tom. 1:

Ep. R. Pontif.

(x) Greg. Tur. glor. Martyr. c. 40.

(y) 27. Maij. Ep.

Athal. ad Senat. ap. Cassiod. l. 8. Ep. 15.

at least of confirming every new elected Pope. So that it was an Arian who began the reducing of the Roman church into captivity, from which she was at length freed by Charlemagne, who broke her chains, and re-established her in the happy condition of her former liberty, which she still enjoys to this day. But GOD did not suffer such monstrous crimes to go long unpunished, for fifty eight days after this violent attempt, and ninety after the Pope's death, Theodoricus, who had at the same time put to death Boëtius and Symmachus, the two most illustrious members of the Roman senate, falsely accused of conspiracy against the state, was taken out of the world by a kind of phrensy, with which he was struck on a sudden, upon looking at the head of a large fish that had been served up to his table, and which he took for that of Symmachus threatening him. But as we ought always to do justice to merit, wherever we find it, we must own, that taking from his life the first and last action of his reign which lasted more than thirty years, he would by his military and political virtues have equalled the greatest men of ancient Rome. His grandson, Athalaricus, a youth of no more than eight years, succeeded him, under the regency of Amalasonta his mother, daughter to king Theodoricus, who had married her to Eutharicus, a Gothick prince of the blood of the Amalis; a prince worthy of such a father, whose good qualities she had inherited, without any of his vices or defects.

Theodoricus's death, which was the ruin of the Ostrogoths, was soon succeeded by the disasters of Amalaricus king of the Visigoths, whom his brutality, and false zeal for Arianism, (z) hurried into his last misfortune. He had demanded the princess Clotilda their sister of the kings of France, in order to strengthen himself by an alliance with such powerful princes, (a) whose friendship was of consequence to him. They sent her to him into Spain, with an equipage suitable to her high birth; But this young king, who ought to have learnt, by his father's example and misfortune, not to provoke the sons of Clovis, ill returned the honour they did him. He did all he could to engage her as

(z) Greg. Tur. l. 3. c. 10. Aimoin. l. 2. c. 8.
Goth. l. 1. c. 13.

(a) Procop. de bell.

A.D.
528.

A. D. he already had himself, into Arianism ; and seeing she remained
 528. immoveable in her resolution to perish rather than abandon the faith, there was no sort of indignity which he did not make her suffer, either to gratify his hatred to the Catholicks, or to revenge himself for her refusal to obey him, or to tire out, and at last get the better of her constancy. For he even went so far as to suffer, and even privately to command the Goths, upon her going to the churches of the Catholicks, publicly to load her with abusive and opprobrious language, and to throw dirt at her; and at last carrying his fury beyond all bounds, he struck her in so outrageous a manner himself, as to make her run down with blood.

530. As all the virtues have a sort of Harmony amongst themselves, and have their just bounds and measures, this virtuous princess, having allowed every thing she thought due to patience, also thought she ought to make satisfaction to justice, by causing the injury offered to the majesty of the kings of France so outrageously insulted in her person to be repaired. She therefore writ an account of the cruel and barbarous treatment she every day received to her brothers. She told them, “ that if her person was the only thing
 “ concerned, she would suffer till death without complaining,
 “ rather than arm her brothers against her husband. But as the
 “ interests of religion, an attempt to oppress which was made
 “ thro’ her, and the glory of France, to which the greatest of af-
 “ fronts was offered, were equally concerned, she could no longer
 “ forbear speaking, without in some measure betraying them both
 “ by her silence. That it would be glorious for her to dye a
 “ Martyr, as she certainly should do, if she waited ever so little
 “ till Amalaricus’s fury should be completely discharged upon
 “ her; but that it would be too great a dishonour to the French,
 “ for the daughter of the great Clovis to be so ignominiously
 “ treated by the son of him whom he had conquered, and by his
 “ Arian Visigoths, who by law of arms ought to be his slaves.
 “ However, that as it had been her brothers who had innocently
 “ engaged her in that miserable slavery, under which she was the
 “ most unhappy person upon earth, they were likewise in their
 “ turns obliged, by all sorts of reasons, divine and humane, to
 “ extricate her out of it. That they imagined they had given
 “ her

“ her a king for her husband, but that they had delivered her
 “ into the hands of an executioner, or rather that they had ex-
 “ posed her to the mercy of a wild beast, that nothing was capa-
 “ ble of taming: and that if her words were too weak to convince
 “ them of a thing so very improbable, that what she sent them
 “ with the letter, would be a convincing proof of so melancholy
 “ a truth.” And indeed, she sent them a handkerchief dipped in
 the blood of a wound she had received by a blow from Amala-
 ricus. (b)

A. D.
 530.

Childebert, who was then at the head of a powerful army in
 Auvergne, upon a design he had been attempting in prejudice of
 his brother Thierry, being the first who received that letter,
 and handkerchief, sent them both to his brothers; but however,
 without waiting for them, as he burnt with desire of revenging
 so heinous an injury done to the blood of France, he hastily
 lead his army over the Pyrenean mountains, and came thun- 531.
 dering upon Amalaricus, who, having neither courage nor forces
 to bear up against so violent a blow, (c) was soon routed by
 the single Cavalry of the French, who cut the greatest part
 of his army in pieces before Barcelona, (d) whither he had
 fled: (e) and as he was just upon escaping on board a fleet
 he had ordered to be in readiness for all accidents, his ava-
 rice detained him, by his death to compleat the punishment
 due to such a brutal cruelty. For calling to mind that he had left
 in his closet a basket, in which were his Jewels, he went back to
 get them; but he found himself surprised by the French, who
 entering the city, almost at the same time, cut off his retreat.
 (f) And as in this extremity he was endeavouring to escape into
 the church belonging to the Catholics, there to find a sure
 asylum, a French trooper, who made at him before he could reach
 thither, ran his lance thro’ him, and stretched him dead on the
 ground. (g) After this, Childebert, still to carry his vengeance
 farther, having laid waste the greatest part of Spain, as far as
 Toledo, which was taken and plundered, returned loaded with
 booty into France together with Clotilda, who died in the journey,

(b) Greg. Tur.

(c) Aimoin.

(d) Mar. l. 5.

(e) Greg. Tur.

(f) Greg. Tur. Aimoin Marian.

(g) Ado. Vienn. Aimoin.

A. D. and whose body was carried to Paris, and placed in the church of
 531 the holy Apostles, near that of her father the great Clovis (*b*)
 whilst Childebert, to complete his glorious enterprize, conquered
 a great part of Languedoc, which was still possessed by the Vi-
 sigoths, most of whom, after the defeat of their army, retired into
 Spain, with their wives and children.

However neither was it here that Childebert checked the course of
 his revenge. For sometime after marching back with Clothaire into
 Spain, (*i*) he ravaged all Catalonia and Arragon; and just as he was
 upon the point of making himself master of Saragossa, moved with the
 people's piety who were all Catholics, and who daily with bitter
 sighs implored the assistance of Heaven, by the intercession of St.
 Vincent, whose stool they carried in procession round the walls,
 he drew off his army, contenting himself with that precious
 Relick, of which they made him a present, and which he resolved
 himself to carry in triumph at Paris, as the monument and fruits
 of his victories, and of the revenge he had taken of the Arians the
 enemies of JESUS CHRIST, and the persecutors of Clotilda. And
 to render the remembrance of it eternal, by transmitting so rich
 a deposit to all ages to come, he caused a great and noble church
 to be built in honour of St. Vincent, which now bears the name
 of St. Germain, Bishop of Paris, who consecrated it, there to pre-
 serve it in a sacred place. Thus the dominion of the Arians, already
 almost wholly extinct in the Gauls, was very much weakned in
 Spain and Italy, by these losses of the Visigoths, and by the decease
 of Theodoricus king of the Ostrogoths. They did not last long
 after the ruin of the Vandals, which was the happy earnest of
 theirs: And it is here that I should give an account of it, since
 it was exactly at this time that it happened. But it is necessary
 for me to begin a little higher, to take a view of the state of the
 African church under the Arians, after so many terrible persecu-
 tions, it had suffered under the kings Gisericus, Hunnericus, and
 Gundamond, who, in the close of his reign, imitated the cruelty
 of his predecessors against the Catholic's.

Trafamond, his brother, who succeeded him, behaved in a dif-

(*b*) Procop. l. 1. de bell. Goth. c. 13. (*i*) Greg. Tur. l. 3. c. 9. (*k*) Procop
 de bell. Vandal. l. 1. c. 8.

ferent manner, tho' not less bigotted to his heresy, than he. He *A. D.*
 took another method, which he thought would be more effectual *531.*
 to pervert the Catholicks. (*l*) He attacked them not by violence and
 torments, but by lenity and gratuities. He gave offices and
 honours to those who embraced Arianism; he made them mag-
 nificent presents; and when any one had committed a capital
 crime, he was sure of pardon provided he turned Arian. (*m*) And
 what was still more dangerous in this new kind of persecution, *507.*
 was that, in order to scatter the flock, by depriving it of Pastors,
 insensibly and without violence, he all over Africa prohibited the
 choice of any bishops into the place of those who should be dead.
 The bishops of the Byzacene province seeing that this in effect
 was a way to ruin the faith, assembled in the form of a council,
 and thereupon ordered, that, without having any regard to the Edict,
 they should immediately establish bishops in all the cities which
 had none: Which was immediately done. It was then that St.
 Fulgentius, (who had hid himself, for fear of being made a bishop,)
 being found in the Monastery of which he was abbot, and whither he,
 believing all the vacancies were filled up, and that he no longer
 was in danger, was returned, was granted to the citizens of
 Ruspa, who earnestly desired him for their pastor. Trasamond, tho'
 a wise and moderate prince, and tho' he had resolved not to proceed
 to violent measures, could not here be master of his resentments,
 nor hinder his anger from breaking out. (*n*) He condemned all those
 bishops to banishment, and immediately had sixty of them transported
 to Sardinia: He afterwards swelled the number so high that it rose
 to two hundred and twenty five, amongst whom was St. Fulgentius.
 During this exile he was the comforter and adviser of those glorious
 confessors of JESUS CHRIST, who in all emergencies consulted
 him as an oracle, upon account of his eminent learning, his con-
 summate prudence, (*o*) and extraordinary virtue, formerly mani-
 fested in the midst of torments, at a time when a wicked Arian
 priest seizing upon him and his Abbot Felix, caused them to be
 inhumanly torn to pieces with whips, because Fulgentius with
 admirable force preached the divinity of the son of God.

(*l*) Ibid. (*m*) Ferr. Diac. in vit. S. Fulgen. ap. sur. 1. Januar. Tom. 4.
 Concil. Edit. Paris. (*n*) Miscell. l. 15. Sigeb. in Chron. (*o*) Ferr. Diac. Ibid.

A. D.
531.

In the mean time, the king, who would have had it thought that it was from reason, and not at all from passion, that he shewed such an ardor for his sect, affected saying on all occasions that he was no way prejudiced, that his aim was pure truth and reason, being intirely ready to follow it, even among Catholicks, provided they could demonstrate it to be on their side; but that he met with none of them, tho' he gave them all manner of liberty to say what they pleased, who satisfied him upon the difficulties and reasons he proposed to them. At last, as he was often repeating the same thing, some body one day told him very freely, that if he sincerely had a mind to be informed of the truth of the Catholick faith, he need only send for the bishop Fulgentius, whom he had banished into the island of Sardinia; and that provided he would hear him, he would surely find reason to be satisfied. Trasamond, who had engaged to act the philosopher, and to say he only looked for one who should answer his reasons, gave orders for his being immediately brought to Carthage, where he made an incredible progress by his admirable discourses upon the divinity of the son of GOD. The king laid before him the difficulties he formed upon the mystery of the trinity in writing, and commanded him to send him precise answers to each point. The Saint did it with so much strength and perspicuity, that the king, who read them with great application, could not help admiring the depth of his learning, and the beauty of his wit, as they are still every day admired in reading those answers in his works.

But he was resolved still to put him to a more difficult proof. For towards the evening he sent him home a large book, containing not only all the principles and arguments of the Arian heresy, but likewise all those of the Eutycheans, against the mystery of the incarnation and union of the two natures in JESUS CHRIST, and bad the messenger tell him, that he would have him answer all the articles of that volume in order, without allowing him any longer than till night, however earnestly the holy man desired to be allowed at least the whole night to read it over. So that he scarce had time hastily to run it over, before he was obliged to return it to him, who had express orders to bring it back as soon as possible to the king; and yet by a prodigious effort of mind, the saint did not fail to retain the contents of the volume, and exactly answer it
in

in those three admirable books which we have among his works. This so much surpris'd the king, who imagined he had put him to a proof, from which he could never get clear, that from that time he never dared to propose any thing more to him. But tho' he admired his learning and eloquence, was fully convinced, and had seen the most skilful of his Arian bishops, who undertook to write against St. Fulgentius, confounded by another book; this unhappy prince ever remained obstinate in his heresy, had the St. carried back into exile, and incessantly continued solliciting the Catholicks by his artifices to renounce their belief. But he was punished for it by GOD even in this world, having a little before his death lost a numerous army in the war he made upon Cabao prince of those Moors, who inhabit in the neighbourhood of Tripoli. (p)

A. D.

531.

That prince was a Heathen: But having heard of the miracles of JESUS CHRIST, and knowing that the Vandals cruelly persecuted those who worshipped him as the true GOD, he thought he ought to implore his assistance, and by some eminent piece of service, merit his protection against those impious men, who were enemies to his nation. To this end, he sent some to Carthage in disguise to discover the design of the Vandals, and follow them in their march, with orders to repair whatever damage they should do in the churches of the Catholicks. They acquitted themselves of their commission very faithfully. The army of the Vandals having taken the road to Tripoli, by horrible Sacrileges prophaned all the churches they met with in their way, putting beasts into them, filling them with ordures, and doing a thousand injuries to the priests who had the care of them: And as soon as they had left them, Cabao's spies took care to clean them, to light the lamps, and to set up the altars and holy tables again, and throwing themselves at the feet of the priests, put large alms in their hands, to make up the losses they had suffered. After which, upon drawing near Tripoli, they went before, to give their master an account of all that had passed, and of the condition of the Vandal army, which was marching towards him, in order to give him battle. Whereupon this prince, who

(p) Procop. de bel. Vandal. l. 1. c. 8. Evag. l. 4. cap. 15. Niceph. l. 17. c. 11.

A. D. 505. knew the GOD of the Christians was to be gained by the exercises of a holy and penitent life, having prepared his men for the combat, by abstinence and chastity, separating them from their wives, forbidding them the use of them on pain of death, drew up his army in order of battle in a very extraordinary manner. For he ranged them as it were in a circle, in the midst of which he placed the women, children, and the baggage, and then surrounded it with his camels. He placed them twelve deep in the foremost ranks, in the midst of which he put his best soldiers covered with their shields, and guarded by those animals as by a rampart.

The Vandals, who all fought on horseback, and who did not doubt but they should trample down those Moors under their feet, whom they despised, both for the smallness of their number, and their little experience, being upon the point of charging, were extremely surprised and confounded at the sight of this new camp. For as their only arms were a sword and lance, they could only fight hand to hand: And the horses, frightened at the sight of the camels, curvetted, instead of advancing, and exposed their riders to flights of darts and arrows thrown at them, and which were darted, without ever missing, from all quarters of this new entrenchment, as from so many towers of a fortress. So that a great slaughter of men and horses, squeezed and entangled together, being made in a short time; as the Moors saw they were in disorder, and that each man's only endeavour was to get out of the confusion, in order to run away; then, coming out of their entrenchment, they fell on them so furiously, that they cut them almost all in pieces, except a few that escaped from the slaughter, to carry the news of it to Trafamond, who shortly after died with vexation at it, having reigned seven and twenty years (*q*) This blow however, which was the manifest work of heaven, for the punishment of the Sacrilege of those Arians, did not soften his heart; for on his death-bed, he obliged Hildericus, his successor, by an oath never, during his reign, to restore to the Catholics those Churches which he had deprived them of, when he turned out their Bishops.

But it happened quite otherwise. This Hildericus, who was the son of Hunnericus and Eudoxia, daughter to Valentinian III,

(*q*) *Isid. in Chron. act S. Fulg. Paul. Diac,*

whom

whom Gisericus had brought from Rome to Carthage, was not at all of the humour of his father, and Cousins, who had reigned before him, by the prerogative of their age, according to Gisericus's law. For this Prince was of a mild disposition, an enemy to violence, a lover of repose and a quiet life, and particularly careful to secure the Catholicks from any ill treatment. (r) Wherefore as soon as Trasamonds's eyes were closed, even before the taking possession of his kingdom, that it might not be said he had violated his oath, he recalled all the exiled bishops, and gave the Catholicks liberty to chuse new ones, as it was done at Carthage, where Boniface was elected bishop: and ever after the African church, after so many persecutions, enjoyed a profound peace, under this Vandal king, who permitted the bishops to hold their councils with as much liberty, (s) as they did under the Roman Emperors. He had even contracted a strict friendship with Justinian, who was not as yet Emperor, but who already governed the empire during the infirmities of Justin his uncle's old age, who had declared him his successor.

A.D.
531.

However, Hildericus did not long enjoy the repose he endeavoured to give others. (t) Gilimer, who being the eldest of all the princes of his blood, was, according to the Vandal law, to succeed him in the crown, entred into a conspiracy with the great men of the realm against him, and had the art so fully to persuade them that this unactive king was from his cowardice unworthy to command the Vandals, (whom he every day shamefully exposed to the insults of the Moors, and that he even had a design of delivering them up to Justinian, with whom he to that end kept up so strict a correspondence,) that they imprisoned this poor prince with his two brothers Hoamer and Evagenes, and set Gilimer upon his throne. Justinian, who had succeeded his uncle Justin, could not bear an attempt that set so ill a precedent, and that was of such dangerous consequence to crowned heads, especially against a prince with whom he had always entertained a most intimate friendship. He sent an embassy to Gilimer, and writ to him to oblige him to let him enjoy at least the

(r) Victor. in Tunnun. in chron. Isid. in Chron. vita. S. Fulg. de bell. Vandal. l. 1. c. 8.

(t) Procop. ibid.

(s) Procop.

A.D. name of king, and the appearance of royalty, and to be content
 531. with the reality, with the Government of the kingdom. But this traitor, instead of any answer, having dismissed the ambassadors, caused Hoamer's eyes to be put out, who was a prince of great bravery; and as for Hildericus, and his brother, whose weakness he despised, he put them under a closer confinement, bidding them with a cruel raillery, go and seek their protector at Constantinople.

Justinian, tho' heinously affronted, would not carry things to an extremity: but writ a second time to Gilimer, "that since
 " he had chosen rather to usurp the throne by a crime, than
 " enjoy it by lawful succession, he was welcome to keep it, if
 " fortune was so favourable as to preserve him in it. But that
 " at least he would send him those poor princes whom he kept
 " in chains, to the end they might in some measure alleviate
 " their sufferings by the kind treatment they might receive at
 " Constantinople. In short, that if he was refused so reasonable
 " a request, he should be forced to break the alliance which the
 " emperors had had with the Vandals, and to attempt a satisfaction of this injury by arms." To which Gilimer, blinded by his ambition, instead of endeavouring to soften and oblige so great a prince, without any loss to himself, as he might easily have done, answered with insupportable haughtiness, "that the
 " Vandals having deposed Hildericus, whom they judged unworthy of reigning, Gilimer had ascended the throne, not by a
 " crime, nor by force, nor by the choice of his subjects, but by
 " right of birth, by the prerogative of age, and by the authority
 " of law, which had called him to it. That he knew not by
 " what right he meddled in other Peoples affairs; but that he
 " well knew if he broke the alliance which the emperor Zeno
 " had made with the Vandals, he would find a prince ready to
 " answer him at the head of a powerful army, in order to teach
 " him that it would have been more advantageous for him to
 " have cultivated his friendship."

There needed no more to make Justinian resolve upon war; tho' he was already engaged in one with the Persians. However he was obliged to dissemble, till he had made it up with the latter, that he might have all his forces at liberty. But as soon

as he had made a treaty with them, and had got happily over that terrible sedition at Constantinople, (*u*) in which there fell in one day above thirty thousand men, he made all his preparations, and chose Belisarius, whom he had recalled from Persia, to command his army against the Vandals. Never was there a war, wherein the protection of GOD, who was its author, more manifestly appeared than in this. When Justinian proposed it in his council, there was not one single voice for undertaking it. The remembrance of the loss of that vast army which Belisarius had formerly commanded against Gisericus, gave a horror to all the world: and as nothing was to be seen that came near the forces of that time, it was not doubted but the event of this second attempt must be still more unhappy. The captains, and the soldiers, the treasurer general, and the men of business, were all equally against this war: the latter because they feared being too closely pressed to raise money; and the former, because being used to fight by land, they were extremely averse to sea-fights, which they knew nothing of, and in which they thought the Vandals invincible. In short, the *Præfectus Prætorij*, who had the reputation of one of the bravest men of his age, said so many things against this war, and so clearly shewed the emperor, that he risked every thing by losing, and gained nothing by victory, Africa being of no use to him without Sicily and Italy, that Justinian himself began to condemn the enterprise. But a holy Bishop who came on purpose from Asia to Constantinople, having desired an audience to communicate a matter of the utmost consequence, told him he was come from GOD to reproach him with having, for the sake of vain fears, laid aside the glorious resolution he had taken of delivering Africa from the Tyranny of those Arians, who, for more than a century, had miserably oppressed it. Then assuming the air of a prophet, he added, as by an immediate inspiration, appearing quite another man: "Behold that which the Lord saith; I will succour thee in the battle; and I will bring Africa under thy dominion." Then Justinian, no longer doubting either the will or the protection of GOD, gave the necessary orders for the embarking of his army as soon as possible.

A. D.
532.

(*u*). Procop. l. 1. Pers. Theoph.

A. D. 532. It consisted of no more men than ten thousand foot, and five thousand horse, as well Romans as foreigners, upon five hundred vessels, of which there were but ninety two fitted out for war, tho' to no purpose, because the soldiers all protested they would not fight by sea, which was a sort of an omen of what was to happen. The most favourable circumstance was the number of Veteran Officers that had served in the former wars with great reputation, and especially Belisarius, who was the greatest captain of his age, and who kept an exact discipline in his army, which extremely contributed to gaining the Africans. This army set out from Constantinople in the month of June: and as it was detained by ill weather, did not reach Africa till three months after, in the beginning of September. Belisarius, in passing by Syracuse, had learnt from a man that was come from Carthage three days before, that he might boldly sail for Africa, that there was no news there of his coming; that all the coasts were left naked, and that Gilimer having sent his fleet against Godas, who revolted in Sardinia, was passing his time at Hermione in the Byzacene province, about four days journey from the shore, without having the least thought that he was ready to be attacked, Hereupon Belisarius, without giving heed to some who would not have had him gone a shore, for fear of engaging in an enemy's country, without provisions, water, or a certain harbour for the shipping, went and landed his army at a place about five days journey from Carthage, on that part of the shore called by the Romans *Caput vada*, or chief of the Flats, as the ditch for enclosing the camp was digging, they in so dry a quarter found a fine fountain which served all the army for refreshment, and for a happy omen of the victory.

Having given his army a little rest, he sent his guards before to seize upon Sillectum a town lying upon the sea about a days journey from the camp, on the road to Carthage. They easily surprised it, because Gisericus had razed the walls of it; and from thence they informed the Africans, and even the Vandals, by little notes which they dispersed in all parts, that they were come only as friends to deliver them from Gilimer's tyranny. This being done, Belisarius marched towards Carthage in order of battle, having on the right the sea and his fleet, which he caused to advance

vance as he marched forward, on his left the Massagetes, or Huns, all horse, at the distance of about twenty Stadia. He had chosen three hundred of the most resolute of his men, under the conduct of John, a brave Armenian captain, to march before, at the same distance, and to discover where the enemy was; and he with the gross of the army, followed in good order, upon occasion to make head against Gilimer, whom he easily imagined would follow him.

A. D.
532.

And indeed, as soon as that Barbarian heard at Hermione of Belisarius's descent, he immediately sent orders to his brother Amatas, whom he had left at Carthage, to put Hildericus and Evagenes to death (Hoamer being already dead with grief) and such as he took to be their friends. He farther ordered that arming all the Vandals that were at Carthage, he should come and wait for the enemy at a Defile that was at Decimum near the city, to fight them in front, tho' he should be there engaged, whilst he would attack them behind with the gross of his army, and that his nephew Gibamond, whom he had sent before upon the left, should at the same time attack him in flank, that being thus surrounded on all sides, he might not escape. And certainly, these measures were not ill concerted, had they not been broken by the good order of Belisarius's army, and by the precipitation of Amatas, who ruined all this fine project. For that prince, fearing he should not come up time enough, upon the advice he had that the enemy began to appear, marched out of Carthage in disorder; with a few Vandals, having ordered the rest to follow him in files, and as he was got to the Defile long before Belisarius's army, or that of his brother, who followed it at a good distance, he fell in with John's three hundred horse, whom he attacked so briskly that upon the spot he killed twelve of them. But he was himself killed soon after, fighting with more bravery than conduct. Most of them that were with him were cut in pieces; the rest seeing him on the ground, took the Alarm and fled. But as in their flight they fell in with their own men that were coming from Carthage. And as these, believing that all the army was already passed, turned their backs; they entangled themselves amongst each other, by falling in with those that were continually advancing in files. So that that handful of Romans, who followed them close sword in hand, finding them in this disorder, made so great a slaughter of them,

that,

A. D. that, to see the country covered with dead bodies to the very
532 gates of Carthage, one would have said, that twenty thousand
men had been engaged.

At the same time the Massagetes lighting upon Gibamond, who was marching to the rendezvous on his side, defeated his two thousand men, and Belisarius who knew nothing of these two advantages, which his side had gained, and who was resolved not to expose himself to the hazard of a battle, before he had fully informed himself of Gilimer's strength, was advancing with the Cavalry, having left his infantry, and the baggage behind in a well-fortified camp. But he was much surpris'd, when the scouts of the foreign troops, whom he had sent before as far as near Decimum, came and told him that the enemy was in sight, and that they were already come to blows with their men, who desired him to advance; and was much more so, when some time after he saw them running away full speed. For Gilimer who had drawn all his forces together, and was marching to the left, had got before Belisarius, and had taken possession of a rising ground that was of great advantage, from whence he had just repulsed the Romans, who took the alarm, and by their flight carried away with those who were ordered to support them. So that had he vigorously pursued the fugitives, who were ready to throw themselves upon Belisarius, he had certainly put them into disorder, it being impossible with such a handful of troops to have born up against so great an army already half victorious: besides that in his march back to Carthage, he would have taken or killed all John's horse, and that it would have been easy for him, after that, to have made himself master of all the ships in the fleet.

But God who had determined his destruction, deprived him of his judgment. For as he had descended from the rising ground into the plain, and had there seen his brother's body, instead of resolving to take immediate revenge for his death, by following his good fortune, and victory who offered herself to him, he trifled away his time in bewailing his misfortune and his brother's death, and seeing the last honours paid to the defeated, by his army, who thinking of nothing else but of performing the funeral, which besides was a very bad omen, kept neither rank nor order, and
did

After the two Armies had for some time faced each other, the little brook being between them, John, as commanded by Belisarius, passed over first with a small number of horse, and fell upon Tzazo's squadrons, who received him so warmly, as to force him back to the brook, which he was obliged to repass, without the Vandals daring to follow him, he returned to the charge a second time with a larger body of men, and was again repulsed over the brook, on the brink of which the Vandals always halted, that they might not give the Romans the advantage of fighting them all the time they should be passing over. At last, as Belisarius saw they could not be drawn over by those two hasty retreats of John, he commanded him to pass over, and begin the attack with all the troops. Which he did with so much vigour and bravery, throwing himself amongst the enemy sword in hand, who also fought in the same manner, that he made them give back in their turn, having overthrown the bravest of them, and Tzazo himself, who was killed fighting with the greatest bravery. At the same time the two wings, being passed over, followed by Belisarius, march to charge the Vandals, who were at the two extremities; but as they saw that they who were in the centre, affrighted at the death of their chief officers, continually gave ground, and began to fly, they immediately took the alarm, and turning their backs at the first shock, carried the Moors with them, who instead of supporting them, ran away faster than they. Then the Huns, who followed at a good distance, seeing that all was lost as to the Vandals, began to pursue them: But as they fled to their camp which was fortified (as was imagined) the pursuit was not long. In this battle the Romans lost but fifty troopers, and as it had been rather a flight than a battle, there was but eight hundred Vandals killed, of all of them the most considerable and bravest of the nation. The day towards the evening, Belisarius having joined his army, advanced in good order to attack the enemy's camp. The Numidia, with his relation, as he saw they were coming to escape as they could, and the Romans, who enriched him with their treasures, limer, who had not one strong

A. D. strong place, in which he could defend himself, was obliged to
534 retire into the farthest part of Numidia, upon the top of Pappua, (y) an inaccessible mountain, inhabited by a few Moors who led a very miserable life, and there, after a three months siege laid to it by Pharus, captain of the Eruli, by strictly guarding all the avenues to hinder his escape, (z) or receiving any provisions, that happy prince, oppressed with miseries and poverty, at last surrendered himself upon Belisarius's parole, that he should be well used by the Emperor. This promise was faithfully kept, he was always magnificently treated at Carthage, whilst they waited for the Emperor's orders. And in the mean time Belisarius, to compleat so glorious a conquest, by his lieutenants reduced all the rest of Africa, Sardinia, Corsica, and the Baleric islands, which were under the dominion of the Vandals, and which surrendered without resistance after the battle of Tricamare.

Hereupon, as this great man had heard that he was accused of a design to set up for himself in Africa, he himself carried his prisoners to Constantinople, where Justinian resolved at the entry of so great a captain the pomp of the antient triumphs should be revived. Gilimer cloathed in a royal habit at the head of the other prisoners followed the conqueror; and when he entered the great square of the Hyppodrome, where the emperor was seated on a high throne, surrounded by the Grandees of the empire, and stripped of the purple was to prostrate himself to the earth to adore him, he did not seem dejected, and only said in his usual way this celebrated sentence of Solomon, which he often had in his mouth since his Change of fortune, "that every thing in this world was but vanity." He had been promised the dignity of Patrician, which at that time was the most considerable of the empire, but as he ever obstinately refused to abjure Arianism, they would not suffer him to prophane it, by that execrable heresy, and only assigned him subsistence in Galatia, whereon to live honourably with his family the rest of his days. Thus with so small a body of forces and in one single Campaign, God thereby intending to shew that it was himself that fought, so powerfull a kingdom was destroyed, and Africa delivered from the dominion of the Arians; a little more than a hundred years after Gisericus entered into it.

(y) Procop. l. 2. c. 4.

(z) cap. 7.

After

After this, as the bishops had recovered all the liberty, they *A.D.* enjoyed under Hildericus, they assembled at Carthage to the 534. number of two hundred and seventeen, in a national council, where Reparatus, Boniface's successor presided. There were first read the Canons and Decrees of the holy council of Nice, in order to establish in all places the purity of the faith against the blasphemies of Arianism. After which, as the manner was proposed in which the bishops and the rest of the Arian Ecclesiastics who desired to return to the church ought to be received, tho' each particular man plain enough declared his sentiments by his gestures which were on the side of severity, yet it was unanimously concluded, that no resolution ought to be taken thereon, till the Pope had been consulted. Whereupon two bishops and a dean were deputed to go to Rome, who gave the synodal letter to Pope Agapetus, who had just succeeded John the second, to whom it 535. was addressed. He answered, that to reconcile justice with mercy, they ought to be readmitted into the church, with all the tenderness and affection required by christian charity, even so far as to allow them an honourable subsistence, (a) but that they ought in no wise to be suffered to continue in their order, and their dignity, nor to perform any office in the church. (b) The same answer he sent the emperor, for that prince had desired that such who should return to the church, by abjuring Arianism, might enjoy the same posts they had held among the Hereticks, that this indulgence shewn them might the more easily bring them back. But the Pope made him see so clearly, that such an indulgence would be of prejudice to the church, that true penitents seek not honours, and that those who should return upon a motive so little christian, would not be rightly converted, that he no longer insisted upon it, and did not take it ill that the holy Pope reprimanded Epiphanius for consecrating a converted Arian a Bishop. After this That prince, who at that time applied himself to the making several excellent ordinances for the government of the empire, set forth one directed to the Præfectus Prætorij of Africa, (c) wherein he commands that every thing that had been taken.

(a) Agap. Ep. 1.
(c) Novel. 36.

(b) Agap. Ep. 3. Vide Tom. 4. Conc. Edit. Paris.

A.D. 535. from the church of Carthage, which he ordered to be called the city of Justinian, and all the rest of the churches in Africa by the Vandals should be restored to them, and that the Arians should not be allowed the exercise of their heresy, either in publick, or private, and that they should not hold any post in the government: it not being reasonable that Hereticks should have an authority over christians, and that they ought to be content with being suffered to live. But as heresy generally inspires men with a spirit of revolting, the Arians took occasion from this edict, to raise a sedition, which in the end proved very fatal to them. For about a thousand Arian soldiers, (*d*) most of them the Eruli, who served in the emperor's army, not being able to bear by this ordinance to be debarred celebrating the festival of Easter, which was near, joined with such Romans as had married Vandal women, and who were very much exasperated, that the estates which their wives before enjoyed, were refused to be restored to them, and which belonged to the emperor by the right of war. Having joined together in this manner, for their common interests, and not being able to execute the horrid design they had formed to kill Salomon their Governor, on Easter-day, in the church, they broke out in an open revolt: and having placed Stozas the most resolute amongst them at their head, they ravaged all the country, plundering, burning, and massacring all they met with. And having augmented their troops, with some of the remains of the Vandals, they even dared to lay siege to Carthage. But Belisarius hastning thither from Sicily, where he was beginning the war against the Goths, made them raise the siege, and defeated them: and as he was gone back from thence, Germanus, the nephew of Justinian, being arrived at Constantinople, cut those revoltors in pieces, and settled the emperor's authority, whose edict he thenceforth caused to be obeyed: so that, after this, Arianism was soon extinguished throughout Africa, without being obliged to have recourse to violence and punishments.

(*d*) Procop. de bel. Vand. l. 2. c. 14. 15. 16. 17.

The end of the Xth BOOK.



T H E
H I S T O R Y
O F
A R I A N I S M.

B O O K X I.



AFTER that the Emperor Justinian had so happily exterminated Arianism out of Africa, he undertook to free Italy from it too, by the war he was forced to make upon the Ostrogoths, for the reason we are going to see. After the death of king Theodoricus, Amalasonte his daughter, a princess, who, by her merit, equalled the wisest kings, governed the kingdom, and the tender age of her son Athalaricus, with a prudence, which was nothing inferior to that of her father, when the brutality of the Grandees of her court broke all her
V O L II. K k measures.

A.D.
536.

A. D. 536. measures. For these not being able to bear that she should educate the young prince in the Roman way to learning, and to virtue, as she very carefully did; and insisting that they would have a king who was brought up to arms, (*a*) as his ancestors had been, she was obliged to leave him to their conduct, which was so fatal to the unfortunate prince, that plunging into all sorts of debauchery, he entirely ruined his health, and fell into a mortal languor, that soon carried him to the grave. (*b*) As she saw her son given over, and did not think her own life safe among the Goths after his death, who hated her, because she could not suffer their disorders, she under-hand entred into a treaty with the Emperor, who had a high esteem for her, and resolved to surrender the kingdom of Italy into his hands. But the sudden death of her son did not give her time to accomplish her design. For fearing lest the Goths, who would not allow her to govern, should immediately chuse a king, she artfully prevented them, by setting Theodatus her cousin, and son of Amalfrida, king Theodoricus's sister, upon the throne.

He was a prince who had passed all his life in the country, in the study of the Platonic philosophy, but extremely mean-spirited, timorous, cowardly, covetous, and treacherous, of no honour, or probity, and capable of the vilest actions, when he was put upon them, either by his own or other men's passions. In short, as soon as he saw himself Master, forgetting all the promises he had just made to his benefactress, he suffered himself to be governed by the relations of those whom this princess had put to death for their crimes: And following the counsels of those people, he caused her to be imprisoned in an Island in the midst of *Lacus Vulsinus*: (*c*) and a few days after had her strangled in a bath, at the same time that he was suing for peace to the Emperor, having some time before constrained that unfortunate princess to write to him, in order to obtain it. Justinian highly provoked at this dreadful brutality of the Ostrogoths, resolved to revenge Amalasonta's death, to pursue the design she had had in favour of him, and also to rescue the capital city of the Empire, and all Italy, Sicily, and

(*a*) Procop. de bell. Goth. l. 1. c. 2.
Bolsena. Jornand. de rebus. Get. c. 59.

(*b*) Procop. c. 4.

(*c*) Lagodi

Dalmatia, out of the hands of the Arians. To this end, he made preparations both by sea and land, the stupid Theodatus, amused, and still suing for peace, taking no notice of it. And that he might have the assistance of the French, or at least, to prevent their disturbing his conquests, he writ to their several kings, Childebert, Clothaire, and Theodebert, “ That being obliged to
 “ make war upon the Ostrogoths, who besides their usurping Italy,
 “ the undoubted patrimony of the Emperors, had done him an
 “ irreparable injury, by putting to death the princess Amala-
 “ fonta, (*d*) whom he had taken under his protection; he conjured
 “ them to join their arms to his, to be revenged of them, in
 “ the justest war that ever had been. That the Catholick religion,
 “ which united them all, obliged them to it, that they might
 “ deliver the church from the tyranny of those Arians, enemies
 “ of God and man; not to mention that the hatred, that they all
 “ equally bore to this Gothick nation, ought to inspire them with
 “ the same design.” To this letter he joined a great number of presents, and a large sum of money, promising them still more, as soon as they should have begun the war. These kings very readily listened to the Emperor’s proposal, and promised to assist him with all their forces in this expedition, wherein they themselves were concerned; because the Ostrogoths still were in possession of the greatest part of the province, which they had a mind to unite to their crown, in order to make all the Gauls, both French, and Catholick: Besides that Amalasonta, who was the daughter of Audasleda, the great Clovis’s daughter, their father, being their cousin-german, they looked upon themselves as bound to revenge her cruel death, who by her virtue and shining qualities, did honour to the blood of France, from which she had the honour to be descended. I thought myself bound, in the cause of truth to speak thus of this princess, tho’ an Arian, in order to defend her against an idle story highly injurious to her memory, and which destroys itself, by the very plain falsehoods, which appear in all the parts of it. Which notwithstanding has not hindered Gregory of Tours from inserting it in his history, against the testimony of the authors who are his contemporaries, whom doubtless he

A. D.
536.

(*d*) Procop. l. 1, c. 5,

A. D. himself would have preferred to those unfaithful accounts, which
 536. he had provided himself with, and which he had made use of with a good intention, without demanding a voucher for the fidelity of them.

Justinian having thus taken his precautions, sent two armies against the Goths; one by land, under the command of Mendus governour of Illyrium, who took Salone in Dalmatia, and soon made himself master of all the province: The other by sea, under Belisarius, who, pretending to go to Carthage, came pouring in upon Sicily, which he conquered without difficulty, there being but a small number of Goths to defend it, and all the towns surrendering except Palermo, which bore a siege but very few days. After which, Belisarius took up his winter-quarters at Syracuse, where he concluded the year of his consulate with magnificent entertainments, and with largesses to the army, as an encouragement to them to behave well the ensuing campaign, which he was to make in Italy.

The weak Theodatus, frightened at these successes of the Emperor, and still more at the war coming upon him in Italy, the thought of which alone made him tremble, had constrained pope Anacletus to go to Constantinople to beg a peace, on such mean and shameful conditions, as to promise even to surrender the Empire for a sum of money, provided he might be permitted to live in safety. But as after the death of Mundus and his son, who had been killed in a rencounter, the Goths with little trouble retook Dalmatia; this prince, as insolent in prosperity, as mean-spirited and dejected in danger, made a jest of the promises he had made to Justinian, and brutally caused the ambassadors to be imprisoned, who were come to grant him his request, and conclude the treaty. Wherefore the Emperour, thinking of nothing but war, sent Constantianus into Dalmatia, which the Goths abandoned at the sight alone of his army; and pressed Belisarius to march into Italy, (e) where Theodatus, as if struck with a lethargy, thought of nothing less than defending himself. Indeed he had at first, when he saw Sicily taken, sent to demand aid of the French kings, to whom he had offered upon that account two thousand pound weight of

(e) Procop. l. 1. de bell. Goth. c. 13.

gold, and to yield Provence to them, which was under the dominion of the Ostrogoths: But this affair was carried on so slowly, that he perished miserably before it could be concluded. Thus Belisarius being sailed out of the port with his whole fleet, landed at Rheggio, without any opposition. Far from that, the people flocked in crowds to receive him, and to surrender to him, transported with joy to see themselves upon the point of being delivered from the tyranny of those Arian Goths, whom they held in detestation. Even Thrimuth himself, son in law to Theodatus, foreseeing the ruin of the Goths, opened the gates of Rheggio to him, where he was in no condition of defending himself: And going from thence to Constantinople, was honoured with the dignity of a Patrician. After this, Belisarius marching by land to Rome, coasted all the while by his fleet, in his march reduced all the cities, except Naples, which he was forced to lay siege to by sea and land, and where the Goths, who were there in a garrison, and who had the greatest part of the city on their side, defended themselves bravely. However he took it in twenty days, having put four hundred resolute soldiers into the town by night, by the means of an aquaduct, who opened one of the gates to the army, and fell upon the Goths behind, whilst on another side they offered to scale the town. So that it being taken by force, they suffered all the rigors of war, the soldiers provoked by so long a resistance, sparing nither age, sex, nor condition, neither things sacred nor prophane; until Belisarius having, with much difficulty, stopped their fury, obliged them to content themselves with the plunder, preserving to the vanquished, their lives, honour, and liberty.

In the mean while the Goths who lived about Rome, openly murmured against Theodatus's cowardice, who took no care of providing for the defense of Naples, which however was the only city that could prevent the enemy's march to Rome. They even began to fear he had a secret correspondence with Justinian, and had treated with him to deliver up to him the kingdom of the Ostrogoths. But when they heard the city was taken, then they proceeded from complaints and murmuring to bare-faced sedition, and all the men of war being met together in a camp, in the neighbourhood of Terracina, Theodatus was declared unworthy of

A.D. of governing the Goths, and Vitiges proclaimed king, a man of
536. bravery, but indeed of no birth, and who had acquired great glory and reputation, from the time that Theodoricus's was in Pannonia. Theodatus hearing this news, endeavoured to escape to Ravenna, but was taken in the road by a Gothick captain, whom he had treated in a dishonourable manner, and, who having laid him upon the ground, cut his throat, as an unhappy victim whom he sacrificed to his revenge, by executing the orders of his new prince. After which, Vitiges, whose forces were not strong enough to fight Belisarius, having left four thousand Goths at Rome under the command of Leuderis, an old officer, recommended the city to the pope Silverius, and to the senate, and carried Theodegildus, and the rest of the troops to Ravenna, where he married Amalasonta's daughter, to strengthen his authority amongst the Goths by the respect they would pay to the blood royal, to which he had just allied himself.

Shortly afterwards, Belisarius, having put a garrison into Naples, and Cumæ, came and presented himself before Rome, where he was immediately received with the applauses of all the Romans who had called him in, and who earnestly wished to see the capital of the empire and of religion, at length delivered from the oppression of Barbarians and Arians. However the safety of the garrison was provided for in good earnest, and it was permitted to retire to Ravenna. (f) So that the same time it was marching out thro' the Porta Flaminia, Belisarius's army entred on the ninth of December thro' the Porta Asinaria, which is now that of St. John. Leuderis, who had no mind to go with the troops under his command, whose destruction he foresaw, chose rather to surrender himself to the conqueror, who sent him prisoner to Constantinople, in order to carry the keys of Rome, together with the happy news that the emperor was master of it. After which, Belisarius applied himself with incredible diligence to the rebuilding and fortifying the walls of the city, and to store it with provisions, and all sorts of ammunition to stand a siege, which he foresaw that Vitiges, who was drawing together all his forces, would lay to it. And indeed this king, who had as much conduct as courage, did not fail making immediate preparations, and raising a formidable army, as

(f) Procop. Evag. l. 1. c. 18. Niceph. l. 17. c. 13.

well of natural Goths, whom he got together from all parts, as of other barbarous nations, which he took into pay, and of such people as were his subjects in the Gallia Cisalpina, and Liguria. (g) And as he was apprehensive that the kings of France, who had declared for Justinian, might pass the Alps, whilst he was marching against Belisarius, he, with the consent of the Goths, renewed the treaty, which Theodatus had begun with those three princes who promised to assist him, not openly with French troops, nor to break with Justinian, but by foreign troops dependant on them; in consideration whereof Vitiges payed them the two thousand pound weight of gold, which Theodatus had promised, and yielded to them Provence, from whence he recalled Marcias with the troops under his command, and which strengthened his army. (b) And towards the end of this war, Justinian, to gain the friendship of the French, found it advisable for him to confirm that important cession, and to give them up all the rights which he or his successors might at any time pretend to in the Gauls. Thus the entire empire over the Gauls, from the ocean to the Rhine, between the Alps and the Pyrenees, the German sea and the ocean, except the lower Languedoc, was brought under the French; and Arianism, which the Goths and the Burgundians had introduced, was entirely exterminated out of them.

Vitiges, who had secur'd himself on the side of France, only waited for Marcias's arrival to march into the field. But as he had learnt that Belisarius, who was every day pushing on his conquests by his lieutenants, whilst he was fortifying himself at Rome, had already made himself master of a great part of Tuscany after the taking of Narni, Spoleto, and Perugia, he marched out of Ravenna; and without stopping to take in such places as had been reduced, came with one hundred and fifty thousand men in the month of March and sat down before Rome, where Marcias with the troops he had drawn out of Provence joined him. This is doubtless one of the most memorable sieges which has ever been, both from the attacks of the besiegers, and from the defence of the besieged, and especially from the address, and courage of Belisarius, who with five or six

(g) Piedmont, Lombardy, and the river of Genoa.
bell. Goth.

(b) Procop. l. 3. dé.

A. D. thousand men, which during all the time of the siege, (which continued above a year), were not reinforced with above seven thousand men, that he received from the emperor, not only defended himself but had several engagements, between the walls and the camp of the Goths. As the Particular of this siege, and the extraordinary actions performed at it, make no part of my history, I may be excused entring into a description of them, without injustice to my reader, who, when he pleases, may read them with much more pleasure in the fine French translation of Procopius. (*i*)

Indeed what was particular, and very strange, and belongs to my subject is, that during the siege, the Goths, tho' Arians, and extremely exasperated against the Romans who had deserted them, never meddled with the churches in the suburbs, which they were masters of, nor the chapels of the holy Apostles, which were without the city, and allowed the priests, whose character they respected, all the liberty they could desire in a full peace, to perform their office, and celebrate the divine mysteries. And yet Belisarius, who boasted to have delivered Rome from the tyranny of the Arians, shamefully sacrificeing his honour and conscience to a woman's passion, was oppressing the Roman church in a more unworthy and cruel manner, than ever the Goths had done. The empress Theodora, an Eutychian Heretick, one of the wickedest women that ever had been, and by whom Justinian, who had married her for her beauty, suffered himself to be governed, had never been able to prevail on Silverius, to reestablish the patriarch Anthimus a Heretick, who had been deposed by pope Agapetus, whilst he was at Constantinople. (*k*) Wherefore, as the deacon Vigilius had, from a most detestable ambition, promised to oblige her, and to give her a vast sum of money, if she could bring about his election to the papacy, (*l*) she wrote to Belisarius, to find a way by some supposed crime, to get Silverius deposed, and set Vigilius in his place, who himself carried the letters to Belisarius, to whom he promised two hundred pound weight of gold, (*m*) provided he would immediately put the empress's orders in execution.

(*i*) Procop. l. 2. c. 4.
25.

(*l*) Liberat.

(*k*) Anastas. Biblioth. Liberat. in Brev. Procop. l. 1. c.

(*m*) 22400. crowns.

Belisarius at first shuddered at so infamous an action, (n) But *A. D.*
 fearing lest Theodora should ruin him with the emperor, after 537.
 having to no purpose protested, like Pilate, that he who had pro-
 cured these orders should answer it to GOD, he was base enough to
 put them in execution, and to admit two false witnesses to depose,
 and make appear, by counterfeited letters from Silverius to Vitiges,
 that he intended to betray one of the city-gates to him. Where-
 upon, as he had sent for him to his palace, and he and his wife
 Antonina, had in vain endeavoured to stagger him, by representing
 to him the great danger he was in, and to persuade him to obey
 Theodora, he was stripped of his pontifical vestments, upon the
 spot, and dressed in a monk's habit by the chief of the clergy who
 had been gained over, who the next day had Vigilius elected, an
 intruder, a schismatick, a person guilty of simoniacal practices, a
 persecutor, and at last a murderer of the true Pope. For the
 emperor having sent for him from Patras, the place of his former
 exile, in order to have his cause re-examined, (o) Belisarius, corrupt-
 ed by Vigilius, put him into his hands: and that Antipape having
 sent him into the island of Palmaria, where Silverius, a prisoner as he
 was, acted like a real pope, and excommunicated him, he so much
 resented it, as to starve him to death, thereby crowning him with
 a glorious martyrdom. Thus, by a prodigious confounding of all
 things, the Arians preserved the rights of the church out of Rome,
 at the same time they were besieging it, and the Catholicks op-
 pressed it within, after the basest manner that could be, whilst they
 were fighting in its defence. But when once passion has got the
 mastery of the soul, and has banished reason, there is nothing so
 irregular, so wicked, or so monstrous, of which it is not capable.
 What was still more wonderful here was, that, after the death of
 Silverius, the clergy, who, endeavouring to avoid a schism, had,
 after a six days vacancy, (p) again acknowledged Vigilius as their
 lawful sovereign Pontif, he became, by the grace of the Apostleship,
 quite another man, and performed so many fine things, in defence
 of the same faith, which he had unhappily endeavoured to betray, in
 order to make himself Antipape. Which plainly demonstrates, that
 truth and constancy in the faith is not annexed to the person, but
 to the chair of St. Peter, and his successors.

(n) Anastas.

(o) Liberat.

(p) Anastas. Biblioth.

A. D. In the mean while the forces of Vitiges were daily dwindling
538. away before Rome, by the wise conduct and generous resistance of Belisarius: and at length the famine, which was so prodigious That year all over Italy, that in some places it revived the examples of That at Jerufalem; the plague that seized upon his army, the sea and land armies which came from Constantinople, and the diversion which Belisarius afterwards gave him in the marches of Ancona, and in Romania, forced him to raise the siege, towards the twentieth of March, a year and nine days after it had been begun. However, he did not lose courage; for having reinforced the garrisons of the most considerable places in Tuscany, he marched into Romania, where the Imperialists were making the strongest diversion; and went and sat down before Rimini, which they had made themselves masters of a day's journey from Ravenna. And having advice at the same time that Milan, in order to throw off the yoke of the Arians, had surrendered to Belisarius's troops, by the interposition of the holy archbishop Dacius, and that a great part of Insubria and Liguria were following the same example, he immediately sent his nephew Urajas, with whom ten thousand Burgundians of the troops of Theodebertus king of Austrasia joined, as if they had done it of themselves without their king's order, who had not as yet a mind to break openly with Justinian. Belisarius marching out of Rome, to succour two towns of that importance, turned towards the marches of Ancona to join with Narces, who was just come with fresh supplies of men from Constantinople. He with them forced Vitiges to raise the siege from before Rimini, and to retire with some disorder to Ravenna. He sent an handsome reinforcement of troops to relieve Milan, whilst he took in the places he could not leave behind him. But his differences with Narces, who refused to obey him, and the slowness and want of resolution of those who had the conduct of the supplies, occasioned the Roman garrison, reduced to extremity, to surrender, their lives being granted them, notwithstanding the brave exhortations of Mundilas, who would have had them sally out sword in hand, rather than surrender themselves prisoners of war, and be witnesses of that desolation, which he foresaw would happen to that great city. In reality, the Goths exasperated to the last degree at their calling in the Romans, discharged all their fury upon this city, the finest in

in all the western empire, except Rome, with so much barbarity, (q) that they entirely ruined it, having without mercy massacred all the males to the number of three thousand, without any distinction of age, and made all the wives and maidens prisoners. So that on this occasion the cruelty of the Goths gave the precedent of an inhumanity more than barbarous, which has always stood single in its kind, and which will without doubt eternally continue so.

A. D.
538.

But they went not long unpunish'd. Theodebertus king of Austrasia had had Provence for his share, when it was yielded up by Vitiges: and seeing how miserably Italy was torn to pieces between the Romans and the Goths, who, by mutually destroying each other, were extreamly weakened, he thought he might easily become master of it, and annex it to the monarchy of France, notwithstanding his agreement with each party; for he wanted neither reason, nor pretences to break it. The vanity of Justinian, (r) who, amongst other titles, stiled himself conqueror of the French, gave him a specious pretence to make war upon him, to revenge the injury done to his people; and the enmity that was between the Goths and the French, ever since Alaricus's defeat by the great Clovis, besides their difference in religion, might have raised some new discontent or quarrel between the two nations. However that might be, Theodebert, resolving to make an advantage of this opportunity, passed the Alps, with an army of one hundred thousand effective men, (s) amongst which were some Germans, still Heathens, who did things which Procopius wrongly attributes to all the French without distinction. At first Theodebert made no attempt against the Goths, for fear they might hinder his passing over the Po: but when they themselves, who imagined he was come to their assistance, had given him passage below Pavia; he then fell upon their camp, which was not far from the Roman army, commanded by a lieutenant of Belisarius, and easily made himself master of it, cutting to pieces the greatest part of their unfortunate troops, who were far from expecting such treatment. In the mean time the Imperialists, seeing the Goths running in disorder towards Ravenna, imagined it was Belisarius's army, which, coming to their assist-

(q) Procop. l. 2. de bell. Goth. c. 21.
bell. Goth. c. 25.

(r) Agath. l. 1.

(s) Procop. l. 2. de

A. D. 538. ance, had routed the enemy. Wherefore, marching out of their camp, they came up to him, in order to receive him with great acclamations. But they were strangely surprized when they saw men coming towards them sword in hand, and whom they were obliged to fight. The battle however was not long, for as they did not come for that purpose, but to receive friends, and not enemies, they were soon put into disorder, and forced to fly; abandoning even their camp, which was plundered by Theodebert's army, as well as that of the Goths. But the distempers that seized this great army, for want of provisions, in a country quite desolated by war, and famine, forced Theodebert, who had already lost the third part of it, to march back into France, (t) after leaving reinforcements in the strong towns of Liguria under the command of Leutherus, and Bucelinus, who during these wars often made excursions all over Italy

539. Belisarius being delivered from so dangerous an enemy, happily accomplished his enterprize. For having taken all the places which the Goths still held in Tuscany, in the marches of Ancona, and in Romania, he at last came with all his forces and besieged Vitiges in Ravenna. And as on one hand he had no more enemies in the field, as he was master of the Sea, and of the Po, and of all the armies, and had found means, by the intelligence he had in Ravenna, to have the magazines set on fire, he soon reduced the city to great extremities. So that the Goths, and Vitiges himself, who could no longer make any resistance, and who were apprehensive that Justinian might treat them ill, resolved to offer to surrender to Belisarius, provided he would accept the crown which they proffered him, protesting they would obey him, as they had done Theodectus. Belisarius, who had no great number of troops, amongst which were some, whom he did not greatly confide in, and who besides was afraid that Urajas, who was mustering the Goths from all parts, might fall upon him, pretended to accept the conditions, and was thereupon received into Ravenna, with his army, as king of the Ostrogoths. But as soon as he saw himself absolute master, he shewed them that he preferred his duty to a crown. For Justinian having recalled him to command an army

540.

against the Persians, he carried Vitiges, the queen his wife, and children, and the chief Ostrogoth lords, to Constantinople, where Justinian by all sort of kind treatment, endeavoured to render their change of fortune more supportable.

A. D.

540.

In the mean time the Goths finding themselves deserted by Belisarius, who had promised them to be their king, resolved to chuse themselves one. To this end, being assembled together at Pavia, which was as it were their last retreat, at first elected Urias. But he, fearing lest the ill fortune of his uncle, always unhappy, might pursue him too, by contagion, or might make him odious, persuaded them to fix upon Idibaldus, who still held Verona, and who might expect assistance from Theudis, king of the Visigoths, whose nephew he was. Idibaldus accepted the crown, upon condition nevertheless that they should make one attempt more upon Belisarius, to oblige him to keep his word. But as he saw the temptation of a crown could not shake his fidelity, and that he was set out from Ravenna for Constantinople, he declared himself king of the Goths, tho' he had not at that time above a thousand men. (u) But the great care he took to reunite the Goths, and the extreme disorder amongst the Romans, by the dissensions of their leaders, soon put him into a condition to take the field, and to recover great part of Insubria, and of the territory of the Venetians, where, at the battle of Tarvisa, he defeated the Roman army commanded by Vitalius, one of Justinian's lieutenants. This victory was beginning to make his name famous and formidable, when one of his guards, whom he had cruelly injured by giving his wife to another, cut off his head at an entertainment, at the instant he was holding it down to eat. Upon this a dissension ensued among the Goths, in their choice of a new king. The Rugians, whom they had adopted, placed Evaricus upon the throne. But as he had not the qualities necessary to support so great a dignity, in such difficult times, the rest killed him about a month afterwards as they had concerted the design before-hand with Totila, Idibaldus's nephew, and governor of Tarvisa, who was upon the spot proclaimed king, with the unanimous applause of all the Goths, who were in hopes he would again establish their affairs.

541.

(u) Procop. l. 3.

A. D. And sure enough, he made good their expectations. For tho' he
 541 had but five thousand men, yet he had the courage to pass the
 Po, and attack the Roman army consisting of twelve thousand
 men, which he so totally defeated near Faenza, that he brought
 off all the colours, as the sign of an entire victory: and this was
 soon followed by a second, which his troops gained near Florence,
 over another army, which was come from Ravenna to the relief
 542. of that city. After which Totila, who found himself master of
 the field by these two victories, having traversed all Tuscany,
 passed the Tybur, and left Rome on the right, entered Samnium,
 and Campania, (x) took and razed Beneventum, besieged Naples,
 and as, during the siege, his army was grown very powerful, by
 an infinite number of Goths, who came in crowds to him from all
 parts, he by his lieutenants made himself master without resist-
 ance of Apulia, Calabria, and the other provinces, from which he
 drew immense sums, which had been there collected and laid up
 for Justinian.

It was during this famous campaign of Totila, that God, to
 convince the Arian Goths, and to put a stop to their fury, (y)
 wrought those extraordinary miracles, which St. Gregory gives us
 an account of in his dialogues, and which in so miraculous a manner
 shewed the holiness of those eminent servants of God, Cassius,
 Fulgentius, and Sabinus, bishops of Narni, Otricoli, and Ga-
 nusa, of the young Benedictus whom the Goths threw into a burn-
 ing oven, from whence he came out the next day unhurt. (z) But
 in particular of the Patriarch St. Bennet. For he not only dis-
 covered him whom Totila had caused to put on his cloaths, in
 order to find if this holy abbot was so great a prophet as was
 reported; but likewise when he saw that prince prostrate at his
 feet with the greatest respect, having gently raised him, and
 advised him to be for the future more human, he foretold him
 that he should take Rome, that he should pass forward as far as
 Sicily, and should die after a reign of ten years. The truth of
 this prophecy very soon began to appear, and the saint's exhorta-
 tion contributed much towards softening Totila's mind. Whilst

(x) Abruzzo. Terra di Lavori
 (z) Dial. l. 2. c. 14. and 15.

(y) Gregor. Dialog. l. 3. c. 5, 6, 13

he laid siege to Naples with the greatest part of his army, (a) the *A.D.*
 other took Cumæ, and the rest of the towns along the sea; but he 542
 would not allow such as surrendered to be treated ill. He even
 set the prisoners at liberty, and especially the Roman ladies,
 taken in some of those places. He sent them away free, with
 all sorts of honours, which he caused to be paid them: Which gained
 him the reputation of a wise and generous prince at Rome.

In short, after the fleet, which the Emperor had sent to relieve
 Naples, was unfortunately lost by a tempest, in sight of the
 port, the city reduced to extremities, surrendered to Totila, who
 used the Citizens and soldiers with so much lenity, as they could 543
 not have expected kinder offices from their relations and friends,
 than those he caused to be done them, to restore them to a tolera-
 ble condition, after the cruel famine they had undergone. And
 what was still more wonderful was, that at the same time, behav-
 ing with great severity towards his own men to preserve discipline,
 he put to death one of the bravest soldiers in his army, who had
 ravished a virgin, to whom he gave all his estate which he had
 confiscated. So much this prince, wholly Arian as he was, had
 learnt to make a good use of the advice and instructions of St.
 Bennet. But it must be acknowledged, that besides his being
 master of a great soul and noble sentiments, Policy had a great
 share in this action. For he had a mind to gain the esteem and
 affection of the Romans, and Italians, by shewing them the dif-
 ference between the Goths, who behaved like the ancient Romans,
 and the Grecian commanders, and soldiers, who dealt with them
 like so many Barbarians, treating them with all sort of inhu-
 manity. He also wrote an excellent letter to the Roman senate,
 to invite them early to return to their duty by owning this dif-
 ference, and recalling to mind the many benefits, they had for-
 merly received from Theodoricus, and Amalasonta. The governour
 prevented their returning any answer to those letters, but he
 could not hinder their fixing them up by night in all the publick
 places. Wherefore being apprehensive of some correspondence at
 Rome, he turned out all the priests, that were Arians, and who had

A.D. been allowed to live there after the reduction of it, and whom he
 543. certainly had reason to respect.

However, this lenity of Totila was not lasting. For seeing the
 Romans made no return to his offers, and that Justinian had sent
 Belisarius back into Italy, to oppose his progress, he altered his
 conduct; and, to strike a terror, went over to the other extreme,
 and grew cruel. For turning against Belisarius, who was marched
 544. towards Ravenna with a very small body of troops, after taking
 Tivoli, by some intelligence he had in the town, he put all the
 inhabitants, and the bishop himself, to the sword. From thence
 having with ease made himself master of the passages over the
 Tibur, to prevent all communication with Rome by that way, as
 he knew Belisarius could not long keep the field, he went back,
 into the marches of Ancona, where he took Ascoli and Fermo,
 and most of the other places, (*b*) and laid siege to Osimo, the
 strongest town at that time. But as succours were thrown into it,
 he of a sudden passed the Assensim, and having in his passage
 taken Assisa, Spoleto, and the rest of the towns in Umbria, he
 came and sat down before Rome, with so numerous an army,
 that he had men enough to besiege Placentia at the same time,
 545. the only place the Imperialists had remaining on the Po, and
 which not being relieved, was at length obliged to surrender.

In short, since the siege of Jerusalem, never was any thing more
 deplorable than the fortune of the Romans. There was hardly any
 provisions in the city by the negligence and extreme avarice
 of the Grecians, who minded nothing but plundering and heaping
 up wealth; nothing could be got into it either by land or water,
 all the avenues being in the possession of the Goths, who were
 masters of the field, the Tibur, and the sea. The ships laden with
 corn, which pope Vigilius, who was retired into Sicily, was sending
 thither, taken by the enemy. Bessas and Canon, two Greek
 officers, who commanded in Rome, were mere cowards, who never
 dared once sally out, to favour the throwing in relief; and Bessas,
 was so unmercifully covetous as to keep up the Corn, which there
 still remained at Rome, to sell it at an excessive rate. Besides the Gre-
 cian succours, which were to come by land, having debarqued at

(*b*) Auximum.

Otranto

Otranto, made but very slow marches, often meeting enemies in their rout which stopped them; and Belisarius, who was coming by sea, had neither the troops, nor the fortune or good luck that attended him in the former war. In short, all relief failing the Romans, the famine grew to such a height, that every thing being consumed even to the very weeds, and even such things the very imagination of which strike the greatest horror, most of them died miserably either in their flight, or in the city, of faintness or of despair; for many were seen whom their rage armed against their own life, and among the rest a Roman citizen, who, one day hearing the mournful cries of his children asking bread, coldly bid them follow him, as if he was going to give them some; but when he was got upon the bridge of the Tibur, suddenly wrapping his cloak round him he threw himself into the river before their eyes.

A.D.
545.

At last, some Isaurian soldiers of the garrison, being no longer able to bear the inhumanity of Bessas, nor the famine they themselves suffered from the small subsistence he allowed them, treated with Totila, and one night opened to him the Porta * Asinaria, thro' which he entered Rome, followed by his whole army, which he drew up in order of battle, in the square, expecting till it was day. In the mean while Bessas, with most of the Greeks, and a very few of the Senators, betook themselves to flight all in disorder and abandoned every thing; but Totila would not suffer them to be pursued, saying that nothing was more agreeable than to hear an enemy was flying. As soon it was day, Totila finding himself master of the city, went to St. Peter's church, there to return God thanks for his victory, and the arch-deacon Pelagius, whom this Prince, to whom he had been often deputed, much esteemed, made him so handsom a speech, as exceedingly mollified him. For after reproaching the Senate with their ingratitude to the Goths, he satisfied himself with giving the city to be plundered, saving the lives, liberty, and honour of the Vanquished. So that, except twenty soldiers and about threescore of the citizens who were killed at first, before his prohibition, no blood at all was spilt. Totila took great care also of the honour of the ladies. But as all the wealth was left at the discretion of the Goths, who were far from sparing any thing, the ladies, and among the rest, the illustrious Busticiana, the daughter of Symmachus, and widow of

546.

A. D. Boëtius, and the Roman Senators were seen despoiled of all they
546. had, and turned out of their own houses, forced to beg their bread from door to door, of those very Goths, whom they saw enriched with their spoils.

Totila himself pitied them, and was desirous of re-establishing Rome, by putting an end to so fatal a war. To this end, he sent Pelagius and Theodorus, one of the chief Senators, to Justinian, to propose a peace to him, by restoring things to the same condition they were in under the reigns of Anastasius and Theodoricus. But seeing his proposals eluded, and his forces beaten in Calabria, he took the barbarous resolution of turning Rome upside down. And indeed several of those proud monuments of the magnificence of the ancient Romans were destroyed, and they began to set fire to the houses, a good part of which were consumed; but Totila's fury was stopt by Belisarius himself, who writ to him, and gave him to understand, that if he came off conqueror at the conclusion of the war, he would do himself the greatest injury in the world, to destroy Rome; and if he was conquered, he must expect no favour from the Romans. Wherefore contenting himself with demolishing a third part of the walls in different places, that he might not be obliged to leave a great part of his army in garrison, he marched away towards Apulia and Calabria, against the Greeks, carrying away with him the Senators, after dispersing the rest of the Romans with their wives and children all over Campania, not leaving a soul at Rome. It was not very difficult for Belisarius upon this to get into it again, and repair all its breaches, as he actually did, causing all his army, together with the Romans, who flocked in from all parts to him, to work upon them night and day, so that Totila being not long after returned,
547. met with a vigorous repulse. This was the last of Belisarius's fortunate actions, and almost the only one he performed in this second war he came upon into Italy; for being rudely treated by Totila in Calabria, he retired, with little honour, into Sicily, and from thence to Constantinople, whither he was recalled by the Em-
548. perour, ill satisfied enough with his conduct. Thus the greatest men, after performing the most fortunate and shining actions, have always reason to guard against vanity, from the just apprehensions they ought to be under, that one unlucky event, in the conclusion,
may

may ruin them in the minds of the greatest part of mankind, who, by a secret malignity, are not sorry to forget the part good, to dwell upon the present evil. A. D. 548.

In the mean while Totila, freed from so dangerous an enemy, every where made a prodigious progress: and meeting no forces in the field able to stand against him, easily made himself master of every place he attacked. But that spirit of cruelty, which Heresy inspires, at the same time made him sully his victories, by two or three actions that shewed the persecutor and a Tyrant. For one of his lieutenants having taken Perugia, (c) a little after Belisarius's retreat, and sent to know of the king what he would have done with St. Herculanus, who was bishop of it, he commanded his head to be struck off: (d) which was executed upon the walls of the city: And forty days after, his sepulchre being opened, his body was found entire, with the head fast on it, (e) God thereby in a signal manner shewing the holiness of the martyr, and the truth of the faith, which he had signed with his blood against the Arians. Totila even had Cerbonius bishop of Populonium, (f) thrown to bears, for saving the lives of some Romans, whom the Goths would have massacred, had he not charitably given them refuge, and hid them in his house. But the bears, less savage than this king, having shewn a regard to the virtue of the good bishop, Totila was afraid to go any farther. He acted with more cruelty against Laurianus, a priest of the church of Milan, who had courage enough to exclaim with an ardent zeal against his excesses, and especially against his Heresy. For the holy man being retired into Spain, where his uncommon merit created him bishop of Seville, Totila sent to Theudis, king of the Visigoths, for his head, who would not have failed sending it, had not the holy man escaped to Rome; and some time after as he was returning to Spain, (g) he was taken by some of Totila's men, who were hunting every where for him, and who struck off his head, which being carried to Seville, delivered them from the plague, according as he himself had foretold.

(c) Procop. l. 3. c. 11. (d) Greg. Dial. l. 2. c. 13. (e) Greg. Dial. l. 3. c. 11. (f) A town in ruins near Piombino. (g) Martyr. Rom. 4. Jul. Marian. l. 5. c. 8.

A. D. 548. Theudis soon received the reward of his base complaisance to Totila; for he was shortly after killed by a traitor, who pretended himself mad, in order to perpetrate this action. Theudis was his relation, and Totila's nephew, was set upon the throne in his room by the Visigoths; but he grew so insupportable to his subjects by his debaucheries, and cruelties, that even his own people killed him at dinner, in the second year of his reign, this unfortunate prince having made no advantage of seeing the perpetual miracle of Offet, near Seville, the truth of which he resolved to examine and prove.

At that time there was in this small town of Andalusia a magnificent church belonging to the Catholics, (*b*) whom the Arians, called Romans, and those baptismal fonts were to be seen, built of beautiful marble in the form of a cross, and of wonderful fine workmanship. The bishop accompanied by all the people, went thither in procession every year on holy thursday, and after the usual prayers, all the people being gone out of it, he had all the doors shut up, and sealed to prevent any body getting in. On holy saturday the bishop followed by the Catechumens who were to receive the holy sacrament of baptism, being returned with the same ceremonies, and having exactly examined the seals; the fonts which before had been left empty, were now found so full, that the water seemed ready to run over on all sides, and yet without shedding one single drop. Then, after the bishop had sanctified it by the holy chrism, and exorcisms, each man to satisfy his devotion took some of it in vessels they had brought, the sacred fonts all the while not at all decreasing, till as the catechumens went on baptising, the water fell away, and at length was lost, so that after the last person had been baptised, no water was left in the fonts. What was still more wonderful in this miracle, which lasted many years, as formerly that of the fish-pool at Jerusalem did, is, that every time the French, who exactly observed the decree of the council of Nice, in the celebration of easter, did not agree with the Spaniards, as to the day of that great festival: This miracle never failed deciding the difference, in a manner which always confirmed the decision of the council,

(*b*) Greg. Tur. de glor. Martyr. c. 24. 25. Marian. l. 5. c. 8.

as it happened five and twenty years after, in the face of all Spain, and to the knowledge of the whole earth. (i) For the Spaniards, who had misreckoned, having fixed Easter on the one and twentieth day of march, and the French carried it lower to the eighteenth of April, those miraculous Fonts of Oset did not begin to fill till the fifteenth of that very month which was the thursday before the Easter as the French had fixed it. King Theudisclus therefore believing there was some fraud in it, caused the whole matter to be strictly observed, and the doors guarded: and seeing the miracle still continue, had a ditch five and twenty foot long, fifteen abroad, dug quite round the church, to find out whether there were not some subterranean channels, (k) which might help on the trick. But having discover'd nothing, but still obstinately insisting there must be some artifice in it, because he could not bear that " God should manifest the truth of the Catholick faith against
" the Arians, by a miracle so publick, and so known to all the
" world, God punished his incredulity, and hardness of heart, by
" that miserable death that sadly took him off in his sin.

A. D.
548.

But the measure of Totila's sins was not filled up, and the divine justice was resolved to make use of him, to compleat the chastisement which it had determined to inflict on the disorders of the christians, principally in Rome and Italy. Therefore whilst Justinian, who, by a strain of wrong Politicks, was busying himself with the affairs of the church without minding those of the state, still deferred sending a powerful relief to Italy; Totila, who, except Ravenna, and a very few other places, had reduced it all, came and sat down a third time before Rome, where Belisarius had been able to leave but three thousand men, who at first defended themselves very bravely. But there were some Isaurians besides, who, murmuring for want of their pay, betrayed the city, and opened the gate of St. Paul to Totila, thro' which he entred without any opposition, whilst they made a false attack in another place. He did not now behave as he did the first time he took the city. King Childebert, whose daughter he had demanded in marriage, had reproached him with not being king of Italy, since he had not been able to keep Rome, having abandoned it to his enemies, who had retaken it. He was so stung with this reproach, and thought himself so sensibly

549.

(i) Sigebert. in Chron. Marian. l. 5. c. 11.

(k) Marian. l. 5. c. 8.

A.D. piqued in point of honour, (*l*) that he resolved to re-establish Rome.
 549. He repaired all its ruins with incredible diligence, he stored it abundantly with all manner of provisions, he recalled all that had left it, promising to reinstate them in their effects, he peopled it with Goths, whom he settled there, to make up but one people with the Romans, as it had been in Theodoricus's reign; (*m*) he allow'd a full liberty to the church of Rome, which pope Vigilius had obtained of him at the request of Childebert, king of France, he at length so fully succeeded in this glorious attempt, that in a small time the city being repaired, he exhibited shews to the people in the Circus, as the antient Emperors did. And yet, as he saw that Justinian, to whom he had sent to demand peace, would not hearken to it, thus neither making war, nor being at peace, he did not forbear arming powerfully, in order to take all the rest from him.

550. He even equipped a strong fleet, consisting chiefly of the vessels he had taken from the Emperor; and having reduced Rimini and Tarrentum lying at the two extremities of Italy to his obedience, and ordered the castle of Rheggio to be besieged, which at last was forced to surrender, he passed into Sicily, which he ran over, and plundered, out of resentment for its having so easily surrendered to Belisarius. After which he returned to Italy loaded with booty of an inestimable value, there to fight the new army which the emperor had at last resolved to send thither. But as that army was obliged to stop in the way, to make head against new torrents of Gepide's, Eruli, and Lombard's, who having passed the Danube, over-ran Thrace, Macedonia, and Illyrium, Totila saw himself for a whole year peaceful master of the greatest part of Italy, as if there had been no rival to dispute the Empire of it with him: for he had agreed with the French, that they should keep Liguria, and the country of the Venetians, of which Theodebert, had made himself master. So that Arianism being received at the last gasp, to which it had seen it self reduced after the taking of Ravenna, and of Vitiges, seemed to be going again to ascend the Throne. But God, who was resolved to extinguish it, having punished Italy by so terrible a scourge, at once trampled it under foot by a

(*l*) Procop. l. 3.(*m*) Vigil. Ep. 4. f. 1. Ep. Rom. Pont.

sudden change of fortune, and buried it under the ruins of the Empire of the Goths.

A.D.

550.

For the Emperor astonished at Totila's successes, and ashamed to see himself beaten out of Italy, which he had so gloriously won back, at last resolved not to send any more weak succours as he had till then done, but the strongest body of forces he could under the command of Narfes. (n) As he was a great and celebrated captain, prudent and skilful, brave, munificent, beloved by the soldiery, and in high esteem among foreigners; and besides as Justinian opened his treasures to him, and furnished him with every thing he desired, without sparing any cost, he soon raised a formidable army, wherein besides the Romans, he had the best troops of the Æruli, of the Gepidi, and of the Lombards. Indeed he was sometime detained in Thrace, which the Huns, after passing the Danube, had invaded; whom he was obliged to repulse, before he went any farther. But in the interim, as if fortune designed to prepare the way for him, before he advanced towards Italy, the Goths, who had besieged the castle of Ancona, were beaten at sea by one of the Emperor's lieutenants, that was in Dalmatia, and hastened to the relief of it; and almost at the same time the governor of Toranto quitting Totila's service, put the place into the hands of some imperialists, who had made a descent upon Crotona. Totila surprised at these losses, and astonished at the vast preparations for war, which Narfes was generally reported to be making against him, after having once more in vain endeavoured to obtain a peace, prepared on his side, and sent Toias, the bravest of his captains, to Verona, to stop Narfes in his passage. But that general foresaw his design; and leaving Verona on the right, and marching to the left along the sea, coasted by an infinite number of barks, in order to build bridges upon occasion over the rivers, he soon got to Ravenna, from whence, after defeating and killing the governor of Rimini, who disputed his passing over the river, he went and encamped in the Apennine it self, at the foot of which, near the village of Taginas, Totila was encamped, who having rejoined Toias, had traversed all Tuscany, in order to march directly up to him.

551.

552.

It was not long before they came to a battle. Totila, having ordered Narfes to be informed, that in eight days they would end

(n) Procop. l. 4.

A. D. 552. the force of the Roman army, who attacked them on every side with all manner of advantage. But at last they were forced to give way to the number, and to retire towards their infantry, who had not been able to come up to them. And as they were vigorously pushed by the army, which still advanced, keeping their ranks, against men already in disorder, without giving them time to come to themselves, or to rally, they at last turned their backs, and fell in among their own infantry with so great confusion, that far enough from supporting them, they made off with the utmost precipitation without striking one stroke.

Upon that, the Roman cavalry pursuing them, and mixing with the Gothick cavalry, who in their flight rode over their own men, great slaughter was made of those unfortunate men. For there was above six thousand Goths killed upon the spot, besides what were made prisoners, and to whom, in order to exterminate so dangerous a race of people, they afterwards gave no quarter, no more than to the Roman deserters, who had gone over to Totila, at the beginning of his conquests. As for that unhappy prince, it is certain he was killed, either in the engagement, fighting under other arms than his own, that he might not be discovered by the enemy; or in the pursuit, accompanied by no more than five cavalries, according to the most general opinion; and with him sunk all the fortune of the Goths. For Narses, who knew very well how to make the best use of his victory, having soon reduced all Tuscany, march'd directly to Rome, which he scaled and took, there not being Goths enough to defend so great a compass of walls. However they had time enough to retire into the country about Italy, where they had strong places, and they who had escaped out of the battle along with Toias, being retired to Pavia, unanimously chose him king of the Goths, hoping that so brave a man might still restore their affairs.

553. And certainly, he was possessed of all the great and shining qualities, that could be desired, to succeed in such an enterprise, had he found as much fidelity in all his people, as he had valour and conduct in himself. For having raised a pretty considerable body of Goths, out of such as he had rallied from the last fight, and of new recruits he had raised in the neighbourhood of Pavia, as he heard that Narses's forces were besieging the castle of Cumæ, where Totila kept the greatest part of his treasure, he had the courage and address

“ them at last to deliver Italy, and the Roman church from the
 “ cruel dominion of the Arians. That they ought not to fail to
 “ call on the name of the holy virgin, who would invisibly fight
 “ for them, against those impious men, who intended to deprive
 “ her of the glorious title of the mother of GOD, (o) by endeavour-
 “ ing to rob her son of his divinity by their blasphemies.” And
 indeed Narses was very devout, especially to the virgin, whom he
 honoured by a very particular worship: and whether by a strong
 application to GOD in devout prayer, he imagined he saw an appa-
 rition, or that he really did see such an apparition, there went a
 report all over the army, that the holy virgin had promised him
 the victory, informing him particularly of the time when he should
 begin the engagement: a circumstance which doubtless served to
 inspire the Romans with bravery, who no longer doubted but
 GOD fought for them.

But what extremely contributed towards the victory, was the dif-
 ferent disposition of the two armies: For Narses had placed eight thou-
 sand foot in the two wings, all archers, who could easily join in the
 form of a Crescent, in order to surround the enemy, when they
 should have charged in the middle. On the contrary, Totila, all
 whose hopes lay in his cavalry, had ranged them in order of battle,
 upon a line at the head of his army, and had posted all the infantry
 in the rear, to support the horse when they should be pressed, and
 to renew the battle with them. But it happened quite otherwise
 than he had imagined: and that very thing was one of the chief
 reasons of his losing the battle: for as the cavalry, leaving the foot
 behind them, began to ride on full speed, in order to fall upon the
 middle of the main battle, which came against them, they did not
 observe that the eight thousand archers in the two wings, approach-
 ing each other insensibly in order to join, were going to surround
 them, as in fact they did. So that raining upon them a terrible
 shower of arrows, a great number of horse were killed, wounded, or
 dismounted, and put out of a condition of fighting even before
 they could come up to the battalions they were going to attack.
 However they fought like men of resolution, and bore up against

(o) Procop. l. 1. Paul. Diac. de. Gest. Long. l. 1. c. 3. Evag. l. 4. c. 23. Niceph
 c. 13.

A. D. the Goths But they, animated by the sight of so glorious an example,
 553. and resolved to die like him, obstinately fought like so many
 lions till night came on, the Romans not being able to break, or
 surround them, upon account of the mountain, by which they
 were covered; and having done the same thing the next day, they
 sent some of the best quality to Narfes, who in the name of them
 all told him, "That they clearly saw that God had declared
 " against them, and that he had resolved the destruction of their
 " empire; that they were therefore entirely ready to yield it
 " up, no more to make war upon the Romans, and to surrender all
 " the places they held in Italy, provided they were allowed to
 " retire, each with what money they had in the garrisons they
 " still held, and to live according to their own laws, where they
 " should think fit, out of the territories of the empire."

The matter being brought under deliberation, some would have
 had them obliged to surrender, upon discretion, or conquered by
 main force, and cut to pieces: But Narfes following the counsels
 of the most prudent, was of opinion, "That it was always dange-
 " rous to push the matter to extremities with men that were def-
 " perate, and to have to do with people resolved to die in their
 " own defence. That vertue and valour ought to be honoured even
 " in an enemy. That he should lose more by the death even of
 " one of his own men, who might fall in such an unnecessary
 " attack, than he should gain by taking or putting to death those
 " who of themselves yielded all that he could desire or conquer by
 " the gaining of battles. That the general of an army should be satis-
 " fied with conquering, without making any attempt on the lives
 " of the conquered, unless when they still dispute the victory with
 " him. And that the most useful, and even the most glorious vic-
 " tory is ever that, which costs the conqueror the least blood, who
 " ought to spare that of his own men, though at the same time he
 " lavish his own to set them an example of behaving well." Thus
 the conditions were accepted, and the treaty, which the Goths on
 the other side the Po ratified, was at length honourably executed on
 both sides, after eighteen years war. So that all the places being put
 into the hands of Narfes's commissioners, and the Goths departed out
 of Italy, it was at length freed from the dominion of the Arians, seventy
 seven years after they had invaded it under Odoacer king of the Eruli.
 Spain

Spain only remained, which was still under the dominion of the *A. D.*
Arians, when GOD began her deliverance by the conversion of 553.
one of her kings. After the death of Theudisclus, the Visigoths
elected Agila; who having reigned five years in perpetual com-
motions, always unsuccessful, and always beaten, was at last killed
by his own officers, at Merida, after losing a battle near Seville,
against Athanagildus, who had revolted, and who was afterwards 554-
set on the throne, by the common consent of the Visigoth lords of
both parties. (p) This prince was no sooner in possession of the
crown, than he turned his arms against the troops of Justinian,
which he had called in to his assistance, and which turning their
own pay-masters, had seized upon some of his provinces. And
that he might have the assistance of the French troops on occasion,
he made an alliance with them, marrying his two daughters Gal-
suinta and Brunehaud, the former to Chilperic king of Soissons,
and the other to Sigebert king of Austrasia. (q) These two
princesses had always been brought up in the Arian heresy. But
as soon as they came into France, they made profession of the Ca-
tholick Faith, and were again baptized in the name of the Father,
Son, and Holy Ghost, so much the more easily abjuring Arianism,
as they knew that their father Athanagildus was not at all attach-
ed to it. And indeed, that prince not only always favoured the
Catholicks, in his kingdom, but they say he too was one in his
heart, tho' he always pretended to be an Arian, purely out of hu-
man policy, to avoid the hatred of the Visigoths, for whom he had
occasion in the wars he made during his whole fifteen years reign,
upon the auxiliary Greeks, whom he endeavoured to rid Spain of,
which however was not brought about but by his successors. (r)

But if Athanagildus, meanly betraying his conscience, had not
the courage to profess that truth publicly, which in his soul he
believed, GOD seemed resolved to make up that loss to himself,
by the generous confession of faith which Theodemir king of the
Suevi, made about that time which was followed by the conversion
of his whole people. Above an hundred years had now passed since
king Remismond, the same that established the Empire of the

(p) Marian. l. 5. c. 7. (q) Greg. Tur. l. 4. c. 28. Aim. l. 5. c. 4 & 5. Venant.
Fort. Car. l. 6. Lucas. Tud. Marian. ibid. (r) Isidor. Marian.

A.D. Suevi in Galicia, had turned Arian, in consequence of the fatal
 554 alliance he made with Theodoricus king of the Visigoths. And
 altho, since that time, there were several kings who reigned over
 that people, (s) yet history has made no mention of them till this king
 Theodemir, who brought back all his nation to the Catholick faith,
 upon the following occasion. His son Ariamire, afflicted with
 560 an incurable disease, (t) having to no purpose tried all remedies,
 and hearing of the miracles that St. Martin of Tours wrought
 at his so celebrated tomb, particularly at this time, he sent mes-
 sengers to obtain of him his son's cure, presenting him with an
 offering of as much gold and silver as the sick prince weighed.
 However his devotion had not the wished-for success. At the
 return of these messengers, his son still found himself worse, and
 as he heard that the others who had begged the same favour of
 GOD, by the intercession of that great Saint had notwithstanding
 obtained it, he immediately imagined that the Arianism he pro-
 fessed, so contrary to the faith of St. Martin, had been the true
 occasion of his failing. He therefore sends back the messengers
 to Tours, promising to GOD to embrace that faith with his whole
 heart, if he received the favour, he so ardently wished for: And the
 messengers being returned with the cloth that they had spread over
 the Saint's tomb, Ariamire on a sudden found himself so perfectly
 cured, that he went himself, with extreme respect, to receive those
 who brought him as a relick that cloth sanctified by touching the
 the body of his benefactor.

It happened, by a wonderful turn of the divine providence, that
 another Martin of the same country with the Saint, and who was
 a man of a very extraordinary virtue, and uncommon learning,
 as his works demonstrate, came at the same time to Galicia, and
 arrived on the very day that the king's messengers landed from
 on board their vessel with the precious deposit they brought with
 them. He did not omit immediately to lay hold on so fair an
 opportunity of making the acquisitions of a whole kingdom to
 JESUS CHRIST. He went and presented himself before the king
 who being resolved to perform his vow, was very glad to meet

(s) Isidor. in Chron.
 l. 5. c. 9.

(t) Greg. Tur. mirac. St. Mart, l. 1. c. 11. Marian.

275

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(u) Info. as given. Item 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100, 101, 102, 103, 104, 105, 106, 107, 108, 109, 110, 111, 112, 113, 114, 115, 116, 117, 118, 119, 120, 121, 122, 123, 124, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 134, 135, 136, 137, 138, 139, 140, 141, 142, 143, 144, 145, 146, 147, 148, 149, 150, 151, 152, 153, 154, 155, 156, 157, 158, 159, 160, 161, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 172, 173, 174, 175, 176, 177, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200, 201, 202, 203, 204, 205, 206, 207, 208, 209, 210, 211, 212, 213, 214, 215, 216, 217, 218, 219, 220, 221, 222, 223, 224, 225, 226, 227, 228, 229, 230, 231, 232, 233, 234, 235, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240, 241, 242, 243, 244, 245, 246, 247, 248, 249, 250, 251, 252, 253, 254, 255, 256, 257, 258, 259, 260, 261, 262, 263, 264, 265, 266, 267, 268, 269, 270, 271, 272, 273, 274, 275, 276, 277, 278, 279, 280, 281, 282, 283, 284, 285, 286, 287, 288, 289, 290, 291, 292, 293, 294, 295, 296, 297, 298, 299, 300, 301, 302, 303, 304, 305, 306, 307, 308, 309, 310, 311, 312, 313, 314, 315, 316, 317, 318, 319, 320, 321, 322, 323, 324, 325, 326, 327, 328, 329, 330, 331, 332, 333, 334, 335, 336, 337, 338, 339, 340, 341, 342, 343, 344, 345, 346, 347, 348, 349, 350, 351, 352, 353, 354, 355, 356, 357, 358, 359, 360, 361, 362, 363, 364, 365, 366, 367, 368, 369, 370, 371, 372, 373, 374, 375, 376, 377, 378, 379, 380, 381, 382, 383, 384, 385, 386, 387, 388, 389, 390, 391, 392, 393, 394, 395, 396, 397, 398, 399, 400, 401, 402, 403, 404, 405, 406, 407, 408, 409, 410, 411, 412, 413, 414, 415, 416, 417, 418, 419, 420, 421, 422, 423, 424, 425, 426, 427, 428, 429, 430, 431, 432, 433, 434, 435, 436, 437, 438, 439, 440, 441, 442, 443, 444, 445, 446, 447, 448, 449, 450, 451, 452, 453, 454, 455, 456, 457, 458, 459, 460, 461, 462, 463, 464, 465, 466, 467, 468, 469, 470, 471, 472, 473, 474, 475, 476, 477, 478, 479, 480, 481, 482, 483, 484, 485, 486, 487, 488, 489, 490, 491, 492, 493, 494, 495, 496, 497, 498, 499, 500, 501, 502, 503, 504, 505, 506, 507, 508, 509, 510, 511, 512, 513, 514, 515, 516, 517, 518, 519, 520, 521, 522, 523, 524, 525, 526, 527, 528, 529, 530, 531, 532, 533, 534, 535, 536, 537, 538, 539, 540, 541, 542, 543, 544, 545, 546, 547, 548, 549, 550, 551, 552, 553, 554, 555, 556, 557, 558, 559, 560, 561, 562, 563, 564, 565, 566, 567, 568, 569, 570, 571, 572, 573, 574, 575, 576, 577, 578, 579, 580, 581, 582, 583, 584, 585, 586, 587, 588, 589, 590, 591, 592, 593, 594, 595, 596, 597, 598, 599, 600, 601, 602, 603, 604, 605, 606, 607, 608, 609, 610, 611, 612, 613, 614, 615, 616, 617, 618, 619, 620, 621, 622, 623, 624, 625, 626, 627, 628, 629, 630, 631, 632, 633, 634, 635, 636, 637, 638, 639, 640, 641, 642, 643, 644, 645, 646, 647, 648, 649, 650, 651, 652, 653, 654, 655, 656, 657, 658, 659, 660, 661, 662, 663, 664, 665, 666, 667, 668, 669, 670, 671, 672, 673, 674, 675, 676, 677, 678, 679, 680, 681, 682, 683, 684, 685, 686, 687, 688, 689, 690, 691, 692, 693, 694, 695, 696, 697, 698, 699, 700, 701, 702, 703, 704, 705, 706, 707, 708, 709, 710, 711, 712, 713, 714, 715, 716, 717, 718, 719, 720, 721, 722, 723, 724, 725, 726, 727, 728, 729, 730, 731, 732, 733, 734, 735, 736, 737, 738, 739, 740, 741, 742, 743, 744, 745, 746, 747, 748, 749, 750, 751, 752, 753, 754, 755, 756, 757, 758, 759, 760, 761, 762, 763, 764, 765, 766, 767, 768, 769, 770, 771, 772, 773, 774, 775, 776, 777, 778, 779, 780, 781, 782, 783, 784, 785, 786, 787, 788, 789, 790, 791, 792, 793, 794, 795, 796, 797, 798, 799, 800, 801, 802, 803, 804, 805, 806, 807, 808, 809, 810, 811, 812, 813, 814, 815, 816, 817, 818, 819, 820, 821, 822, 823, 824, 825, 826, 827, 828, 829, 830, 831, 832, 833, 834, 835, 836, 837, 838, 839, 840, 841, 842, 843, 844, 845, 846

A. D. Spain, soon recovered new strength, by the change that happened
 572. upon Athanagildus's death, who expired at Toledo, in the sixteenth year of his reign.

The Visigoths, whose kingdom was in great confusion, occasioned by the faction of such as favoured the Imperial troops whom Athanagildus could never free his country from, had some trouble in the choice of his successor. (a) And after an interregnum of six months, they at last elected Liuba, the noblest, and most powerful amongst them, and who being settled at Narbonne for seven years, pretty absolutely governed that part of the Narbonese province, (b) which as yet belonged to the kingdom of the Visigoths. But as this prince loved a life of repose, and the present state of their affairs required a warlike king, he thought proper, in the second year of his reign, to make his brother Leuvigildus his partner in
 569. the government, to whom he resigned all Spain, reserving to himself that small canton on this side the Pyranées, which he was very
 572. fond of, and which he notwithstanding kept not long, for he died soon after, and by his death left the whole kingdom to Leuvigildus. This prince, who may be said to have been the greatest king the Visigoths ever had, since the first Alaricus, had all those shining qualities, that go to the making of a conqueror, and these supported besides by the bravery and extraordinary merit of his two sons, Ermenegildus and Recaredus, whom he had had by his first wife Theodosia, daughter of the famous Severianus, duke, or governor of the province of Carthagená, and of royal blood, whose marriage was favoured by a particular blessing from heaven, and which had never its like in the world. For all his children, tho' born in the very bosom of Arianism, amongst Goths of the highest quality, were not only Catholicks, but eminent for their piety, as Leander and Isidorus bishops of Seville, Fulgentius bishop of Astigi, Florentina an Abbess, and this Theodosia, who was mother of another Saint, as she was also of Ermenegildus. After her death, Leuvigildus, who already was the brother of a king, engaged in a second marriage very different from his first, taking Gosiunda, daughter to the deceased king Athanagildus; and had he not taken this Fury into his family, who was the cause of innumerable disorders,

(a) Luc. Tudens. Marian.

(b) Lower Languedoc.

which disturbed the happiness of it, as well as that of the state, he *A. D.*
had beyond contradiction been the most glorious prince that had *572.*
till then reigned in Spain: For nothing can be added to the high
reputation he had gained both in peace and war.

As soon as he ascended the throne, he did not fail attacking the
Greeks, whom he defeated in an engagement, and drove out of
all the places they possessed along the coast, and upon the moun-
tains, at present those of Grenada, and Murcia, carrying on his
conquests without interruption as far as the Streights. He took Cor-
dova, which had always refused to submit to his predecessor. He
reduced to his obedience all the nations, who following the example
of that city, had revolted; and having recovered all that his pre-
decessors had enjoyed in Spain, he carried his conquests much-
farther, even to the other sea, and brought under his obedience
the Cantabri, who are the present Biscayans, the Gascons, (c) and
the Narvarrese, whom the Romans themselves could never make an
entire conquest of; and by means of the civil wars between the
kings of France, regained all that the Visigoths had lost in Septi-
mania after the defeat of Amalaricus. After which, before he
turned his victorious arms against the Imperialists, and Suevi, (d)
whose destruction he had sworn, in hatred to them for their being
become Catholicks, he was resolved to secure the kingdom to his
posterity, by taking the two brothers Ermenegildus and Recaredus
into a share of the government and kingdom. The first reigned
at Seville in Andalusia; the second in the country of the Celti-
berians, he himself chose Toledo, which from that time became
the capital of the Empire of the Visigoths. Thus Leuvigildus
might pass for one of the greatest princes in the world, had
he not been not only an Arian, but likewise a persecutor of the
Catholicks, with all the rage of the cruellest tyrants that ever con-
spired against JESUS CHRIST. For, like them, (e) he on one
side made use of terror, threats, banishment, confiscation of goods,
prisons, stripes, torments, fire, and sword, and all the severest
punishments: And on the other, flattery, prayers, money, posts
and honours, and every thing in the world the most seducing, to

(c) Joan. Bicar. in Chron. (d) Lower Languedoc. (e) Greg. Tur. l.
5. c. 38. Isidor. in Chron. Goth. Greg. Mag. de glor. Martyr. c. 82;

A. D. 572. oblige his subjects to profess Arianism, causing himself to be re-baptized according to the form of the Arians. And he made such a progress by both methods, as to pervert many, not only of the people, but of the Ecclesiasticks, and even of the bishops, (*f*) and (which was a great scandal to all Spain) amongst the rest, Vincent archbishop of Saragossa, (*g*) against whom Severus, the learned bishop of Malaca, composed an excellent treatise, because that infamous Apostate, to gain favour with the king, fought for Arianism like a desperate man. (*b*) A pious abbot named Vincent, not being able to bear that his name should be prophaned by the apostasy of this archbishop, quitted his solitude to oppose the impiety of the Arians, who not enduring the freedom that pious man took, loaded him with blows, yet not so as to kill him, for fear of his having the benefit of dying a martyr. But being escaped out of their hands as he began to preach against them with more warmth and force than ever, they grew so transported with rage, that, forgetting their former design, they massacred him at Leon before the gate of his monastery. (*i*) In short, the fury of Leuvigildus's persecution went so far, in order to spread his heresy by force, that he did not spare even his own blood, making a martyr of his son Ermenegildus, in the manner I am going to relate it, according to the sincerity of history, without suffering myself to be carried away by the hatred that has been conceived against the memory of Leuvigildus, or by the love and veneration we ought to have for that of a king crowned with martyrdom.

Leuvigildus being determined to share the government with his two sons, in order to settle them firmly, resolved to strengthen them with the alliance of the kings of France. He obtained Ingonda the daughter of Sigebert king of Austrasia, and of queen Brunehaut for Ermenegildus, and a considerable time after, RIngonda, the daughter of Chilperic for Recaredus. The death of that prince, (*k*) who was miserably assassinated whilst the princess was on her way, hindered this marriage from taking effect, but the former was happily accomplished; and the princess Ingonda conducted into Spain, with a superb equipage, was received with all

(*f*) Isidor. in Chron. tyr. Rom. 11. Sept.

(*g*) Malguc.

(*b*) Isidor. in Script. c. 31.

(*k*) Greg. Tur. l. 5. 38. Marian. l. 5. c. 12.

(*i*) Mar-

possible magnificence by Leuvigildus, who was transported to think he had united the blood of King Athanagildus with his own, and to leave the rights of both the royal families to his son Ermenegildus, by that alliance. Queen Gofuinda who was grandmother to Indegonda, ought to have had a mother's tenderness for her, but as she was an Arian, and mortally hated the Catholics, the unmerciful temper inherent in that heresy, stifled in her all the sentiments of nature, and made her the cruellest of step-mothers. For after having in vain tried all sorts of flatteries and caresses to win her over to be rebaptised after the Arian form, as soon as she saw that her constant answer was, that having been once already baptised in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, she was resolv'd not to receive any other baptism, and that she would eternally confess the trinity of persons in the unity of essence; that furious woman fell into a rage, like a fury let loose, against the innocent princess. She loaded her with all sorts of opprobrious language, and injurious treatment: and even proceeded to such dreadful extremities as to fall on her, like a wild beast, to lay hold of, and with the greatest rage to drag her away by the hair, and dash her against the ground, to load her with innumerable blows, to trample upon her, and having put her into a gore blood, have her thrown into a canal, where with much ado she escaped drowning.

A. D.
578.

Prince Ermenegildus could not but think himself extremely injured and affronted by such barbarous treatment to a person so dear to him: However he was forced to dissemble upon account of Gofuinda's power. But as at the same time his father had declar'd him king, and assigned him Andalusia, (l) he soon took that opportunity of retiring to Seville, with the princess his wife, in order to secure her from the cruelty of that Megara. It was here that Indegonda's blood, so gloriously shed for the confession of the divinity of JESUS CHRIST, (m) at last had that fruitfulness which she ardently begged of GOD, and which she happily obtained, by the conversion of Ermenegildus. For she so far prevailed by her tears, her prayers, her fervent exhortations, and the eminent instances of her virtues, that after a long resistance, he at last yielded to the wisdom and spirit which spoke to him by the mouth of St. Leander

(l) Greg. Tur. Ibid.

(m) Greg. Tur. Ibid.

A D. 578. archbishop of Seville, (u) his uncle by the mother's side, who having perfectly instructed him, made him publicly abjure Arianism, giving him the holy Chrism in the name of the most holy Trinity. Leuvigildus hearing of this change, was terribly exasperated: not only from the concern he had in the religion of the Visigoths, but also from state-jealousy, and the suspicions Gofuinda infused into him, which put him upon the greatest extremities. He was afraid lest his son, supported by the Spanish Catholics, and the emperor's troops, who still were remaining in Spain, might make a powerful party to dethrone him, and reign alone. Wherefore his religion, his politicks, and his wife whom he suffered too much to govern, conspiring to put him upon the most melancholy resolutions, he concluded, he must either bring back his son to Arianism, or employ all the force of his kingdom to ruin him.

To this end, he ordered some of the principal members of his council, who waited on him from him, to tell him, "That when he raised him to the throne, before the time he could expect it, it was to have a companion that might assist him in preserving the empire of the Goths, in the flourishing condition he had then just placed it in by his victories, and not to find in his son, a more dangerous enemy than any of those whom he had conquered. That the Greeks so often beaten, and who held but a small corner of Spain, seeing their inevitable ruin in this union of the royal family, had sought the means of dividing it, and of drawing the son over to their party, by a most horrid impiety, arming him against his own father; and had to that end poisoned his mind. That they had seduced him from the religion of his ancestors, into that of the Romans, in order thereby to unite him to them, by the strongest of all ties, and that it engaged him in their interests by making him, under a shew of piety, the most impious of all men, towards God and his father. That such a thought alone, which doubtless would make him shudder, if he had the least sentiment of humanity remaining, ought to open his eyes, to see the falsity of a religion, which would precipitate him into such dreadful extremities, by putting him upon the violation of all the most sacred laws of nature. That, to conclude, he ought

(u) Greg. Mag. Dial. l. 3. c. 31.

“ to know, that tho’ he was on the throne, he however held but *A.D.*
 “ the second place there. That his father possessed the first, as 578.
 “ Sovereign over his son himself, who was only so in regard to
 “ those subjects, whom he held from him. That therefore, as his
 “ father, and his king, he commanded him to renounce the impiety
 “ he had just embraced under the name of religion, (o) and to
 “ present himself immediately at Toledo, before him, to confer toge-
 “ ther upon the present state of affairs, and for their common
 “ interests, promising him a pardon for what was passed, provided
 “ he would obey; on the other hand also protesting, that if he
 “ forced him to take up arms, there should be no mercy left
 “ for him.

Ermenegildus, who had already taken his last resolutions, answer’d
 his father’s deputies in these words: “ That he very well knew,
 “ what he owed to his father, and his king; but that neither was he
 “ ignorant of what he owed to GOD. That he hoped from him the
 “ grace so perfectly to reconcile these two duties, that without
 “ failing either in the respect or obedience that nature obliged him
 “ to pay to his father, in what was not against GOD, he should
 “ even to death persevere in the true religion, which the alone
 “ consideration of GOD had made him embrace, without the Romans
 “ having had any share in it. (p) As to his journey to Toledo,
 “ that he most humbly besought the king, that he would excuse
 “ him. That the unjust command imposed upon him, with dread-
 “ ful menaces, to renounce his religion, which he was fully deter-
 “ mined never to desert, and Gofuinda’s cruel treatment of Ingonda
 “ upon that account, were sufficient excuses befort GOD and man,
 “ for his not undertaking it, since neither he nor the queen his wife
 “ could be there in safety.

After this answer, Ermenegildus, who plainly foresaw the con-
 sequences of it, thought of nothing but preparing for war. Indeed 580.
 this Prince’s intentions were perfectly upright, and the end he
 proposed was the preservation of the Catholick religion, at the
 hazard of his life; and GOD gave him the most glorious recompence
 he could expect in this world, by bestowing upon him the favour
 of Martyrdom. However, it must be owned in reality that the
 means he took to arrive at that end, was not according to the spirit

(o) Greg. Tur. l. 5. c. 38.

(p) Greg. Tur. Ibid.

A.D. of the gospel, which ordains, that we should renounce father,
 580. and mother, and life itself, to persevere in the true religion; but which does not therefore order a son, and a subject, to take up arms against his father, and his king. Nor indeed did God bless the undertaking, nor is it in that view that he is a Saint, but by the constancy he shewed in laying down his life in defence of the Divinity of the Son of God. (q) And certainly, Gregory of Tours, famous at that time for his learning and piety, in very strong terms blames that action; and St. Gregory the great, who has extolled his constancy, in the description of his martyrdom, says nothing of the war he made upon his father, because it can have no share in his commendations. But, in short, the hopes given him of conquering, and then delivering Spain from the tyranny of Arianism, and Gofuinda, made him resolve upon the war, and take all methods to forward its success.

285 And it was for this reason, (r) as his father had foreseen, that he did not omit calling in the Greeks to his assistance, and making an alliance with the emperor's lieutenant, who commanded them in Spain. He went so far as to send St. Leander to Constantinople to the emperor Tiberius to desire fresh recruits, which that prince, perplex'd enough with the war against the Persians, was in no condition to do. And it was there that St. Leander became acquainted with St. Gregory, who resided at the emperor's court (s) on the part of pope Pelagius II. and made that noble and strict friendship with him, of which we have still such excellent fruits, in those fine treatises of morality upon Job, which that holy Pontiff afterwards dedicated to him, he having composed them at his request. Besides, Ermenegildus conjured Ariamire, king of the Suevi, by the concern he had for the Catholick religion, which that prince professed, to assist him with his forces. Leuvigildus too solicited him to come over to his side; and as it is sure he was a party in the war, it is not precisely known whether he came over to Ermenegildus's side, as Gregory of Tours writes, (t) or whether he fell into Leuvigildus's party, whom he was extremely afraid of, and in whose camp it is said he fell sick and died. In short, all Spain was divided. The Arians, who made the strongest party, declared for Leuvigildus, and the Catholicks for Erminegildus, who having

(q) Greg. Tur. l. 6. c. 43.
 prefat. Moral. & lib. 1. Epist. 41.

(r) Greg. Tur. l. 5. c. 38.

(s) Greg. in

(t) L. 6. c. 43. Marian l. 5. c. 10.

well stored and fortified Seville and Cordoua, and sent his wife and son into a place held by the Greeks, thought himself in a condition to oppose his father's forces, tho' much superior to his own. A. D. 582.

But on the other side, Leuvigildus more adroit and skilful as of much greater experience than his son, took much surer measures, which broke all his. For in the first place, as he was well acquainted with the avarice and perfidiousness of the Greeks, (x) he treated privately with the chief officers, who for thirty thousand crowns sold the unhappy Ermenegildus to him, promising to abandon him, when they should come to an engagement. And farther, to deprive him of all pretence in regard to religion, which rendred his cause favourable, and engaged all the Catholicks on his side, he thought some expedient was necessary to be found by him, by which, removing or softning what most shocked the Catholicks, in Arianism, some way of accommodating matters might be proposed, to satisfy them, at least in appearance. To that end, he held an assembly of the Arian bishops at Toledo, (x) wherein, in pursuance of his orders, they abolished the custom, introduced by their predecessors, of rebaptising those who came over to their communion; and made a decree, whereby he declared that the Son of God was equal to his father, without distinguishing whether it was by an equality of nature, or of dependance, by the sole will of the father, as they understood it; thus concealing the venom of their heresy, under the fair appearance of a specious name, which might deceive the Catholicks. In effect, this was one of the things most prejudicial to Ermenegildus; for many thinking the cause of division being removed, there was no good reason, nor even pretence for war, left Ermenegildus's party, and others who suspected the Equivication, were however well pleased with the opportunity of retracting with honour, and of getting out of a war, the event of which they already began to fear. In short, Leuvigildus fearing that the French, hearty enemies to Arianism, and already very much exasperated at the barbarous usage Indegonda had received, should come to his son's assistance, sent an ambassador to Chilperic, to renew the alliance, and ask his daughter Ringonda for a wife for his son Recaredus.

(u) Greg. Tur. l. 5. c. 38.

(x) Marian. l. 5. c. 12.

A.D. Gregory of Tours, (y) who received this ambaffador named
 582. Agilanes in his journey, fays that he was a man of no parts nor
 ftudy, and yet would be always difputing againft the truth of the
 Catholick Faith, in maintenance of Arianifm, being no better
 furnifhed than with a few paffages, which he propofed, without
 being able to reply to the true explications which were given to
 them, and which he underftood not. He adds, that as he had,
 amongst other things, faid to him, that he might judge of the
 falſity of Arianifm, by that dreadful kind of death, wherewith
 God had punifhed the author of it; this ambaffador defired him
 not to ſpeak ill of the Arians, no more than the Viſigoths did of
 the Catholicks, for, faid he, “ we hold this maxim among us, that
 “ one may, without any crime, chuſe that religion one likes beſt,
 “ and we have a proverb which is to this effect, that in paſſing
 “ between a Pagan temple and a Chriſtian church, it is no harm
 “ to bow before each of them. ” So common a thing is it for
 hereſy by little and little to inſpire an indifference in matter of
 religion in the end, and ſo fully ought we to be perſwaded, that
 from the moment we quit the true, we are in great danger of hav-
 ing none at all. As the holy archbiſhop had reproached the Arian
 ambaffador with the impiety of his ſect, he brutally left Tours in
 a paſſion, proteſting he would loſe a thouſand lives, rather than
 hold communication with any Catholick prieſt. The reprimand,
 however, was of great ſervice to him, for falling dangerously ill at
 his return to Spain, what he heard from Gregory in that conference,
 had ſo powerful an effect upon him, as to make him a convert.

In the mean time king Leuvigildus, having put his affairs
 into ſo good a poſture, and raiſed a powerful army, compoſed of
 the beſt troops which he had drawn together, wholly at his leiſure,
 from all the Spaniſh provinces, began his march, in order to at-
 tack Ermenegildus, either in the open field, if he dared appear
 there, or even in Seville it ſelf, ſhould he ſhut himſelf up in it.
 They ſay two things happen’d to him in this march, which cer-
 tainly were capable both to have moved him, and thereupon
 oblige him to be reconciled to his Son, by becoming a Catholick,
 after the example he had ſet him, had not hereſy dreadfully

(y) Greg. Tur. l. 5. c. 43.

hardened

hardened his heart. (z) For as his army was on its march along the coast of Valentia and Mercia, towards Andalusia, the Goths that were Arians, who, according to their custom, plundered and sacked all the monastries in their way, fell upon that of St. Martin, where was no body but the Abbot, bending quite double with age, all the monks being escaped by sea to a neighboring Island, to save themselves from the fury of those Barbarians. And as, after having plundered every thing, and loaded the good man with a thousand injuries and affronts, a Goth, the most insolent, and cruel of them all, had lifted up his sword, in order to strike off his head, he fell backwards and died upon the spot, and all the rest of them ran away terribly frightened; which Leuvigildus coming to the knowledge of, ordered every thing that those villains had taken out of the monastery to be immediately carried back again. So extraordinary a punishment, (a) together with so many other wonders wrought every day by the Catholicks, gave him some uneasiness. He remembered that Count Gomacarius, governor of Agde, died a miserable death, for refusing to restore to St. Leon a pledge he had usurped from his church; he remembered likewise that the Catholicks had twice proved the truth of their belief, by taking two rings, the one out of the midst of a great fire, and the other out of a boiling caldron, without being burnt: Which an Arian attempting to do, lost his arm in the instant, it being burnt to the bone. Withdrawing therefore into his closet alone, he ordered one of the Arian bishops that was in his train to be called to him, and opening his heart to him, he told him he thought it very strange that they, who pretended to profess the true Faith, performed not one Miracle, in confirmation of it, as they were perpetually and daily doing, whom they accused of heresy and imposture. (b) This cunning deceiver, finding himself pinched, answered with the greatest impudence, that he often restored the deaf to their hearing, and the blind to their sight, and that he was ready still to do the same thing in his presence. But he was confounded in the same manner as the Vandal Cyrola, whose imposture he revived. For having hired a poor man for forty crowns

A. D.
582.

(z) Greg. Tur. de glor. confes. cap. 12. (a) Greg. Tur. de glor. Mart. l. 1. c. 79. *ibid.* c. 81. & de glor. conf. c. 14. (b) Greg. Tur. de glor. conf. c. 13.

A. D. to pretend himself blind, the wretch really became so, at the
 582. very instant the Arian bishop commanded him to open his eyes, and yet the king, who ought to have been convinced by so plain and notorious a miracle, still shut the eyes of his soul, that he might not see, or rather to feign not to see, the truth which so often offered itself to him, and which, notwithstanding he rejected with the strongest obstinacy: For this did not prevent his going forward, and entering Andalusia, determined either to destroy Ermenegildus, or to force him to a renunciation of the Catholick Faith.

Upon which, having found none that dared keep the field, in order to oppose his army, he went and set down before Seville, where Ermenegildus had shut himself up, confiding in the strength of the place, and the succours he could receive by sea, and in the number and resolution of the inhabitants; almost all Catholics, But Leuvigildus, who had foreseen all this, (c) and who was willing to take the city without running any risque, attempted to starve it, by turning the course of the vast river Bætis by a prodigious canal, (d) which he effected. So that nothing being able to enter into the city, neither by sea, nor land, it was forced to surrender, after a years siege. Ermenegildus, who, seeing matters reduced to the greatest extremities, had found means to escape, some time after appeared in the field with an army chiefly consisting of Greeks, with whom he had made alliance, and who betrayed him. (e) For as they were obliged to come to an engagement, these traitors, who had sold him, retreated just upon the point of charging: So that the unfortunate prince, seeing himself on a sudden deserted, both by those perfidious men, and his own troops, who, finding he was betrayed, betook themselves to flight; had no other choice left than to escape to a church near at hand, as he did, where he thought to find an asylum. It was there that his brother Recaredus, by the king's leave, went to him; and after giving him marks of the tenderness of his friendship, and of his extreme sorrow, by the tears he shed whilst he embraced him, told him very frankly, "That as he commended his constancy in the
 " faith he had embraced, so neither could he help blaming the

(c) *Marian. l. 5. c. 12.*(d) *Guadelquivir.*(e) *Greg. Tur. l. 5. c. 38.*

" pernicious

“ pernicious councils that had been given him, and the unjusti-
 “ fiable ways he had taken to preserve it, by making war upon
 “ his father ; that such as endeavoured to make advantage of a
 “ division in his family had abused his zeal, by engaging him in
 “ this unfortunate enterprize, under a pretence to piety, wherein
 “ victory, being as fatal to the conqueror as to the conquered, could
 “ be of no use but to their common enemies. That since the evil
 “ was done, it was in vain to pity him ; but that it was absolute-
 “ ly necessary to repair it by an early repentance, followed by a
 “ sincere submission. That his religion was not the question here,
 “ for which he was to account to God only, but his honour, and
 “ his life, which he could never preserve, but by an immediate
 “ return to his duty, and by imploring the king’s mercy, who,
 “ however victorious, and exasperated, was still ready to remem-
 “ ber that he was his father. That, to conclude, in the present
 “ posture of things, he could possibly come to no other resolution,
 “ than that which the necessity and desperate condition of his
 “ affairs prompted him to. That by remaining obstinate in his
 “ rebellion, (f) and misfortune, he was undone : But that he
 “ could venture to assure him, and even by oath, that if he would
 “ have recourse to the king’s mercy, he might obtain it, without
 “ its costing him his Royalty, which it was not intended he should
 “ lose. ”

Ermenegildus, who saw plainly he had carried his zeal too far, and that it was rather by suffering than resisting that religion was to be defended, resolved upon what his brother, who acted with upright intentions, advised him to, whatever might be the issue. He only desired that it might be in the same church, (g) where he was, that he might be permitted to pay his duty to his father before the altars, which he thought ought to be guarantees of that promise he had just had made to him. Whereupon Leuvigildus, who easily granted it, being entered, the young prince, throwing himself at his feet, most humbly begged his pardon, which the crafty old dissembler, raising him, and kissing him with many testimonies of tenderness, made as if he granted him. (h) But he was no sooner arrived in his camp, whither he conducted him,

(f) Greg. 1. 5. c. 38.

(g) Greg. Tur.

(h) Greg. Mag. Dial. 1. 3. c. 31.

A. D.
583.

584.

than having been able to persuade him, neither by prayers nor threats, to return to the communion of the Arians, (*i*) he ordered him to be stripped of all the marks of royalty, and condemned him to pass the rest of his days with one single man to serve him in the place of exile which he assigned him. He however altered his mind, and, to make the sorer of him, had him thrown into prison loaded with chains in a very dark tower, where this young prince, besides adding the hair cloth, watchings, prayer, and the austerity of a severe fasting to the inconveniencies of his dungeon, prepared himself during some months for martyrdom, which he longed for. And indeed, he was not long deprived of what he wished for, nor of the crown, which he preferred to that his father intended to restore to him, in case he would become an Arian. For Leuvigildus, provoked at his long resistance, sent an Arian bishop to him the very night that the solemnities of Easter began, to persuade him to receive the communion from his hands, as a sign of his returning to the religion of his ancestors. And as Ermenegildus not only refused, but resumed on this occasion the majesty of a king, and that generous pride he had quitted under ashes, (*k*) and the hair cloth, to make way for the humiliations of repentance; as Ermenegildus, I say, had rejected that false pastor with contumely, reproaching him with his impiety; Leuvigildus, impatient at his thus triumphing over him, captive as he was, fell into such a passion, as to dispatch the executioner Sisbert away to the prison upon the spot, who split his skull with a hatchet, thus crowning him with martyrdom. It could never be known what afterwards became of his sacred body, which care was taken to hide, for fear it should receive of the Catholics the honours due to martyrdom. (*l*) But God resolved that at the same time heaven should pay them to him, by a celestial harmony, which was heard in the night round the body, stretched in its own blood, in the midst of the dungeon; and by blazing flambeaux, which for a long time appeared over the prison during the night; and the church, following the example and inspiration of heaven, (*m*) orders

(*i*) Greg. Tur. l. 5. c. 38.
(*k*) Greg. Mag.

(*k*) Greg. Tur. l. 8. c. 28. Greg. Mag. Marian.
(*m*) Sixt. Quint, 23. apr.

a solemn office to be performed in honour of him, having canonically declared him a martyr. A. D.
584.

Ermenegildus's death was the beginning of a greater persecution. Leuvigildus, more than ever irritated against the Catholics, most of whom had declared for his son, fell upon the bishops, many of which he dispossessed of their sees. He forbore no sort of injury against one of the greatest men that Spain ever produced, (n) the holy, and famous Mausona, arch-bishop of Merida, because he would never deliver up to him St. Eulalia's robe, for fear the Arians should prophane it. Having treated him in the most unworthy manner in the world, he commanded him to be carried to the place of his exile, mounted upon an untamed horse, who he did not doubt would soon tear the holy prelate to pieces. But the fierce animal, paying to his virtue that honour which the impious Arians desired him, all on a sudden grown tractable to him alone, suffered him to get upon him, with a softness that confounded the cruelty of those Barbarians. (o) That Abbot named John, who writ a chronicle of this time, and was made bishop of Girone, in the reign of king Recaredus, was banished the court, and sent to Catalonia, where, at the foot of the Pyranees, he built the monastery of Biclair, whose name it bears in his history.. Novellus bishop of Alcala, Licinianus of Carthagenas, and many others were banished, and abused by Leuvigildus's orders, who spared not even his brothers-in-law, Fulgentius, and St. Leander, the latter of whom, during his exile, writ three excellent treatises against the Arians. Isidore their brother was left behind, by reason of his youth, and the beauty of his parts, whom the king thought might insensibly be gained over by degrees, tho' he never ceased generously combating against Arianism, from his desire of Martyrdom, which he longed for, and from his greatness of soul, and love to God, (p) and from the excellent discourses his brother Leander writ to him on that subject. In short, Leuvigildus did every thing in his power to weaken the Catholics, by confiscating their effects, ruining their churches, seizing upon their revenues, abolishing the privileges of the clergy, and, under some false colours, causing those to perish, who, having the greatest authority, could best defend the good cause.

(n) Marian. l. 5. c. 13.

(o) Isid. de Script. Eccl. c. 31.

(p) Id. c. 28.

What

A.D. What was still more deplorable was, he went into the kingdom
584. of the Suevi there to revive Arianism, (q) which king Theodemir had banished from thence. For as after the death of Ariamire, who died of sickness at the siege of Seville, his son Eburicus had succeeded him, by Leuvigildus's consent, to whom he in a manner made himself tributary, for the sake of peace; Andeca, who had married the widow of Ariamire, mother-in-law to this prince, deprived him of his kingdom, and confined him in a Monastery. (r) Leuvigildus did not fail laying hold of so fair an opportunity, to possess himself of Galicia, under pretence of revenging the injury done to his Ally. He therefore marched into it with his victorious army, which he still kept on foot, and as the usurper had no forces to oppose so great a power, he took him; and, using him in the same manner as Eburicus had been used had him shaved in a Monastery at Badajos, and made himself absolute master of the kingdom of the Suevi, which he united to that of the Visigoths, obliging his new subjects to return to Arianism.

But though many were found disposed to obey him, either thro' fear or complaisance, yet the course of so great an evil was soon stopped, and by a wonderful turn of the goodness and power of GOD, Arianism was upon the decline in Spain, when every thing seemed to be given over for lost. For as soon as Leuvigildus had made
585. himself king of it, by this last conquest, as he was returned to Toledo, victorious, and covered with glory, he died there, leaving the empire at his death to a successor, whom GOD had destined to make it Catholick. There are even some historians, (s) who say that this prince, being on his death-bed, detested his own wicked Politicks, which had made him oppose the truth, proved by so many miracles wrought in his time, and of which he had himself been witness. They add, that he conjured his son Recaredus to prefer that example, which he left him at his death, to all those he had set him in his life-time, and that he assured him, that Spain would never be in a more flourishing condition, than when it should be wholly Catholick. However it be, it is sure that he recalled the banished bishops, and particularly St. Leander, to whom he expressed the extreme

(q) *Ibid.* de Script. Eccles. c. 28.
Rat. Temp. cap. 11. Marian. l. 5. c. 13.

(r) *Ibid.* in Chron. Suevor.

(s) Petav.

regret he was sensible of, (t) for embruing his hands in the blood of his son Ermenegildus; that he much commended the holy prelate for making him a Catholick, and begged him to continue his holy Instructions, till he had procured the same blessing for his son Recaredus, whom he left the only heir to his empire. (u) For soon after the death of Ermenegildus, Indgonda being carried into Africa by the Greeks, died there before she could set out for Constantinople; and it is very probable that the young prince she had by him, died with her, since no more mention is made of him. I own I can scarce believe that so clear sighted and penetrating a prince as Leuvigildus, should not be apprehensive, lest his successor, whom he was desirous should become Catholick, should be molested by the Visigoths, and that at his death he himself should, out of policy, be afraid of declaring his renuntiation of Arianism. (x) Certainly, Gregory of Tours, who lived at that time, says that some asserted, that having declared himself a Catholick, he passed the last seven days of his life in sighs and tears, detesting his heresy, and all the crimes it had put him upon committing, and conjuring his subjects to leave Arianism: (y) Tho' the other Gregory pope, who also was living at the same time, says, that being convinced of the truth, he dared not venture to follow it, for fear of his subjects. But it is for God alone, whose judgments are secret and unfathomable, to judge how it was: it is enough for me to give an account of things, as those who have written of them, relate them.

After Leuvigildus's death, Recaredus, who was already a Catholick in his heart, was without opposition acknowledged Monarch of all Spain, except a few places, which the Greeks still held. (z) As this young prince was admirably well made, very discreet, of a soft and modest temper, obliging, civil, courteous, and very adroit, besides being brave and generous; He soon gained the minds and hearts of the chief Visigoth lords, of the soldiers, and the people, and acted with so much address, and success, that, in the first year of his reign, he disposed them, without violence or constraint, to receive the Catholick religion, after his example, at the time he

(t) Greg. Mag. Dial. l. 3. c. 31.

(u) Greg. Tur. l. 8. c. 28.

(x) Greg.

Tur. l. 8. c. 45.

(y) Greg. Mag. l. 3. Dial. c. 31.

(z) Marian. l. 5. c.

13. Jo. Biclár.

A. D. 585. should think proper to declare himself. (a) Being secure from that quarter, he called together all the Arian bishops that were at his court, and told them, that at length to put an end to that dreadful scandal, which a difference in religion had so long propagated amongst his subjects, they ought of necessity to have a conference with the Catholick bishops, and that which ever of the two parties should be found weakest in proofs, it would unite with the other. And as in the conference all manner of advantage appeared evidently on the Catholick side, the king, who was pleased to be present, added, that beside the convincing which it received from reason, it had likewise that of the miracles, which he himself had seen, and of which the Arians had never wrought one, witness that unhappy person, whom in the time of the late king they had blinded, by an attempt to work a miracle, and could not afterwards restore to his sight. To which not one daring to reply, because the truth of this fact known to all the world was too plain, the king boldly declared himself a Catholick, and resolved publickly to receive the unction of the Holy Chrism in the name of the adorable Trinity. The Visigoths, and the Suevi, moved by so shining an example, afterwards very joyfully did the same, (b) thro' all Spain, and the Gothick Gaul, who sent advice of his conversion, inviting the Goths his subjects to renounce Arianism, as he had done.

But it was impossible for so great a change to be made, without great obstacles, over which GOD, by a powerful protection, made this prince triumph with all manner of success and Glory. Bildigernus and Granista, two Counts, or governors of the strong places in the Narbonese Gaul, (c) being set on by Athalocus, an Arian Bishop, so furiously wedded to his heresy, that he was generally called Arius, took up arms in defence of the Gothick religion. But GOD soon calmed that insurrection by a blow of his justice, and by the success wherewith he blessed the king's arms. Athalocus, seeing that the more he preached for Arianism, the more he grew detested by the people, who deserted him, loading him with curses, and that every one was for the king, and ready to follow his

(a) Greg. Tur. l. 9.

(b) Lower Languedoc, and a small part of the upper.

(c) Greg. Tur. Marian.

example, conceived so much grief and indignation at it, that, retiring into his chamber, and going to throw himself upon the bed, he fell down dead: And the two Counts, being routed, and taken by the king's lieutenants, by an ignominious punishment, suffered the pains justly due for their rebellion, and the cruelties they had inhumanly exercised upon the Catholicks. (d) Thus Septimania, that was still partly under the dominion of the Visigoths, being brought over to the Catholick faith, each of the Gauls was at last entirely freed from Arianism.

A. D.
585.

There were some insurrections in Spain too, (e) excited by the rage of some Arians, who could not bear this alteration. Mausona, being restored to his Archbishoprick of Merida, of which he had been dispossessed by Leuvigildus; Sunna, an Arian Bishop, whom that Prince had put into it, conspired with some other Malecontents to kill him, and with him Duke Claudius, Governour of Lusitania, a strenuous defender of the Catholick faith. But the conspiracy being discovered by him who was to have been chief in the execution of so infamous a treason, the principal authors and the accomplices of this conspiracy were severley punished; and Sunna, who had his choice either of turning or suffering banishment, chose rather to be sent into Africa, than to renounce Arianism.

The conspiracy formed by Queen Goslinda, was much more dreadful and dangerous. This detestable Arian, to keep her footing at Court, at first had pretended to embrace the Catholick faith (f) at the same time the King had declared himself, and prophaning the holy mysteries by a horrible sacrilege privately spit out the Holy Water, which she pretended to receive with respect at the communion. Uldila, an Arian bishop, her confidant, did the same thing too: and as they found it impossible long to carry on the feint without a discovery at last, and that there was no way of restoring Arianism, but by some desperate attempt, they came to the execrable resolution of taking the king off, either by the sword, or poison. But God, who took a particular care of the preservation of this prince, whose only thoughts were employed on making him to reign in his kingdom, laid open the conspiracy, which was too mildly punished in that false bishop, by banishment, and which

588.

(d) Languedoc.
VOL II.

(e) Joan. Biclár. Marian.
Q q

(f) Joan. Biclár. in Chron.
GOD

A. D. GOD himself resolved to punish with greater severity in the
588. miserable Gofuinda, whom he took out of the world at the same time, by a dreadful death, which put an end to the many horrid crimes, she had been guilty of in the advancement of Arianism.

In the mean while Recaredus, (g) who stood in need of peace, for the happy accomplishment of his work, pressing asked it of the kings of France, who had great reason to be exasperated at Indegonda's ill treatment, and Ermenegildus's death. He sent Ambassadors to assure them, that far from having any share in so unjust and barbarous an action, he was even at that time sensibly mortify'd at it; and to inform them that the authors of the crime having died miserably, they could not with any colour of justice revenge it on him, who condemned, and abhorred it more than all the world. Childebert, who was the most nearly concerned in revenging it, as brother to Indegonda, was easy with his satisfaction, and some years after, even entered into an alliance with Recaredus, who after the death of Bada his first wife, married Clodofinda, that king's sister. But Gontran, whose temper was more sowered by the loss of two powerful armies which he had sent into Septimania, (b) a little before Leuvigildus's death, (i) sent a third under the command of Boson, which was not more successful than the others, having been defeated before Carcassone by Claudius, king Recaredus's lieutenant. Thus this prince being perfectly settled, and in a profound peace, without having occasion to fear any thing either from abroad or at home, resolved to put the last hand to the grand affair, the conversion of the Visigoths and Suevi, in the famous third council of Toledo, which he had held in his presence, the fourth year of his reign.

There came to it about seventy bishops from the several parts of Spain, and the Narbone Gaul, (k) under five archbishops; Mausona of Merida, Metropolitan of the province of Lusitania, with four Suffragans; Euphemius of Toledo, Metropolitan of the province of Carthage, with fifteen bishops his Suffragans; Leander of Seville, Metropolitan of the province of Betica, or Andalusia,

(g) Greg. Tur. l. 9. c. 1.
 77. Jo. Bicl. Isidor. Chron. Marian.
 Tom. 5. Conc. Edit. Paris.

(b) Languedoc.

(i) Aimoin. l. 3. c.

(k) Isid. in Chron. Luc. Tud. Marian.

with nine bishops; Pautardus of Brague, Metropolitan of the province of Galicia, with twelve bishops; and Migotius of Narbonne, Metropolitan of the Gothick Gaul, or Septimania, whose Suffragans, who were present at this council, were Sedatus of Beziers, Sergius of Carcassonne, John bishop of Elne, Agridius of Adge, Agripinus of Lodove, Stephen of Colioure, Genedius Archdeacon for Beotius bishop of Maguelone, and Valerianus vicar-general for Beladius bishop of Nismes. The Metropolitan of the province of Tarazona did not appear, either in person, or by proxy, because possibly the see was vacant, but sixteen Suffragans of that province were present. Eight bishops newly converted from Arianism to the Catholick faith, the first of which were those of Barcelona and Valencia, took their places there. The king (accompanied by the queen, and all the greatest Visigoth and Suevian lords) was present at it, robed in purple, with the scepter in his hand, and diadem on his head, (*l*) all which Leuvigildus's father had worn, the first of the Visigoth kings, and their predecessors, not having as yet distinguished themselves by those marks of royalty; and every place was full of an infinite number, of the clergy and laity, who were to have a share in so august a ceremony, by their solemn abjuration.

A. D.
589.

The first session was held in the beginning of May, in this year five hundred eighty nine, which falls in with the *Æra* six hundred twenty seven marked in the council, (*m*) conformable to all the other held under king Recaredus, which exactly observe the same Chronology, which I think ought not to be laid aside, as some would, for testimonies less valid. (*n*) This session St. Leander opened with a fine discourse which we have in the same council, and wherein he shews the extraordinary pleasure we should feel at the conversion of so illustrious and powerful a nation, which brought as much ornament and glory to the church, by throwing themselves into her arms, as it had given her sorrow and affliction by persecuting her. After the discourse, the king, who acted in conjunction with St. Leander, said in a composed manner these

(*l*) Marian.

(*m*) Isidor. in Chron. Sirmond. t. 1. ad concil. Narbon.

(*n*) Potav. de Doct. temp. concil. t. 5. Ed. Paris. Baron. ad an. 391. n. 37. Spond. ibid. n. 12.

A. D. 589. few words to the fathers in the council, "That since God had
 " favoured him so far as to restore liberty to the church, which
 " the Arian heresy had deprived her of, and to meet together to
 " settle things necessary for the preservation of the faith and dis-
 " cipline, he had called them together, that they might, in his
 " presence, take proper measures against the abuses which had crept
 " into both of them thro' the unhappiness of the times. But as
 " the perfecting that work depended upon the divine grace and
 " favour, that he desired; that, before they engaged therein, they
 " would implore its assistance by fasting, watching, and prayer,
 " to the end that it might please God to discover unto them, what
 " they were to re-establish, to repair the losses of the church."

Hereupon the fathers, after great acclamations in thanks to
 God for having inspired their king with so much piety and wis-
 dom, ordered a fast for three days. After which, as soon as they
 were entered the council on the eighth of May; the king, having
 begged God's assistance by a fervent prayer he offered up with all
 his bishops, told them, at the same time giving into their hands
 a writing, "That as Spain had been so long infected with the
 " Arian heresy, care ought to be taken, above all things, that no-
 " thing that was not very pure and orthodox should make a part
 " of the faith, which she embraced as well as himself. That he
 " had therefore given them his belief in that memorial, which he
 " would have read publicly, to the end that if the council ap-
 " proved it, there might be no other faith over all his dominions
 " than that, which would signalize the glory of his reign through-
 " out the world." Upon which the bishops having ordered that
 paper to be read, the secretary of the council read it with an un-
 parallel'd attention of every body present. This confession of faith,
 still to be seen to this day in the acts of the council, contains a
 sincere protestation which this prince made of his acknowledging
 the obligation he was under, as king, to procure the eternal wel-
 fare of his subjects, by the knowledge of the true faith, which he
 lays down, with admirable exactness, on the mystery of the most
 holy Trinity. He says, "That the illustrious nation of the Goths,
 " so celebrated all over the world, and that of the Suevi, who now
 " make but one people, under the same king, after remaining so
 " long in the darkness of error, and separated from the Catholick
 " church,

“ church, now hold the same faith with him, to which GOD had
 “ been so gracious as to recall them. That he offers them as a sacri-
 “ fice to GOD with a sincere heart and affection, by the hands of
 “ the council to whom it belongs to instruct them in the truths
 “ they ought to believe, not doubting in the least but JESUS
 “ CHRIST, according to his promise, would be present in the
 “ midst of this holy assembly, to conduct it by his holy spirit,
 “ and that it is for this reason that he gives them this publick ac-
 “ count of his belief.” After this he anathematizes Arius, together
 with all his doctrines and partizans, and all the conventicles set
 up against the holy council of Nice, which he embraces, as those
 of Constantinople, Ephesus, and Calcedon; he afterwards adds the
 Creeds of the two former, and the abridgment of the Tenets of
 the two latter, and at the bottom his name, and that of queen Bada,
 protesting that That was the faith they really hold in their hearts,
 confess with their mouths, and which they have signed with their
 own hands.

The reading that paper was no sooner over, than all the council;
 as by a sudden impulse of the Holy Ghost, cried out with one
 voice, “ Glory be to the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, one only
 “ GOD, who procures peace and unity to his church; Glory be to
 “ JESUS CHRIST our Lord, who by his precious blood has form-
 “ ed the Catholick church out of all nations, and brought back so
 “ illustrious a people to the unity of the faith, to make but one
 “ fold under one shepherd. To whom will GOD give an immortal
 “ crown if not to king Recaredus truly Catholick? ” After these
 exclamations, one of the Catholick bishops, by authority of the
 council and the king’s desire, asked the bishops and all the rest of
 the new converts, what they condemned, and what they confessed,
 telling them it was proper for them to make a confession of it,
 that their conversion might appear sincere. Whereupon they pre-
 sented a paper wherein in twenty three articles they condemned
 by as many curses all those who should maintain any of the doc-
 trines of Arianism, and the book made to instruct those who were
 perverted to it in them, and likewise the pretended council of Ri-
 mini: They to this subjoined a confession of faith exactly con-
 formable to that of the king. And that writing was signed by
 the bishops, priests, and deacons, and principal officers and magi-
 strates.

A. D. 589. **A.** strates of the Goths and Suevi, who had been converted from Arianism, to the Catholick faith.

This being performed to the wonderful satisfaction of Recaredus, it was his pleasure that the fathers should apply themselves to the regulation of discipline and manners, which they did in three and twenty canons, of which the second which the king himself had proposed to the council, orders that in all the Spanish churches, and in those of Galicia, during the sacrifice of the mass, before the Lord's Prayer be said, and the communion given, the people, according to the usage of the Eastern churches, should with a loud voice sing the symbol of Constantinople, that they might publickly declare the faith they held, and that having purified their heart by faith, they should receive the precious body and blood of **JESUS CHRIST**. And by the fifth, it is decreed, that the deacons, priests, and bishops, who, since their conversion from Arianism to the Catholick faith, still kept their wives, should be separated from them, and no more cohabit together: Which shews that the Arian bishops and priests were for marriage, as the Lutherans still are, and that heresy seldom can put up with continence.

Things being brought to so happy a conclusion, the king subscribed to the council first, setting, before his own name, That of *Flavius*, which he took the first of any of the Gothick kings, and which those of Lombardy also assumed almost at the same time, in order to acquire more respect, by the majesty of a name, which the Roman Emperors, and especially the family of the great Constantine, had formerly made so famous. The Metropolitans subscribed after the king, and then all the bishops, according to the order of time; and as there were churches, as those of Tudes and Lugo, in which king Leuvigildus, having turned out the Catholick bishops, had placed Arians, they thought fit to preserve to them, who had been converted, the title and dignity of bishops, (o) and the right of being present at the council, notwithstanding that the Catholick bishops were restored to their sees, which is the reason, that in the names subscribed to the council, there are found two bishops to the same church. Recaredus then published an edict, whereby he orders all his subjects of the Clergy and Laity, under

(o) *Garcias. Louisa.*

him; compassionate towards the poor, on whom he lavished what remained to him over and above his expences which were very regular, being used to say, that he was a king only to do good to his subjects. In short, his uncle St. Leander gave so fine a character of him in a letter to pope Gregory, (t) that That great man answered him, that he was charmed with the picture, and that he must needs heartily love so amiable a prince, without having known him any otherwise, than by this idea, which Leander, who must have been a judge of mankind, had given him of him. But after all, amidst so many perfections, there is none that comes up to the extraordinary zeal he had for the Catholick faith, and the conversion of his people; (u) and it may be said, that if St. Ermenegildus was the seed, which, falling upon the earth, and dying by his Martyrdom, bore fruit much beyond an hundred fold, his brother Recaredus was the labourer, who carefully cultivated the ground, to make it shoot forth and ripen, to gather the harvest, and bring it into the church, as into the repository of God the father of the Gospel family; so that after the third council of Toledo he may be called by a more glorious name than that of king, the apostle of the Suevi and the Goths, whom he so thoroughly converted, that Arianism after that time never had any footing in Spain. But it was not so in Italy, which having been freed from the dominion of the Arians, fell into a more cruel captivity than the former, as I shall now shew, deducing the matter from its original.

A. D.
599.

(t) Greg. mag. l. 1. c. 41.

(u) Greg. mag. 3. Dial. c. 31.

The End of the XIth B O O K





T H E
H I S T O R Y
O F
A R I A N I S M.

B O O K X I L



THE people of Italy not having as yet received the full punishment of their sins under the tyranny of the Ostrogoths and Eruli, were fifteen years after subdued to the power of other Arians, who proved more inhuman to them than the first, through the revenge and fury of the very man who had just delivered them out of their bonds. Narses, after having expelled the Goths, and reduced all Italy to the obedience of the Emperor, was made governor of that country, which he justly deserved as a reward for so many victories: But having an insatiable thirst after riches, he drained the Romans of their money, which induced them to make grievous complaints to the Emperor




A. D.
567.

A. D. 567. who had succeeded Justinian, (*a*) and by the means of the Empress Sophia, who was an enemy to Narses, prevailed on the Emperor to take the government from him, and send Longinus in his place. It is even reported that the Empress, as a designed affront, sent him word that it was time for him to come back to Constantinople, in order to pass the remainder of his days in the palace, where he should be employed in spinning amongst the women in their apartment, as it well became his condition; and that Narses, who was highly provoked at this insulting message, sent her back this answer, that he would soon spin a cloth for her, which neither her husband nor she should ever be able to rend. Hereupon he retired to Naples, and sent to Alboinus king of the Lombards, then in Pannonia, pressing him instantly to undertake the conquest of Italy, which, he represented to him, might be easily compleated, in the condition it was then in, without any army to oppose his forces.

These people about forty years before had passed the Danube with other nations, (*b*) and entred Pannonia, where the Romans assigned them lands, and even gave them troops to defend them against the Gepidi, whom they defeated in several engagements. The Lombards likewise assisted the Romans against the Goths, and Narses brought with him about seven or eight thousand of them into Italy, who fought for him against Totila. But as they made dreadful devastations, and committed most horrible Sacrileges where-ever they passed, he found means, under the pretence of the war's being at an end, to send them back well satisfied, after having generously distributed large sums of money to them, over and above their pay. Of all the people that were come out of the North, the Lombards were the most fierce, after the Huns, with whom they had contracted an intimate friendship: and as to their religion, tho' there were a great number of Pagans amongst them, who worshipped the head of a goat, they nevertheless were for the most part Arians, and had their churches, and bishops, and were baptised after the Arian manner. (*c*) They were governed at

(*a*) Paul. Var. l. 2. de Gest. Longob. c. 5. Anast. Bibl. in Joan. 3. (*b*) Paul. Var. ref. de Gest. Longob. l. 2. c. 7. Procop. de bell. Got. l. 3. Procop. de bell. Got. l. 4. (*c*) Greg. Dial. l. 3. c. 28.

this time by Alboinus, the most powerful king amongst them, who had rendered himself famous for his eminent qualifications, and the victories which he had gained, chiefly over the Gepidi, whose whole nation he almost destroyed, (*d*) after having killed their king Cunimondus in battle, and taken his daughter Rosimond prisoner, whom he married after the death of Clodofuinda, his first wife, who was daughter to Clotaire, king of France,

This French princess was a lady of great virtue; and we have to this day the fine Elogium which Nicetus, bishop of Treves, made of her in the excellent letter that he wrote to her, wherein he exhorts her, (*e*) in a most zealous manner, to use her utmost endeavours towards the conversion of her husband, who was at that time in Pannonia. It plainly appears by that Epistle that this Prince was then an Arian: For this bishop, speaking to the queen, saith, "That he cannot conceive how it is possible that a King so renowned in the world and so highly respected by all the other Princes, and even by the Emperour, for his extraordinary virtues, should suffer himself to be thus wretchedly seduced by those who part the son of God from his Father, and would have us to worship two Gods, the one supreme, and the other subordinate. And therefore he conjured her in the most pressing terms, to give all imaginable attention to his letter, and to read it often to the King, in order that he might find therein the conviction of his error by those express passages of scripture which plainly prove the unity of essence of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost. To this he added the undeniable testimony of so many miracles that were daily wrought in the presence even of those very Lombards, who were sent by Alboinus to the sepulchres of St. Martin, St. Germain, St. Hilary and St. Remigius, those glorious defenders of the Trinity of the three persons in the unity of their essence, against the impiety of the Arians; then he concludes his letter, with the example of the great Clovis, who embraced the Catholick faith, by the persuasion of Clotilda, great grandmother to the queen,  is prince was a person of sublime wit and learning  not till he was first perfectly convinced of th  oner confessed.

(*d*) Paul. Varn. de Gest. 1
5. Conc. Edit. Paris.

A. D. but he gained several glorious victories over Alaricus, and Gonde-
567. band, who were both Arian kings. This letter having made a deep
 impresson on Clodofuinda, who by inheritance from Clotilda pro-
 fessed an extraordinary zeal for her religion, used her utmost
 endeavours to convert the king to the Catholick religion; but as
 she happened soon after to die, and that the Princess Rosimond,
 who assumed her place, was an Arian, and far inferior both in
 merit and virtue to the deceased queen, Alboinus continued in his
 error, without being bigotted to his opinion; because his thoughts
 being chiefly employed in gratifying his ambition, he was not at all
 sollicitous about enquiring into the true religion.

This was the king to whom Narses in his anger applyed, in
 order to be revenged of the Emperor Justinus, and the Empress
 Sophia, by reducing Italy to the wretched condition, from which
 he had just delivered it. (*f*) I am sensible that some persons, to
 clear this great man of so culpable an action, have endeavoured to
 make this history pass for a fiction upon what is written by Corip-
 pus, an African poet of those days, in a poem which he made in
 praise of Justinus, wherein he says, that in the first year of his
 empire, Narses was at Constantinople; and that he held one of the
 highest ranks in the Emperor's court when he gave audience to the
 Ambassadors of the Avari, who were a particular people amongst
 the Huns, so called after their king whose name was Avarus.
 (*g*) But these authors have not observed that there were two or
 three of the Narses very different from each other, as it is men-
 tioned by Procop; and that this Narses, whom Corrippus speaks of,
 being a young Querry, as he describes him, (*b*) of a noble shape and
 mien, richly clothed, and having a fine head of hair, could not be
 that same Narses, who was so great a general: for this was an old
 Eunuch, whose face was at this time full of wrinkles.

Therefore, as I have no room to confute, as to this particular,
 the author of the history of the Lombardi, tho' he only wrote
 since the time of Charlemagne, I shall refer to what he says, it
 being very common to see the greatest men give themselves up to
 the most abominable extravagancies, out of revenge, which is cer-

(*f*) Baron. ad ann. 567. n. 11.

(*g*) Vid. Petav. Ration. p. 1. l. 7. c. 10.

(*b*) *Comptus Casarie, formaque insignis & ore Aureus omnis erat.*

tainly a passion they are very subject to, and which they ought to be the more aware of. It is true that they sometimes do reclaim : But that often happens after the evil is over, and when it is too late to be retrieved. This was the case with the unfortunate Narfes ; for John the third, bishop of Rome, (i) fearing the fatal consequences of his resentment, went himself to him at Naples, and used such powerful arguments with him, that he prevailed on him to return to Rome. But the fatal blow was already given in Italy, and Narfes died soon after, perhaps with grief to see himself no longer able to remedy those evils which he had promoted. For Alboinus, who was a prince of great valour, but yet of greater ambition, readily received Narfes's proposals, and, far from giving him time to repent of his conduct, he immediately departed out of those lands which he possessed in Pannonia, leaving them in the hands of his good friends the Huns ; and marched through the Julian Alps, into Italy with a most formidable army, composed not only of the Lombards, but also of an infinite number of other Barbarians whom he adopted, (k) and chiefly twenty thousand Saxons, who joined him with their wives and children, in order to become inhabitants of Italy with the Lombards, after the conquest of that country which was to be divided amongst them.

As the Roman garrisons were at that time very weak, (l) and there was no army in the field to oppose this furious inundation of Barbarians, Alboinus first invaded the Triouli, and Istria, with the whole country of the Venetians, as far as Mantua, where the Lombards began to commit those dreadful desolations which, like those of Jerusalem, were foretold, (as we are informed) (m) by flying armies which were seen fighting in the air ; and which St. Gregory the great does so often bewail in his epistles. Nevertheless Alboinus, who was not so inhuman as his people, endeavoured in some manner to moderate their cruel inclinations, in order to acquire the reputation of a merciful and generous prince, and by that means insinuate himself into the minds of the Italians. For Felix, bishop of Trevisa, being come to meet him on the borders of the river Plavis, (n) humbly to beseech him that he would not

A. D.
567.

(i) Anast. Biblioth. in Joan. 3. (k) Paul. Varn. l. 2. c. 6. (l) Id. lib. 6. cap. 9. (m) Greg. Homil. l. in Evang. l. 4. Epist. 34. lib. 11. Epist. 43. (n) Piavo-destroy

A. D. destroy the lands belonging to his church, he readily granted him
 568. his request, (o) and immediately ordered his secretary to draw up
 such a writing as might serve him for a protection. After this
 Alboinus took Vicenza and Verona; then marching along the
 borders of the Po, (p) into the plains of the Insubrians, and Li-
 569. gurians, he entered into Milan, and made himself master of all the
 other towns, excepting those which lay on the sea side; after
 which he laid siege before Pavia, which was the strongest of them
 all, and the only place that ventured to oppose his conquest. But
 least it should prevent his forces from being successful in other
 parts, he only left part of his army there, which kept it blocked
 up during the space of three years; and in the mean while with
 the rest, he conquered the greatest part of Italy, which, being ex-
 hausted by the former wars, and destroyed by the Plague and
 Famine that had almost unpeopled it, was not able to make any
 resistance. (q) So that, excepting Rome, Ravenna, and a few
 forts situated on the sea shore, which remained as yet in the hands
 of the Grecians, all were forced to yield and submit themselves to
 the power of the Lombards. After which Alboinus returned vic-
 torious to the siege of Pavia, which was at last delivered up to
 him.

It is reported that, as he was entering that city, after having
 made a cruel vow that he would put all the inhabitants to the
 sword for having resisted so long, his horse fell under him, and
 that all his endeavours could not make him rise again, till a noble-
 man, who was a Lombard and a Catholick, having represented to
 him in most humble terms, how unjust it would be to destroy a
 brave nation, who professed the true Christian religion, he im-
 mediately revoked his vow, and afterwards, being entered the
 town, and come to the noble Palace of Theodoricus, he there, with
 all the humanity imaginable, received the people who came to ac-
 knowledge him for their master. Thus the Grecian Emperours
 were for ever deprived of their Italian dominions, which were all
 subdued by the Lombards, excepting only a few towns that were
 governed by Prefects, who were sent thither from Constantinople,
 and who from that time were called *Exarqui*, or lieutenants of Ra-

(o) Paul. *ibid.* c. 9. (p) The Milanese and Piemont. (q) Paul. Varn. l. 2. c. 26.

venna; who, not being powerful enough to drive out their enemies, were so covetous and inhuman, that their own people suffered more hardships under them, than from the government of the Lombards. But Alboinus did not long enjoy the fruits of his victories, for being one day overcome by wine in an entertainment, he barbarously ordered some to be given to queen Rosimond in a cup which was made out of the skull of king Cunimondus, Father to that Princess; who conceived so great an indignation and hatred to him, that she caused him to be murdered by one of her Querry's, whom she afterwards married, and retired with him to Ravenna, where she was received by the Exarch Longinus. And this lieutenant having solicited her to make away with her new husband, she one day attempted to poison him, which the latter perceiving, after he had swallowed part of the liquor, he forced her, with a dagger pointed at her breast, to drink what was left in the cup, and thus they punished each other for their most execrable crime.

A. D.

571.

572.

After the death of Alboinus, the Lombards chose Clephis for their king, as the most qualified person amongst them for that dignity. He was proclaimed at Pavia; but this Prince being murdered about eighteen months after, by one of his attendants, there was an interregnum that lasted ten years, during which time, thirty five of the chief noblemen, having divided the Provinces amongst them, and the towns which Alboinus had conquered, they by degrees subdued all Italy. But as they neither had the merit nor good nature of Alboinus, and were no longer kept in awe by his presence and authority, it proved that, instead of one Tyrant, who was in some manner tolerable, there were thirty five Tyrants, who exercised all kind of cruelties and sacrileges throughout Italy, plundering and burning the churches, murdering the priests, and destroying whole cities. They put all to fire and sword, and persecuted the Catholics with so much fury, that St. Gregory, who was eye-witness to part of this inhuman persecution, compares it to that of the Nero's and the Diocletian's. It is true indeed that Rome, (r) (by the special protection of God, who was satisfied with the punishment it had undergone in the time of the

(r) Greg. l. 7. Ep. 23.

A.D. Goths) did not fall into the power of the Lombards; (s) and the
 574 bishops, by means of considerable sums of money, which from
 time to time they distributed amongst these Barbarians, purchased
 their freedom with that of the church and city. Yet this did not
 prevent them from carrying their fury to the very gates of Rome,
 where they committed most horrible devastations on the churches,
 and other burying-places that were consecrated to the memory of
 holy martyrs.

It was also at this very time that GOD, in order to soften the
 hearts of the Barbarians, and testify the truth of that religion
 which they so cruelly persecuted in those who professed it, wrought
 those mighty miracles which St. Gregory gives us an account of in
 his dialogues, as having been related to him by those who were
 eye-witnesses of them. He says, that at Spoleto an Arian bishop, (t)
 having attempted to seize by main force the church of St. Paul,
 whose doors had been shut against him; they suddenly opened of
 themselves, just as he was giving orders to his people to break
 them open; and that at the same time there appeared an extraor-
 dinary light as a flash of lightning from heaven, which lighted
 the lamps, and struck that impious man blind, whose punishment
 was so great a surprize to the Lombards, (tho' it neither opened
 their hearts, nor converted them) that they did not dare afterwards
 to molest the Catholicks in that city. It is also reported that, in
 the town of Nursia, a soldier having lifted up his arm in the pre-
 sence of the Lombards, (u) in order to behead the holy priest Ser-
 vulus, it became motionless, and he could not recover the use of
 it, till he had first taken an oath to this pious man that he never
 would kill any Catholick; which wonderful incident obliged the
 Lombards to deliver up to him all the captives they had made ac-
 cording to his request. (x) St. Gregory likewise says, that in the
 Abruzzo, a man who cut off the head of a Deacon, had no sooner
 done the act, but he fell at his feet, before all the people, and was
 more cruelly tormented by the evil spirits, to whom divine justice
 delivered him up, than he could have been by all the executioners
 in the universe: (y) Besides, there were two holy monks whom

(s) Greg. l. 3. Ep. 34.
 (x) Id. l. 4. c. 23.

(t) Greg. l. 3. Dial. c. 29.
 (y) Ibid. l. 4. c. 12.

(u) Id. l. 3. c. 37.

these impious men, after having plundered their monastery, had hanged up to a tree, that were heard, by the Lombards, as also by all the prisoners who were then present, to sing psalms that very night in a plain and distinct voice, as they used to do in the Choir.

A. D.

574.

But tho' all these miracles caused an admiration in the Barbarians, and suspended for a time the fury of the Arians, who would not attempt any more to pervert the Catholics, (z) nevertheless they did not inspire them with better sentiments. For during this cruel interregnum, as the dissolution of the Barbarians could not be suppressed by the supreme authority of a king, they continued more than ever their devastations throughout Italy, and spared neither churches nor monasteries, but often marched up to the very gates of Rome, and most perfidiously destroyed all the neighbouring country, contrary to the promise and oath which they had given to Pelagius the second, bishop of Rome, of whom they had received considerable sums of money, and who at that time was using fruitless endeavours, by the means of St. Gregory his legate, to obtain the assistance of the Emperor Tiberius. After having thus laid all Italy waste, they were even so bold as to pass the Alps, and march into Provence where they defeated the army of Amatus, (a) governor of the province for king Gontranus, and caused great desolations throughout the country, with no other design but that of returning into Italy loaded with plunder, which they accordingly did. But having afterwards attempted to do the same in Dauphine, they were defeated in three different battles, where a most horrible slaughter was made of them near Ambrun and Valence, by the famous general Mummolus, lieutenant to Gontranus; (b) And Amon, one of the dukes of the Lombards, who had marched along the sea-side up to the Rhone, being informed of this disaster, and finding himself overtaken by the snow, with great difficulty made his escape, with a small body of horse, leaving the remainder of his army, with their baggage and plunder to the discretion of the conqueror.

582.

But at last the disorders, which were occasioned amongst the Lombards by this Anarchy, the losses which they had suffered in

(z) Greg. lib. 3. cap. 28. (a) Pelag. l. 1. Ep. 5. Paul. Diac. lib. 3. c. 1. 3, 4, 5.
(b) Greg. Tur. l. 4. c. 29.

A. D. France, and the fear they were in of being invaded by the French,
 582. (c) compelled them to put an end to this interregnum, which would have proved fatal to their empire. For the emperor Mauricius, who had succeeded Tiberius in the year five hundred and eighty two, being dissatisfied that the Lombards should keep Italy in their possession, and not having power enough to drive them out, prevailed on Childebert king of Austrasia to be concerned with him in this war, in consideration whereof he advanced him the
 584. sum of fifty thousand crowns in gold. The Lombards, who were afraid of being oppressed by so potent an enemy, if their forces should continue divided, as they were at that time, amongst so many little principalities, (d) assembled at Pavia, in order to re-establish a monarchy; and there, with the general consent of their nation, they placed Autharis on the throne, who was the son of Clephis their last king. This young Prince, who was then in the prime of his age, was very beautiful, and had a majestick air, which easily distinguished him from the rest of the Lombard Noblemen. He was by nature brave, enterprizing, and active, yet withal wise, and artful; and a man of sobriety and moderation, who, in short, had nothing of a Barbarian in him but the bare name, which he resolved to soften by adding to it that of Flavius, which his successors, likewise assumed after him, as the kings of the Visigoths had also done before in Spain. He soon made it appear, by his merit, that he was deserving of the choice they had made, and that his virtues would be the support of his dignity. For whereas all things, before his accession to the crown, were in a most dreadful confusion, under the dominion of those thirty five little arbitrary Tyrants, who practised a continued Series of injustice and extortion, he in a very short time restored all things to so good an order throughout all the whole dominions of the Lombards, (e) that his laws being punctually observed, and his authority respected, the people enjoyed a perfect tranquility, which they had been strangers to till then.

In the beginning of his reign he performed an act of piety more suitable to the character of a Catholick, than an Arian. A sol-

(c) Vide. Pot. Rat. Temp. l. 7. c. 9. contra Chron. l. Baron. Paul, Diac. l. 17.
 (d) Id. c. 16. (e) Paul. Varn. l. 3. c. 8. Aimoin, l. 3. c. 38.

dier of the Lombards, who was an Arian, having found one of those little golden keys, (*f*) which the bishops of Rome were used in those days to distribute to some people who kept it, in honour of St. Peter, whose tomb they had touched, was going to cut it into pieces for some particular use, tho' he very well knew the veneration that was paid to it. But as he had taken out his knife in order to execute his sacrilegious design, he was suddenly possessed with an evil spirit, who stuck him into the throat with it. So that he fell dead on the spot with the key lying by him. There immediately came a vast number of spectators to see this strange accident, and the king himself being informed of it, was resolved to enquire into the cause; but finding the little key which was known to be of the kind, I mentioned, this unaccountable punishment struck so much terror into the minds of the Arians, that were present, that nobody dared to take it off the ground, lest the like judgment should befall them from the hand of God. But a Lombard, who was a good Catholick and a pious man, and whose name was Minulphus, being sent for, he took up this key with great respect, and presented it to the king, who caused another key to be made upon the same model, and sent them both in a solemn manner to Pelagius, bishop of Rome, with an account of this wonderful accident which occasioned these sort of keys to be held in great veneration afterwards.

This was the same miraculous key which St. Gregory the Great sent some time after to Theotistus, (*g*) and Andrew, two noblemen at Constantinople, who were men of eminent virtues; and governors to the young princes, the sons of the Emperor Mauricius, and had sent him (*b*) thirty pounds weight in gold for the redemption of captives. He thought he could not acknowledge their charity in a more meritorious manner, than by sending to them, as a present, this key, which having touched St. Peter's Tomb, and some of the filings of his Irons, that were contained in it, was become so precious. He likewise gives them a full account in his epistle, of the surprising punishment that befell the Arian soldier who was going to destroy it.

In the mean while, Childebert, having raised a powerful army sufficient to invade all Italy, passed the Alps without opposition, and

(*f*) Greg. magn. l. 6. Ep. 23. Id. l. 1. Ep. 25. 29 (*g*) Greg. Ibid. Ep. ad Theotif.
(*b*) about three thousand four hundred Crowns.

A.D. marched directly into the provinces of the Ligurians, and Insu-
585. brians, (*i*) situated on the borders of the Po, then inhabited by the Lombards. But Autharis, who had not been able to muster up forces enough to resist so potent an enemy, found means by a political scheme to avoid the storm. For having sent all his troops into the fortified towns, with the provisions that were in the country, he immediately dispatched ambassadors to Childebert with magnificent presents, and a considerable sum of money, offering at the same time to pay tribute to him, and to serve him faithfully on all occasions. Childebert, who perceived that if he were obliged to attack every place, the one after the other, it would cause a tedious war, and he might run the hazard of losing the best part of his troops, by reason of the intemperance of the Climat and want of provisions, was satisfied with conditions that were advantageous to him; so marched away with the money which he had received of Autharis, who only wanted to divert the present danger. Some authors (*k*) have reported that Childebert left Italy only with a design to go into Spain, in order to revenge the death of Ermenegildus, which he did by the total defeat of the army of Leuvigildus. But Gregory of Tours, (*l*) who was the Historian of those days, and related those things which he was eye-witness to, positively affirms, that he indeed had a design to march with his army into Spain, but that he altered his mind, and and did not go thither. Sometime after, Childebert, finding that
587. Autharis had only trifled with him, and being again urgently sol-
588. licited by the Emperor to perform his promise, (*m*) he renewed the
589. war against the Lombards, and entered Italy three times with but little success. For what with the divisions which arose between the French, and the Germans his subjects, and the sickness and famine that infected that country, he lost the greatest part of his men. Besides, he fought a famous battle against Autharis, wherein his whole army was almost cut to pieces; the time appointed for the destruction of the empire of the Lombards not being as yet at hand, according to the designs of GOD who reserved that conquest for the emperor Charlemain.

(*i*) Piemont and Lombardy. (*k*) Aimoin. l. 3. c. 28. Dupleix. (*l*) Greg. Tur. l. 6. c. 24. (*m*) Paul. Var. nef. lib. 3. c. 22. Greg. Turon. lib. 10. c. 3. Paul. c. 32. Greg. Tur. lib. 9. c. 25. Paul. lib. 3. cap. 30.

In the mean time Autharis, who was proud of this extraordinary success, run over all Italy, and having taken Benevento, which was then in the possession of the Imperialists, (n) he appointed a lieutenant for the government of that place, then marched into the extremities of Calabria, where the whole country submitted to his government without the least resistance. He had proposed a peace with Childebert, upon condition that he should have his sister Clodofinda for a wife, which accordingly was promised him; (o) But Childebert receded from his word, in order to marry her to king Recaredus, (p) whose alliance was more honourable and advantageous, and after this refusal Autharis having gained the great victory already mentioned, which gave him so great reputation in the world, he himself went disguised into Bavaria, to make his addresses to the Princess Theodelinda, daughter to king Garibandus, whom he married. This proved an admirable instance of divine providence, who designed by the means of this Princess to extirpate Arianism from the kingdom of the Lombards, at the very time that Autharis, who was absolute master of his dominions, was endeavouring to establish it. For this prince, finding that many of the Lombards were daily converted to the Catholick Faith, through the care and diligence of the bishops of Italy, who made it their business to instruct them, and lay open the errors and blasphemies of Arianism, he published an edict, (q) sometime before Easter, whereby it was forbidden to all Lombards to baptise their children according to the form of the Catholick church, with strict orders that the form of the Arians should only be observed in baptism, by which means he proposed to maintain the whole nation of the Lombards in the heresy of their Ancestors. But God, who had resolved on the conversion of these people; soon set aside this obstacle which only proceeded from the impiety of Autharis, for he died in this same year at Pavia on the fifth of September, after having reigned six years. (r) Queen Theodelinda, who was a Princess of eminent virtues, and very religious in the Catholick faith, had rendered herself so agreeable to all the Lombard noble-

A. D.
589.

590.

(n) Paul. Varn. l. 9. c. 33. (o) Greg. Tur. l. 9. c. 25. (p) Paul. Varn. lib. 3. c. 29. & 31. Marian. l. 5. c. 13. (q) Greg. lib. 1. Epist. 17. (r) Paul. Diac. l. 3. cap. 35.

men,

A. D. men, by her wise conduct, that as the deceased king had left no
590. children, they acknowledged her for their sovereign, and would admit of no other king, unless it were one of her chusing, who, by an alliance with her, might be intitled to the throne.

Whilst the queen was taking time to resolve on a choice of that importance, (s) she sent ambassadors to Childebert, to whom the late king her husband had likewise sent before his death proposals of a peace, (t) which she obtained more readily than he could have done, provided she would pay him a small yearly tribute, which was soon after redeemed. And in the mean while, having fixed her resolution, amongst all the Noblemen of the Lombards, she chose Agilulph, duke of Turine for her husband. He was a Prince of great valour and virtue, his person was beautiful and majestick, and the glorious actions which he had performed in the wars, as well as his extraction from royal blood, all these, I say, sufficiently intitled him to her choice. She married him at Pavia, in the month of November, and caused him to be crowned at Milan, where the whole nation was assembled, who received him with a general applause. This alliance gave a great deal of satisfaction to St. Gregory, who was promoted to the Pontificate in the same year. As he knew the merit and virtue of queen Theodelinda, he was convinced that she would approve of the endeavours he was then going to use, in order to retrieve the evil which had been occasioned by the edict of Autharis; he therefore wrote an excellent epistle to all the bishops of Italy, (u) wherein he exhorts them to use their utmost power, in order to convert the Lombards, who were in their dioceses, to the Catholick faith, and to endeavour diligently to reconcile those to the church, who at the last solemnity of Easter, had been baptized after the Arian manner, according to the edict of the late king. This holy bishop was of opinion, that so religious a queen, to whom the king her husband was indebted for the crown, would take proper measures to prevent him from following the sentiments of his predecessor, and maintaining his ordinances against the Catholicks. And indeed he was not mistaken in his notion, for Theodelinda on her

(s) Ibid.
 Magn. l. 1. Ep. 17.

(t) Aimoin. l. 4. cap. 7. Paul. lib. 3. cap. 33.

(u) Greg.

part performed much more than St. Gregory could have expected, She knew so well how to make use of the power she had over the king her husband, that, after having instructed him in the mysteries of the Catholick faith, she perswaded him to make a publick confession of it, in spite of that weak and fatal policy which often hinders princes, (x) out of an abject fear of their subjects, from adhering openly to that truth, which they had secretly acknowledged. So that we may say that if the devil introduced the Arian heresy into the East by the means of three women, (y) GOD, in order to overthrow his works and fight him with his own arms, was resolved to employ the talents of three illustrious princesses, Clotilda, Indegonda, and Theodelinda, in order to sanctify the West, by the conversion of the French, and root out Arianism from Spain and Italy, by the conversion of the Visigoths and Lombards. For indeed the example of Agilulph, who followed the counsels of Theodelinda proved effectual; the greatest part of the nobility amongst the Lombards, both Pagans, and Arians, embraced the Catholick faith as he had done, and were soon followed by the people who generally imitate their superiors. This produced a great change in the kingdom, (z) the bishops, who had been reduced to a most ignominious poverty, were restored to their former dignities, and to their estates which had been taken from them. The churches also, which had been profaned, were now re-established; the queen built new ones, and the king bestowed large sums of money to every city for the repairs of those churches which had suffered great damages. And in order to render the joy of the Catholicks more compleat for this triumph of JESUS CHRIST, as St. Gregory about the same time proposed to reconsecrate the church of St. Agatha at Rome, which had been profaned by the Arians in the time of the Goths, GOD was pleased to concur with him in this solemnity by some extraordinary works, which this holy bishop gives us an account of, as being eye-witnesses to them. (a) For having reconciled this church in the presence of a multitude of people who were come from all parts to this feast, as he was celebrating the divine mysteries, one of those unclean animals, into

(x) Paul. Varn. l. 4. c. 6. (y) Constantia. Eusebia. Dominica.. (z) Paul. Varn. ibid, (a) Gregor. Mag. Dial. l. 3. cap. 30.

A. D. whose bodies the devils besought **CHRIST** that he would suffer
591. them to enter, was known to be in the church, being heard by the assembly, and felt running between their legs, tho' they could not see it. On the two following nights there was a strange noise heard over the roof of the church, which ended as it were with a mighty clap of thunder, which, for the time it lasted, caused a great consternation; after that there never was any thing of this kind heard. Another time at mid-day, it being fine and serene weather, a cloud came and surrounded the altar, and the whole church was filled with a most agreeable perfume, which was smelt by the people who repaired thither from all parts, tho' no body dared to enter the church. Some time after, the lamps of the church being put out, they were lighted again suddenly by a celestial light; and in order to verify this miracle, the same thing was repeated three times, tho' all the care imaginable was observed in the putting out of the lamps. **GOD** undoubtedly was resolved, by these wonderful signs, to shew that the devil, who had for a long time been in possession of that church, was compelled to depart from it, and that the light of the true faith had taken place of the errors and darkness of Arianism. After all, when I consider this history with deliberation, I must sincerely confess, that I have not strength, or, as I may say, boldness enough in my mind to deny, or even to suppress those things which a person of St. Gregory's merit and dignity says that he has seen, and has transmitted to us in writing in his book of dialogues, which he published two years after at Rome, where he undoubtedly would have passed for an impudent impostor, had he wrote a thing, and affirmed that the whole city was eye-witness to it, when at the same time no body had seen it.

But this extraordinary joy for the reduction of the Arians was
592. soon interrupted by a war, (*b*) which, notwithstanding the conversion of Agilulph, the Lombards carried on some time after, against the Romans, with more fury than ever. For the patrician Romanus, who was exarch of Ravenna, having surprised several of the towns belonging to the Lombards, by the treachery of some of their noblemen, and amongst others the city of Perusa, Agilulph marched out of Pavia with a potent army; and, having

(*b*) Greg. l. 2. Epist. 32. Ind. 10. Paul. Varn. l. 4. c. 8,

laid siege to Perugia, he took it, and caused the duke Morison, who had delivered it up to the Romans, to be beheaded. (c) This being done, he found it no difficult task to retake all the places which the exarch had made himself master of; then marched with his victorious army up to the gates of Rome, and in his way put all to fire and sword. He, on this occasion, reduced the wretched Romans to the utmost extremity, and brought those desolations on them, which St. Gregory so often bewails, (d) who, during these disorders, was forced to suspend the Homilies upon Ezechiel which he used daily to rehearse to the people, being otherwise taken up in making preparations for the defence of that city. And nevertheless he continued his constant solicitations to the Exarch and the Emperour Mauricius, urging them to enter into a treaty of peace with Agilulph, which he represented to them as a thing absolutely necessary in the deplorable condition Italy was then reduced to. (e) So at last it was agreed upon by the intercessions of queen Theodelinda, to whom St. Gregory had made earnest application. And indeed this bishop expressed his gratitude for so great a service in his letters to her, as also to the king, who shewed a ready disposition toward a peace, notwithstanding the considerable advantages which he had over the Romans, This peace undoubtedly would have been concluded much sooner, had not the Emperour, who accused St. Gregory of suffering himself to be deceived by the fair words of Agilulph, deferred it by his imprudence, (f) which cost him the loss of most of the towns, that he had then in his possession in Italy, and chiefly the city of Cortona, which was of great use to him for the landing of the forces that came from Constantinople.

A. D.
595.

598.

599.

At last this peace was broken again, by reason of fresh differences which arose between Gallinicius, the new Exarch, and Agilulph, who still continued to carry on the war with success. But about four years after, (g) the affairs were again reconciled, a little while before the death of St. Gregory, who returned thanks to

600.

(c) Greg. l. 4. Epist. 31. Hom. 18. in Ezech. & alib. Paul. Varn. l. 4. c. 8.
(d) Greg. l. 4. Epist. 29. & 31. (e) Greg. l. 7. Ep. 41, 42. Paul. l. 4. cap. 8.
lib. 4. Epist. 29. (f) Greg. l. 4. Epist. 31. lib. 4. Epist. 23. (g) Greg.
Mag. l. 12. Epist. 7. Ind. 7. Paul. Varn. l. 4. c. 26. & 31.

A. D. the king, by a letter which he writ to queen Theodelinda. This
 605. bishop was then extremely ill, and, upon the queen's giving him notice of the birth of prince Adaloaldus, whom Agilulph caused immediately to be declared king, he wrote his last letter to her. The holy Prelate who was mindful of all things, and who on all occasions fulfilled the duties of a great bishop and a righteous man, took care notwithstanding the very weak condition he then was in, (being at the point of death) to send presents to Theodelinda for the young prince, and amongst other things, a golden cross; wherein there was some of the wood of the holy cross upon which CHRIST was crucified; this he was to wear on his neck as a sign that he professed the Catholick faith, which he had just received with the holy baptism according to the form of the church.

613. But, what contributed very much to the entire conversion of the Lombards, was the arrival of the holy abbot Colombanus, who, flying the persecution of queen Brunehaud, and her grandson king Thierry, whose disorderly life and behaviour that holy man had reproved with a great deal of freedom, had passed the mountains, and was come to beg the protection of Agilulph, (*b*) who received him with all imaginable marks of honour, and offered him any part of his dominions, where, if he pleased, he might build a monastery, and by that means sanctify his country, as he had sanctified France, by the examples of his virtue, and the solidity of his wholesom and holy Instructions. He accepted of the king's offer: But before he departed from Milan, where the court resided at that time, finding that a great many of the noblemen were not as yet perfectly undeceived, with respect to the errors of Arianism, he began to confute that heresy in a most zealous manner, both by his sermons, and by a book which he wrote in order to prove the divinity of JESUS CHRIST, from the testimonies of scripture, against all the false interpretations of the Arians. (*i*) This added so much to his fame that the Princes and noblemen amongst the Lombards, being desirous that this apostolical man should remain in their country, presented him generously with large sums of money for the foundation of that famous and stately monastery of

(*b*) Ion. in vit. St. Colomb. cap. 29.

(*i*) Paul. Varn. l. 4. c. 43.

Bobium,

Bobium, situated at the feet of the Alps, within twenty leagues of Pavia. Here he settled himself in such a manner that he resolved never to depart thence, notwithstanding all the solicitations of king Clotaire, (*k*) after his accession to the monarchy of France, who used all the arguments imaginable to persuade him to come over. So that after having lived a holy life in this Place, he died not long before Agilulph, who had reigned happily during the space of twenty five years, and was ever victorious both over the rebels and strangers. He died in the year six hundred and sixteen, leaving behind him his son Adaloaldus, who was twelve years of age, under the regency of Queen Theodelinda. A.D. 615. 616.

Nothing could happen so fortunately for the religion as the regency of this princess, to whom the noble Lombards paid a great veneration; and in order to confirm them still more in the Catholick faith, she obliged them, at the beginning of her regency, to make a publick and solemn declaration of their belief. She had caused a magnificent temple to be built at Modoeca, (*l*) within twelve miles of Milan, which she dedicated to St. John the baptist, to whose protection she recommended herself, with the late king her husband, her children and the whole nation of the Lombards. About this time she repaired thither in order to make her offerings with a gift of the large revenues which she had appointed for that church; (*m*) and this was performed in the presence of all the noblemen of the kingdom, who were so ready to follow her great example, that they also chose that Saint for their Protector, and made a vow to send a yearly offering to him on the day of his Festival, as an acknowledgment of their being under his protection; and in order to beg his assistance and intercession for them with JESUS CHRIST, whom they confessed to be their Lord and GOD. And from that time the Lombards in all their actions and undertakings were used to invoke St. John the baptist, beseeching him to grant them his aid, by the virtue of JESUS CHRIST, the true GOD. After this the King and Queen, enjoying a perfect peace, gave proper orders for the repairs of those churches, which

(*k*) Ion. in vit. St. Colomb. (*l*) Monza. (*m*) Paul. Varn. l. 4. c. 22.
veter. Edit Ascensiana.

A. D. 616. were ruined throughout the Empire of the Lombards; and, having richly endowed them, they continued daily to promote the increase of religion and Christian piety. (n)

626.

This lasted about ten years, till the death of Theodelinda; when a fatal accident happened which was followed by a disorder that proved more prejudicial than any preceding one, both to the state and religion. For Adaloaldus, (o) either by sickness or poison, being fallen into a kind of frenzy, which sometimes deprived him of the use of his reason, and caused him by intervals to act extravagantly, Ariovaldus, duke of Turin, and brother in law to the king, but as yet an Arian, made so strong an interest with the noble Lombards, that by their connivance he took possession of the Throne and expelled the poor unhappy Adoloaldus. This wretched Prince, who in his indisposition had so much sense as not to abandon himself, flew for protection to the Exarch of Ravenna, who being resolved to improve this opportunity to foment a civil war amongst the Lombards, undertook immediately to restore him to his throne, and drive out the usurper. (p) Honorious, then bishop of Rome, wrote concerning this affair to the Exarch, complaining very much of the bishops of Lombardy, that, contrary to the oath which they had taken to the late king Agilulph, they had so shamefully forefaken the king his son, in order to adhere to a tyrant; and endeavoured even to corrupt those who continued stedfast in their duty, and abhorred so strange a piece of treachery. This prelate intreated the Exarch in his letter, that, after he had restored the young king, as it was expected, he he would send those rebellious bishops to Rome, in order that so infamous a crime might not remain unpunished. But as the Exarch could not obtain any relief from the Emperour Heraclius, who at that juncture was at war with the Persians, he was forced to set aside his design, and in order accommodate his affairs according to the circumstances of the times, he made peace with Ariovaldus, and there was no farther notice taken of the unhappy Adaloaldus, who in all probability died at Ravenna amongst the Grecians.

(n) Paul. l. 4. c. 43.
Ep. ad. Isac. Exar. ap. Ivon.

(o) Ibid Aimoin. l. 4. c. 10.

(p) Honor. Pap.

Thus

Thus Ariovaldus remained peaceable possessor of the kingdom, without offering any molestation to the Catholicks; tho' nevertheless he did a wicked action in his passion, which he soon after repented. Blidulphus, a priest and monk of the monastery of St. Colombanus, (q) being come to Pavia about some particular affairs, the king one day meeting him, saluted him first, and began to rally him and his brother-monks, upon their refusing to pay him the honour that was due to him, because he was not of their belief. Hereupon Blidulphus, without shewing the least marks of respect to him, replied with an admirable courage: " I should
 " readily salute you, my Lord, with hearty wishes of all manner
 " of blessings, were you not so unhappy as to adhere to those de-
 " testable impostors who seduce you, and to that cursed heresy
 " which they teach you. If you propose that we should pay you
 " that honour which is due to kings, first give that unto GOD
 " which you owe him, by confessing the three adorable persons in
 " the blessed Trinity, the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, in unity
 " of Essence, without dividing them as you do into three different
 " powers. " The king, being exasperated at this answer, said, as he was walking along, that it was strange no man would revenge him on that impudent monk, who deserved to have his bones broken; yet this was not said aloud, fearing least the people should rise against the king; but one of his attendants having heard him, he immediately offered his services, and accordingly that very evening the thing was put in execution, for this courtier having watched the time when Blidulphus was returning home to his lodgings, just as he was passing through a lonesome street, he fell upon him, and beat him with a cudgel after so barbarous a manner, that, having broken his head in several places, and knocked him down to the ground, he there left him for dead. But the people finding him in this condition, were going to raise him up in order to carry him away, when of a sudden he rose up of himself, as if he had been just awaked out of a sound sleep, and found himself so perfectly recovered, that he returned alone without the least assistance to his monastery. The murderer, instead of receiving the reward which he expected of the king, was seized with an evil

(q) Iordas. in reb. gest. St. Bertolfi.

A. D. 626. spirit, who tormented him most cruelly, and forced him with hideous cries to confess his crime before all the people who were praising God, and saying that the Arians ought not to expect any other treatment from their master. Ariovaldus, who was the author of this wicked fact, dreading the like punishment, sent immediately this wretched fellow to the Abbot Attalas, successor to St. Colombanus, with magnificent presents, beseeching him that he would appease God's anger, and take pity of that miserable man. The holy Abbot generously replied, that he never would accept of any presents from an Arian : but nevertheless, he prayed to God for the possessed criminal, who, being delivered of his executioner, by the virtue of the Abbot's prayers, died soon after by a just judgment, which was a manifestation of God's glory. And, indeed, this made so great an impression on the king, that, from this time, he behaved with a great deal of humanity towards the Catholics, who were suffered to live in an intire freedom.

Some years after, Ariovaldus even did an action, which plainly shewed the respect and veneration he paid to the church. Proclus, bishop of Clerona, (*r*) pretended that the monastery of St. Colombanus, which was situated in his diocese, ought to be subject to his jurisdiction, and, in order to make his claim good, and bring over the other bishops into his interest, he sent them presents, and used all other means for that purpose. After this he thought it was proper to apply to the king, that, by his royal authority, he might be put in possession of that right, which he insisted on as an indisputable prerogative. But the king's answer was, that he and those of his party should produce proofs from the holy decrees, and canons of the church, to make out the justice of his pretensions. The Abbot Bertolfus who succeeded Attalus, being informed of the bishop's negotiations at court, and of the interest he was endeavouring to make in order to gain his cause, sent also some of his disciples thither to find out how the king was disposed in his favour, and whether he might rely on him for the preservation of his privileges and exemption, which on his part he likewise insisted on as indisputable. But the king, who still continued steadfast in his first resolution, told them, " That it did not belong to him

(*r*) *Jonas de reb. gest. St. Bertolfi apud Baron. ad ann. 626. n. 35. & seq.*

“ to decide affairs of that nature, which the church only had right
 “ to determine by a canonical decree; That, nevertheless, he would
 “ not suffer that any injury should be offered to the Abbot whom
 “ he looked upon to be a faithful servant of God.” Bertolfus,
 perceiving that the king behaved with so much wisdom and good-
 ness, took the liberty to apply again to him to desire that he would
 give him leave to go to Rome, in order to maintain his right before
 the holy See: which Ariovaldus readily agreed to, tho’ he had
 some cause to be dissatisfied with Honorius bishop of Rome, who
 had openly declared himself against this Prince.

A. D.
626.

The historian, from whom we have this account, and whose
 works Paul Diaconus never saw, since he owns that he knows no-
 thing of that king, assures us, that he himself went on this journey
 with the holy Abbot, and that the bishop of Rome, after having
 inquired into the affair, and exhorted the holy man still to oppose
 Arianism, he sent him home with an ample privilege, whereby
 he declared that no bishop could pretend any jurisdiction or right
 of government over his monastery. This decree Honorius confirm-
 ed by the canons of three councils, who had already determined
 this affair in a very clear manner. (s) The first was the third
 council of Arles, which was held in or about the year four hun-
 dred fifty five, purposely to decide the great contest that was
 between the bishop Theodosius and Faustus Abbot of the monastery
 of Le Mans. The second was the council of Carthage in the year
 five hundred twenty five, under the Pontificate of Boniface, held
 at the request of the Abbot Peter, against Liberatus, metropolitan
 of the Province of Biscaya. And tho’ this council was lately
 taken from the library of the Vatican, and published in the new
 large collection of councils composed by the learned Fathers Labbé
 and Cossart, Jesuits, it is nevertheless quoted in some very au-
 thentical acts of above a thousand years standing, passed in the
 seventh century, which is now the subject of my history, viz.
 in the privilege granted by Bertefridus bishop of Amiens, to the
 Abby of Corbie in the year six hundred sixty four, and subscribed
 to by sixteen bishops; (t) in that which Landri bishop of Paris

(s) Tom. 1. Conc. Gall. Tom. 4. Conc. Edit. Paris. St. Honorat. in Provence.

(t) Tom. 6. Conc. Edit. Paris. p. 527.

A. D. granted to the Abby of St. Dennis, (a) in the year six hundred
626. fifty eight, signed by twenty five bishops, and maintained as authentic by a set of learned men, in opposition to some people who would not allow it; as also in the life of St. Babolenus the Abbot which Mr. Du Chêne delivered to us in his first volume of the writers of our history, in the year six hundred fifty four. And lastly, the third of these councils which have allowed the exemption and liberty of monasteries before the time of Honorius bishop of Rome, (x) was that of Carthage, under Reparatus in the year five hundred thirty four, which councils (as it it may be seen in the places I have quoted) declare themselves in favour of these exemptions, in terms far more expressive than any that have been used by the bishops of Rome, in the bulls which they published in behalf of the regular priests. As my subject happened to lead me so naturally into this short digression, I thought I might continue it without offence; since my design here is only to undeceive those who have conceived so false a notion as to believe that the bulls of the bishops of Rome were contrary to the ancient canons. For it is now evidently plain by this history, that, far from its being so, the very bishops of Rome themselves never made these bulls, but in order to comply with the ancient canons, which declare, that the monasteries shall enjoy those exemptions that were granted to them by the bishops assembled in council, on purpose to maintain a regular discipline under the command of their superiors.

Yet indeed it was a thing very extraordinary, and worthy of being placed in the history of Arianism, to see an Arian Prince pay so great a veneration to the church, nay even to a bishop of Rome, whom he had no cause to be pleased with. But I am very much induced to believe, that what he did, was by the persuasion of Gondibergera his queen, who was a most Catholick Princess, and daughter to the late king Agilulph and Theodelinda, and to whom at that time he shewed a great deal of compliance, in order to repair the injuries he had done her through the calumnious instigation of a wicked courtier. (y) This was a noble Lombard, whose

(a) Sirmond. Tom. 1. Conc. Gall. Tom. 6. Conc. Edit. Paris. p. 487. (x) Tom. 5. Conc. Edit. Paris. p. 1785. (y) Aimond. l. 4. c. 12. Append. ad Greg. Tur. c. 50, 51.

name was Adalulph, and who had the insolence to make amorous *A.D.*
 addressees to the queen. This Princess being highly provoked at 626.
 his impudence, spit in his face; whereupon he withdrew, and
 as this traitor dreaded a far greater punishment on the part of the
 king, should he not prevent him; he immediately went to him,
 and begged a private audience of him, upon an affair which
 would not admit of any delay, for that both his life and king-
 dom were concerned. Then he told him, "That for the space of
 " three days, the queen had been privately treating with Tasonus,
 " governour of Tuscany, for whom she had an affection; and
 " that it was agreed between them that she would marry him
 " as soon as she had poisoned the king." This wicked man
 coloured his accusations so well, by artfully intermixing some truths
 with a thousand falsities, that the king, who was naturally
 passionate, being overcome by a violent fit of jealousy, which
 blinded him, he immediately caused the two accused persons to
 be taken into custody. As for the innocent queen, she was con-
 fined to a castle, where she remained for the space of three years,
 without being admitted to justify her self, till Clotaire the second,
 king of France, sent ambassadors to Ariovaldus, complaining of
 the ill treatment, which he shewed to a Princess, who was descend-
 ed from the royal blood of France, by his great grandfather.
 And as the king insisted on the justice of his proceeding, An-
 soaldus, one of the ambassadors, proposed that, according to the
 custom, or, more properly, the abuses of those days, a Champion
 might have leave to assert the queen's innocency, in a single
 Battle, with the informer; which Ariovaldus having agreed to,
 one of the queens faithful servants offered to fight Adalulphus,
 who, not daring to refuse the challenge, was defeated, and his vile
 cheat discovered in the presence of all the spectators, who
 were greatly rejoiced at the queen's innocency, after which the
 king caused the traitor to be beheaded: Hereupon Gondiberger,
 being restored to her honour and dignity, had a greater respect
 shewed to her than ever; and undoubtedly it was in regard to
 her, that the king her husband (tho ever so much an Arian)
 treated the Catholics so favourably. He even permitted her to
 build a magnificent church near Pavia, which, (z) after the ex-

(z) Paul. Varn. l. 4. c. 49.

A. D. ample of her mother Theodelinda, she dedicated to St. John the baptist, and adorned it with rich vases, and other precious ornaments. Nevertheless she was not so fortunate as Theodelinda had been, in the conversion of her husband; for Ariovaldus, after a reign of twelve years, died a professed Arian.

As this prince had left no children behind him, and the Arians were then very powerful at court, they chose Rotharis for his successor, who was also an Arian, but was so well inclined to follow the steps of his predecessor, that he would not suffer the Catholics to be molested, nor that they should any wise be deprived of the liberty which they had enjoyed in the exercise of their religion: (a) But on the other hand, he resolved that the Arians should enjoy the same liberty without the least opposition. So that in most of the towns that were in his dominions there was during his reign two bishops, the one a Catholic, and the other an Arian. And it even happened in Pavia by an event, which proved somewhat extraordinary, that Anastasius, (bishop of the Arians) having embraced the Catholic faith, became afterwards himself the true Pastor of the Catholics. (b) At the same time Rotharis was a prince of great valour: he had defeated the imperial Forces and taken all their Sea-port towns in Liguria from port Lune to Provence; and after having reigned successfully above sixteen years, he died, and left his kingdom to his son Rodoaldus. (c) As the kings of the Lombards had recommended themselves to the protection of St. John the Baptist, and that Rotharis was an Arian, his body was not interred in the magnificent temple which queen Theodelinda had built, and dedicated to the holy protector: But he was buried in a place very near the church; and it is reported that, some time after, an impious rogue having broke open his tomb, and stole away all the jewels that adorned the king's body, St John appeared to him, and upbraided him with his impiety, saying, "that altho' the king did not profess the true Religion, nevertheless a respect ought to be paid to his body, because he had implored his protection in his life-time; and that, as a punishment for the crime which he had committed, he should never enter his church, which he had profaned by so wicked an attempt."

(a) Paul. Varn. l. 4. c. 44.

(b) Id. c. 47.

(c) Id. c. 48.

BOOK XII. *The History of ARIANISM.*

325

These words were accordingly fulfilled, for whenever this impious fellow endeavoured to enter St. John's church, he immediately was repulsed with an irresistible Force, as if some strong and powerful man had seized him by the Throat, in order to oppose his entering in; as the Historian, who gives us this account, (d) declares before God that it was delivered to him by a man who was eye-witness to it. I think that History, according to its principles, which are grounded on human faith, ought not to reject this particular as one of those invented fables, which are forged only to impose upon the credulity of mankind.

A. D.
638.

Rodoaldus was indeed heir to his father's crown, but he was far from possessing either his virtues or his good fortune; for having given himself up intirely to the passions of his youth, and having no other thought but that of gratifying his voluptuousness, he was wretchedly murdered by a Lombard gentleman, against whose honour he had cruelly offended. After his death the noblemen amongst the Lombards chose for their king Aribertus the son of Gondeband, (e) who was brother to queen Theodelinda; and it is very probable that he was a Catholick, in as much as he not only was related to this good queen, who was so zealous for the true Religion, but because he built a stately church near Pavia, which he consecrated to JESUS CHRIST the redeemer of the world, and endowed it with a handsome revenue, as also adorned it with rich and costly presents; which was no wise the custom of the Arians, who did not pay so great a devotion to JESUS CHRIST. (f) But be that how it will, nothing is more certain than that his two sons Bertaridus, and Godebertus, between whom he had divided the kingdom, were both Catholicks; and that Grimoaldus, duke of Benevento, taking advantage of their division, took also possession of the kingdom. This prince was likewise a Catholick, but whether he was so from the beginning, or that St. John bishop of Bergama had converted him, I know not. (g) It is even reported that he was under the special protection of St. John the baptist, and that the Emperour Constantius, who was come with a powerful army to attack him, having consulted a solitary who at that

662.

(d) Paul. Varn. l. 4. c. 4.

(e) Paul. Varn. l. 4. c. 50.

(f) Id. c. 53.

(g) Acta. Joan. Bergam. Paul. Varn. l. 5. c. 6.

time

A. D. time had the reputation of a holy man, to know of him what
662. would be the success of that war; the solitary, after having passed the whole night in prayer, told him that his enterprise would not prove fortunate, because that St. John the baptist, to whom a foreign Princess (which was Theodelinda) had dedicated a magnificent church, was continually interceding for the nation of the Lombards: But that the time would come when that church should be neglected, as likewise the worship which was then paid to the divine forerunner of JESUS CHRIST; that when this came to pass, the Empire of the Lombards should be destroyed. And indeed the event verified the prophecy of that holy man; for Constantius, who was a heretick of the sect of the Monothelites, was constantly beaten, and did nothing in Italy but plunder Rome, where he had been acknowledged as Emperour. And when Charlemagne destroyed the Empire of the Lombards, the church of St. John the baptist at Modoeca was unworthily profaned by the crimes and debauches of the clergy, who had purchased the livings and revenues of it for money. And indeed Grimoaldus, who was a great General, possessed with many Princely qualities, was also inclined to virtue and piety, whereof he has given us some instances; which plainly shews that he was a Catholick, and an enemy to the Arians. (*b*) For he not only defended and religiously preserved the famous church of St. Michael on mount Gagan, which the Grecians had resolved to plunder, (*i*) but he also built one at Pavia to the honour of St. Ambrose who was the great scourge and subduer of Arianism at Milan, where the Lombards since that time established the principal see of their empire; and in order to convince the world that he was resolved to live and die in the faith of that holy doctor whom he had chosen for his protector, before he died he marked out his burial place in that church where he was interred.

But what contributed very much to establish the Catholick faith in the kingdom of the Lombards, and root out Arianism, was the return of Bertaridus, whom GOD, by his particular providence, restored again to his kingdom, in order to put religion into a flourishing condition. (*k*) This prince, who had retired into

(*b*) Paul. Var. l. 4. c. 47.

(*i*) Id. l. 5. c. 53.

(*k*) Paul. Var. l. 5. c. 33.

France for refuge, after having made his escape out of the hands of Grimoaldus, was embarked on board of a ship in order to sail for England, because Grimoaldus had just made an alliance with the French; when of a sudden, as he was not as yet very distant from the shoar, there was the voice of some person heard who enquired whether king Bertaridus was on board, answer being made that he was there: *Give him notice*, replied the voice, *that king Grimoaldus has been dead three days*. Hereupon Bertaridus put immediately back into the port, and made a diligent enquiry after the person who had given this information; but as no such person could be heard of on shoar; Bertaridus did not in the least doubt but this notice was come from Heaven, and so resolved to obey the command of God who undoubtedly called him back into Italy. And indeed it plainly appeared that he was not deceived in his notion: For as soon as he had reached the passage of the Alps, he met a body of noble Lombards, who, hearing that he was on the road, were come to attend him with a royal equipage; and thus he was conducted into Pavia where he was again proclaimed king, and restored to the throne of his father Aribertus, after having deposed Garibaldus, a young child, who was the son of Grimoaldus by the sister of Bertaridus, whom the deceased king had married.

Bertaridus being in this manner restored to his kingdom, soon became master of the affection of all the Lombards; (l) for indeed he was a most accomplished prince, and consequently intitled to the love of his people. He was finely shaped, and had a beautiful complexion, with a stately mien; his proportions were regular; but above all things, he was good-natured, affable, polite and obliging, and made it his chief study to be beneficent to all in general; tho' indeed what gave still a greater lustre to his accomplishments was, the extraordinary zeal which he bore to the Catholick faith, (m) and his incomparable piety, besides his charity and liberality which were so great, that he exhausted the best part of his treasures for the maintenance of the poor, What completed his happiness was, that he had a wife who resembled him in all his perfections; this was queen Rodelinda, whom Grimoaldus

(l) Paul. Varn. l. 5. c. 36.

(m) Id. c. 33.

A. D. had banished to Benevento with the young prince Cunibertus, his son: (*n*) So that being returned to court she seriously apply'd her self to restore the faith to that great and glorious state it was in during the reign of queen Theodelinda. She caused a magnificent church to be built in the burial-ground of the Lombards, which lay without the walls of Pavia; and had it consecrated to the blessed virgin Mary, in order to inspire the people with devotion towards that virgin, whose attribute it is to bruise the head of the serpent, and destroy all heresies. The king also caused another church to be built near the walls of the town in the very place whence he had made his escape when he was persecuted by Grimoaldus, with a noble monastery of virgins consecrated to St. Agatha, and situated near the river Tesinus. In short, they both united their utmost endeavours to destroy Arianism, and restore the true faith throughout their whole dominions; and God giving a blessing to their labour, he so ordered it that they enjoyed a long and happy peace, during which they made so great a progress in their noble design, that from this time the Arians not only lost all their power in that kingdom, but we do not even hear that there were any of them left to practise the exercise of their heresy. (*o*) For their son king Cunibertus inherited their virtues, and after having maintained the religion during his life-time, he desired to be buried near his Father, in the church which his great grandfather Aribertus had consecrated to JESUS CHRIST, the Redeemer of the world. He left behind him one only son, who was then but a child, and had committed him to the guardianship of his faithful friend Ansbrandus who was a nobleman of great wisdom and a good Catholick: But this young prince about eight months after was deposed by Ragombertus duke of Turin, and cousin-german to the late king Cunibertus. This prince was also a Catholick, tho' usurper. (*p*) He reigned only one year: And his son Aribertus, who succeeded him, paid so great a devotion to the holy see, (*q*) that he made over the Cottian Alps to the bishop of Rome, as a free and

703.

(*n*) Id. c. 34. (*o*) Paul. Varn. l. 6. c. 17. (*p*) Id. c. 18. (*q*) Id. l. 6. c. 28. Tarantesa Suza. with Genoa and the River Ponante.

absolute gift for ever, and sent the deeds thereof written in golden letters to John the Sixth, then bishop.

A. D.
703.

Luitprandus, the son of the loyal Ansbrandus, who died three months after, having expelled Aribertus, was proclaimed king of the Lombards, the latter being drown'd in the Tesinus as he was endeavouring to make his escape. (r) We cannot in the least doubt, but that this Prince, who was extreamly pious and charitable towards the poor, was also a real Catholick; for it was he that redeemed the body of St. Augustin from the Saracens, who had invaded Sardinia, where it had been transported by the bishops who were banished thither during the persecution of the Vandals. He received it at Pavia in a most magnificent manner, and paid all the honours to it that were due to that great doctor, who, whilst he was living, confuted the Arians as well as the other Hereticks, which, in his time, caused such great disorders in the church. Besides, this prince confirmed the donation of the Cottian Alps which his predecessor had made to the holy see, and was so influenced by the prayers of Gregory the second, bishop of Rome, that, notwithstanding the army that he had brought with him to the very gates of that city, (s) which was ready to be delivered up to him, he nevertheless flung himself at the bishop's feet, and offered up his arms, with a silver cross and a crown of gold, to the shrine of St. Peter. His nephew Hildebrandus, who succeeded him, was only reproachable in one thing, which was, that he obliged the Lombards, by his too great severity, to dispossess him in about seven months after his accession to the throne; and Rachis, duke of Triuli, whom they proclaimed in his room, was so piously disposed, that, being overcome by the exhortations of Zachariah bishop of Rome, he abdicated his kingdom, (t) and became a monk in the monastery of mount-Cassinus: And tho' his brother Astolphus, who reigned in his place, and Didierus successor to the latter, who was the last king of the Lombards, had often made war against the bishops of Rome on account of temporal interests, nevertheless these Princes were all professors of the Catholick faith, as well as Luitprandus, who besieged Rome,

712.

729.

744.

(r) Paul. Varn. l. 6. c. 35.
Zach. Leo-Ost Chr. Coss.

(s) Anast in Greg. II.

(t) Anast. in

A. D. and whose soldiers plundered the Basilica of St. Peter, which in
756. those days was situated on the out-side of the walls, and had been
 spared by the Arian Goths, and it may probably be, that God
 punished them for these wrongful invasions on the territories of
 the church, by transmitting the Empire of the Lombards to Charle-
774. magne, to whom the holy See was indebted for the best part of the
 dominions that belong to it to this day. For he confirmed the
 donation of the Exarcatus of Ravenna, which his father king Pepin
 had granted to the Roman church (after having defeated Astolphus,
 and which the Lombards had lately taken by conquest from the
 Greeks) as also the Province of Pantapola, which comprehended
 Ancona, with four other cities of la Marca: to which he added
 the Province of Sabina, and the dutchies of Spoleto and Bene-
 vento. I thought fit to give my reader this small abridgment of
 the remaining part of the history of the Lombards, in order to
 convince the world, that there happened no relapse of Arianism
 during the reign of their twelve last kings, which continued for
 the space of about one hundred and fourteen years, and that after-
 wards this abominable heresy was utterly rooted out of Italy.

Thus Arianism, which arose in Egypt about the year three hun-
 dred and twenty, after having spread it self throughout the East,
 and the greatest part of the West amongst the Visigoths, Vandals,
 Suevi, Ostrogoths, Bourgignons, and Lombards, whilst these na-
 tions were possessed of the major part of Gaul, Spain, Africa, Italy,
 the Islands, and Pannonia; this heresy, I say, was totally extinct
 towards the year six hundred and sixty, having reigned chiefly
 by the influence of these Barbarian nations for about the space of
 three hundred and forty years. For since that time we do not find
 that any people or society have professed Arianism, till after an in-
 terval of near nine hundred years; it was again revived in the
1530. last century, but by one of the new Arians, or those who are known
 by the names of Antitrinitarians, who at last were confounded
 amongst the Deists and Socinians of our times. And this is what I
 propose now to make appear, in order to render my history compleat.

When Luther at the beginning of the last century had drawn up
 the scheme of his heresy from the interpretation of the scriptures
 according to his own sense, despising the authority of the Fathers
 and

and councils, as also the authority of the church from which he departed, several of his disciples, believing that they might assume the same liberty which their master had done before them, formed that vast number of sects which were all different from his, and were the cause in his time of a general division throughout Germany concerning the articles of faith which he had struck at. And as people may attempt any thing, according to this principle, which allows every one the liberty of interpreting the scriptures just as he shall think fit, and of rejecting, as Apochryphal, whatever does not seem agreeable to him, so there started up one man amongst the rest, who, being more bold and undertaking than all the others, and following the steps that were set before him, attempted even to undermine the very foundations of the Christian religion, by reviving the blasphemies of Arius, against the adorable mystery of the Trinity. (u) This new inventor of heresies was one Michael Servetus, a Spaniard of Taragona in Catalonia, a man who wanted neither wit nor ability, but was so extravagantly presumptuous, that tho' he had not as yet attained the years of twenty five, he thought himself the oracle of the world, and the only prophet that merited the peoples attention. Being arrived at Paris, in order to study Physick, he soon gave ear to the poisonous notions of the Lutheran heresy, which some German doctors who had found means to creep into the university amongst those learned men that were invited thither by Francis the first, were beginning to spread abroad. He nevertheless did not strenuously adhere to this sect, for as he thought himself a man of too great a capacity to be the follower of another person's opinion, and that he was absolutely resolved to be himself the head of a party, he set out in order to make a progress in the world. He travelled thus through France and Germany, and even passed over into Africa, on purpose to acquire a perfect knowledge of the Alcoran. After which he forced a scheme of religion which was composed out of the errors of all the sects which at that time made the greatest noise in the world. For he rejected, as Luther had done, whatever that Heretick had condemned in the church. He would not allow the baptism of infants, no more than the Anabaptists. He main-

A. D.
1530.

(u) Hof. l. 1. de Hæres. Lindan. Dubitant. Dial. 2. Prateol. Elench. hæres.

A. D. 1530. tained with the Sacramentarians, that the Eucharist was but a meer figure, and carrying his impiety still farther than any one had done before him, he was so daring as to say, with the Mahometans, that the Godhead was vested in one only person, and that **JESUS CHRIST** consequently was not **GOD**. Nay, he even outdid Arius in blasphemy; for he said, that **GOD** the Father ought alone to be worshipped; that the Son of **GOD** was not a person, no more than the Holy Ghost, who was only an emanation of the Essence of **GOD** which began to take its being at the creation of the world; and that the Trinity, whom the Catholics worshipped, was a three-headed Cerberus, composed of three imaginary deities. These were the horrible blasphemies, which this impious man was so bold as to publish throughout Germany in his abominable books, which bore the title of the errors of the Trinity, and which he caused to be printed at the same time that the confession of Augsbourg was drawing up in the year one thousand five hundred and thirty, that is to say, eight hundred and seventy years after Arianism was so utterly rooted out, that it did not make the least appearance in any part of the world.

This wicked man spent above twenty years in running over the Provinces of Europe, (x) especially those of Germany and Poland, propagating, in all places where he passed, his detestable doctrine, which he always pretended to maintain by the passages of the scripture only. And as there were great disorders occasioned at that time on account of religion, and that all those, who had separated themselves from the church, would admit of no other judge but the scripture, which every one interpreted according to his own meaning, he readily found people that followed his opinion, and exclaimed, as he did, openly against the mystery of the blessed Trinity, acknowledging the Father only to be **GOD**. For about this time Campanus, a disciple of Luther's, maintained publicly the very same blasphemies at Wittemberg. He would have preached up the like doctrine in the dutchy of Cleves, which was his native country, but he was taken up and confined to a prison, from whence he never was released, because he still continued obstinate in his errors, (y) tho' at the same time pretending to be a

(x) Hof. l. 1. de hæres Mansfel. Prateol. ibid. Io. Vigand. lib. de Deo contra novo Arian.
(y) Lindan. Dial. 2. Prateol. V. Camp. Confess.

Prophet, he often used to affirm, that he should be set at liberty at a particular time which he had set for that purpose, but he always was deceived. Suenfeldius, a Lutheran, and Matthias Illyricus, who was condemned as an Arian, by the university of Wittenberg, declared themselves for the same opinion; and some time after, Gregory of Paul, minister of Cracovia, and head of the Deists, asserted publicly, that the person of the Father only was God, and that tho' the Son and Holy Ghost were of God, yet nevertheless they were not God. He even assumed so much impudence, as to expose to publick view large pieces of paintings, wherein was seen a Temple representing the church of Rome, whereof Luther was demolishing the roof; Calvin was pulling down the walls, and he himself was undermining the foundation, by striking, as he did, at the mystery of the Trinity, which he was endeavouring to destroy. These were the first fruits of the impieties of Servetus in Germany and Poland, and as he was very desirous to spread his infection in France, he had the assurance to go to Geneva, tho' Calvin, (z) who was then accused of favouring the Arianism, had wrote against him. But he was no sooner arrived there, but Calvin, who was resolved to justify himself at the expence of Servetus, caused him to be taken up by the magistrates. He had even a long conference with him, wherein, as Servetus would allow no other judge but the scripture, rejecting the authority of the Fathers and councils for the interpretation thereof, Calvin himself was in some manner puzzled, for these are his very arguments against us: and moreover, when he wrote upon the tenth chapter of St. John, he saith, that the Fathers were mistaken in their explanation of this passage, *I and my Father are one*, which only signifies, according to his sense, the perfect consent of the Will, and not the unity of Essence. (a) But at last, as they found that this Arian (whatever he said in his defence against Calvin) still continued obstinate in his impious propositions, which were reduced to the number of thirty eight, (b) after having communicated them to the states of Bern, Zurich, Basle, and Schaffousen, and taken their advice in the matter, he was condemn-

A. D.
1530.

1553.

(z) Calv. Epist. 52. & seq. Hof. l. 1. de hæres.
(b) Spond. ad an. 1553.

(a) Lindan. dubit. Dial. 2.

A. D. 1553. ed to be burned alive: Which was accordingly executed on the twenty seventh of october in the year one thousand five hundred fifty three. Tho' at the same he most earnestly prayed that they would shew him mercy, (c) or at least that they would be contented to cut off his head. The protestants found this proceeding of Calvin's somewhat too severe, because it seemed to authorise that cruelty which they themselves complained of, and which was exercised against them in France and in England, where at the same time those who preached up for their opinions, or maintained them obstinately, were equally burned alive. But he cleared himself openly by a writing which he published upon this subject; and wherein, after having given a particular account to the publick of all that passed in that affair, with relation to Servetus, he shews that it is in the power of magistrates to punish Hereticks with death: Which Philip Melanchton found to be so plainly proved, (d) that he wrote a letter to him in order to acquaint him, that he was not of the number of those who blamed him; that, on the contrary, he intirely approved so reasonable an opinion.

But the mischiefs which Servetus occasioned by his detestable books, were too great to be retrieved by his punishment. For he had made a great number of disciples and followers of his doctrine, who, before and after his death, promoted horrible confusions throughout many kingdoms, but particularly in Hungary, Poland, and Transilvania, as I shall presently inform you. Georgius Blandrata, a native of Piemont, and doctor of physick, as had been Servetus, having escaped from the Inquisitions at Pavia, he retired to Geneva, where, after he had thoroughly enquired into the doctrine of Calvin, he thought that, according to the same principle (of the scriptures being interpreted without the authority of the church) he might proceed forwards, and adhere to the opinion of Servetus, whose books he had studied with application. He therefore travelled through Suifferland, Germany and Poland, where he conferred with Gregory of Paul, and from thence passed into Transilvania, with Paul Alciatus, a Milaneze, and also an Arian, who afterwards turned Mahometan. He thought he might perform great matters in a country, where the young king John Sigismund,

(c) Lind. *ibid.* Prateol.

(d) Apud. Calv. in Epist.

who had been just restored by the grand seignior Soliman, suffered both Lutherans and Calvinists, whom the monk George, during his administration, never would tolerate. And accordingly he found means to be introduced at court by favour of his profession, and at last became physician to the king, and to Petrovitz, his prime minister, or, as I may more properly say, his governor, who was already a Lutheran in his heart. This nobleman was he that first suffered himself to be seduced by the deluding arguments of Blandrata, who infused into him the poisonous principles of Arianism. It was not very difficult for him after this to spread his opinion amongst the courtiers; and even to influence the mind of the young Prince, who took delight in hearing his physician, when he assumed the character of a Divine, and talked philosophically of the Trinity, which he treated as a chimera. King Sigismund nevertheless did not dare to declare himself openly, because his mother, queen Isabell, who was a pious and Catholick Princess, was yet living; as also because Soliman his protector had wrote a letter to the queen, whereby he desired that she would not suffer any new sects to come into the kingdom, fearing they should disturb the peace of it, by causing a division in the minds of the people, upon so nice a point of religion.

A.D.
1553.

1555.

And indeed, as the will of Soliman alone was a law, against which the Princes his vassals or tributaries, would not venture to transgress, the Lutheran and Calvinist preachers, as well as the new Arians or Antitrinitarians, who were beginning to form a considerable party in Transilvania, were all banished out of the country. But the queen dying soon after, and Selim, (who was no wise solicitous concerning the affairs of religion) having succeeded his father Soliman, who died of a fit of the Apoplexy at the siege of Zigeta, the Lutherans and Calvinists, with the Arians, returned back into Transilvania, and being protected by Petrovitz, they assumed greater liberties than ever. About this time it was that Blandrata (after having deluded into his opinion the minister Francis David, who from a protestant was become an Arian,) corrupted the greatest part of the court by the ministry of this impious man. The chief members of the council made an open profession of Arianism, following the example of Petrovitz, who all this while was exercising violent prosecutions against the Catholicks,

A. D. 1566. Catholicks, because the king had declared himself a Protestant immediately after the decease of the queen his mother. Lastly, as this wretched prince was intirely governed by his physician, who had already poisoned him with his pernicious doctrine, he contrived it so, that, forsaking the Lutherans and Calvinists, as he had done the Catholicks, he declared himself openly for Arianism, on occasion of a sermon preached by Francis David, wherein he publickly proclaimed that execrable heresy, in opposition to the adorable mystery of the trinity.

The Calvinists and Lutherans, being thunderstruck at this progress of the Arians, used their utmost endeavours to oppose it: But Blandrata took hold of this very opportunity, to render his party still more powerful. For he persuaded them to meet in a publick conference, which should be held in the presence of the king, who was to be the judge of it, in order that he might plainly see (as Blandrata gave out) which of the two parties had truth on their side. The Protestants could not with honour refuse this challenge, because they themselves were generally the most forward in promoting those kind of disputes in the presence of Princes and magistrates. Therefore they found themselves under the necessity of agreeing to it; (e) and the conference was publickly held at Varadin, in the presence of the king, and of the whole court, between Blandrata and Francis David on the one part, and Peter Melvius and Peter Caroli, both Calvinists, on the other part, being attended by a small number of Lutherans, who maintained the same cause. At the first opening of this conference, David, as it was the custom amongst the Protestants, immediately protested that he required no other judge of their dispute but the word of GOD in all its purity, without any mixture of those things which are added to it by the invention of men; and hereupon he proposed all the passages which the primitive Arians had made use of in order to refute the divinity of JESUS CHRIST, and these he strengthened with many other passages which he produced out of the old and new testament: For no man had a finer manner of delivering the scriptures, which, as we have been informed, he knew by heart, almost from the beginning to the end. Here

(e) Rescius de Convent hæret.

the Calvinists were necessarily obliged, in answer to these passages of Francis David, to have recourse to the explanation which the fathers and councils had given of them, (without which they could never have declared their true sense) which was delivered to us by those oracles of the church, and every one would have interpreted the scriptures according to his own fancy, so that neither the one side nor the other could have shewed any authority to persuade each other into a belief. The case being thus, this minister was resolved to take advantage of their answers, and confound them by their own arguments, and therefore addressed them in the following manner: How came it, Gentlemen, said he, that you disapprove the Roman Catholicks, when, in order to maintain the interpretation they give to those passages which you oppose to them, they produce the authority of the fathers, and the decisions of the councils, which are made by men who are liable to mistakes? And now you yourselves employ against us those very weapons which you so much despise, when the Romans make use of them against you. I advise you to give up this human authority which you vainly oppose to passages that are so undeniably plain; or, if you are resolved to adhere to that authority, in order to use means to corrupt them; I would have you turn Romans, since their opinion, which you seem to reject as we do, is only supported by the authority of the Fathers and Councils.

As this reply seemed very plausible against people, who at all times used the same arguments after an insulting manner against the Catholicks; and as the passages which were produced against them appeared more reasonable than those which they make use of to oppose us, it was received with great applause by the prince, and by the major part of the assembly, who implicitly followed his opinion: So that the Protestants, who were extremely puzzled, not being able to object any thing, but what was immediately refuted against them, were at last under the necessity of taking party with the Arians, or of dissembling, till such time as they could meet with a more favourable opportunity. Therefore it was plainly seen on this occasion (as it ever will undoubtedly be to the end of the world) that a Heretick, who will not receive the authority of the church for the explanation of the true word of God; never can be able to convince another.

A. D. This victory which the Arians gained over the Protestants, was
1566. the cause of their triumphing throughout all Transilvania. They immediately published the proceedings of the conference, wherein they had acquired such great advantages over the Protestants. (*f*) They wrote two books against the mystery of the Trinity, which they caused to be printed and dispersed over all Transilvania, Poland, and Hungary. They found means to send the most qualified of their youth to the universities of Padoua and Venice, with directions to converse with the Jews, in order to learn of that perfidious nation, how to blaspheme against the son of God. (*g*) But of all things they made it their chief business to procure a translation of the Bible which they falsified in three different languages; first in Greek, (having employed for this purpose Jacobus Paleologus, a Calvinist who turned Arian) then in Hebrew, for which they sent into Poland for a certain man whose name was Matthias, and had the reputation of being very learned in that tongue; he also openly declared himself a professor of Arianism: And lastly, in the vulgar tongue, by a translation which they made of it in the Hungarian language, in order that the Bible, falling into the hands of the people who are always highly delighted with any novelty, it might insensibly insfil into them the poison of their heresy, by means of the very passages which they had corrupted. And indeed it has been observed in all times, that the most dangerous artifice of the Hereticks, was always to put the scriptures of their own translating into the hands of the common people, in order that, after having taken from the text what they did not like, and added what was agreeable to them, under the pretence of giving it a finer turn, according to the genius of the language, they might readily find therein wherewithal to maintain their errors. And for this reason it was absolutely necessary, in order to convict these new Arians, that the corruptions which they had introduced into their version should be discovered. So when prince Stephen Battori, who succeeded John Sigismond, called the Jesuits into Transilvania, in order to confute this heresy; these Fathers applied themselves chiefly to the translation of a new version, which undeceived the

(*k*) Spond. ad ann. 1566. n. 30.

Item. Flor. de Rem. l. 2. c. 15.

world, by discovering all the falsities that were contained in the translations of those Hereticks.

A. D.
1566.

But whilst Blandrata was thus by his own means promoting such confusions in Transylvania, he was also causing great disorders in Poland by the means of his emissaries, whom he sent thither under the directions of Valentinus Gentilis, the most intimate of his correspondents. This man, who was born in Calabria, had embraced the doctrine of Servetus, which he explained in different terms, saying, that no other, but the Father only, had the Essence of the true God, and that he was the *Effentiator*, and that the Son was *effentiated*, having received of the Father an Essence different from his: (b) so that he denied, as it is the maxim with all the Arians, that there were three persons of the same Essence; and inventing horrible blasphemies against the Trinity, in imitation of his predecessor Servetus, he called it the new idol, the tower of Babel, the sophisticated deity; and the three phantastical persons in one only God, who was a fourth God unknown, as this impious man expressed himself, who acknowledged three persons as three eternal spirits; but he would have it that the two others were inferior to the first who had given them two divinities different from his own, and from hence it comes that this man was the head of the Tritheists who overran Poland. For having made his escape from Geneva, (where he was upon his parole) after that Calvin, who had caused him to be arrested, had obliged him to a recantation, he came over into Poland, where Blandrata had invited him, and whither the new Arians repaired from all parts, as soon as Sigismund Augustus, through too much lenity and indulgence, had admitted the Lutherans and Calvinists into Poland, from whence king Sigismund had always banished them. Lelilo Socini of Sien, and Matthew Gribaldus, a lawyer of Tubinges, came thither also to meet Gentilis: Peter Stator, Lucas Sternbergius, Lismaninus, Gomefius, and Volanus, and amongst a thousand more of the like stamp, the wretched Bernardin Okin, repaired likewise to Poland, in order to declare themselves open enemies to

(b) Bened. Aretius in Hist. Valent. Lindan. Dial. 2. Prateol. Canis. Proem. de nov. Corrup.

A.D. the divinity of *JESUS CHRIST*, which they could not attempt
1561. to do elsewhere. (*i*)

The reputation of the holy and most famous order of Capucius, is too well established throughout the world, to receive any prejudice from the deplorable fall of that wretched apostate Okin, who was not their founder, as some authors have given it out since Beza, (*k*) but was one of the first and most considerable persons of that blessed reform, wherein he only entered about nine years after it was instituted by Matthew Basci, the founder of it. The applause, which the sermons of Okin, and the extraordinary austerity of his life, had acquired him throughout Italy, had swelled him with pride, and being, as the Apostle expresses it, vainly puffed up with his own thoughts, he lost both his faith and reason. For John Valdes, a Spaniard, who was come from Germany, and was then at Naples, having informed him of this new doctrine of Luther, Okin attempted to spread it throughout several towns in his sermons. And being summoned to appear at Rome upon this account, he was persuaded by Peter Vermilli (called the martyr) his intimate friend, and who was also accused of heresy, to take such measures as would be the safest for them, which was to retire to Geneva, from whence these two apostates, the one a Capuchin, and the other a regular canon of the order of St. Augustin, having, according to the rules of this new reformation, taken each of them a wife, they at last went over into England, after having for a long time travelled throughout Switzerland and Germany. But as queen Mary would not suffer them to live in England, Okin, forsaking his friend Martyr, went over into Poland, in order that he might be at liberty to profess Arianism, which daily increased in that kingdom. Here he composed his dialogues, which were full of abominable blasphemies against *JESUS CHRIST* and the Holy Ghost. (*l*) But having the impudence to preach up Poligamy, and to dedicate a book to king Sigismund Augustus, wherein he pretended to prove the lawfulness of it, he was forced to leave Poland, where the people were beginning to rise up against him. And after having wandered some time longer in Transilvania, he at last retired miserably poor to a little

(*i*) *Annal. Capuc.*(*k*) Beza in *Icon.*(*l*) *Rescius Flor. de Rem.* l. 3. c. 5.
village

village of Moravia, where he died of the Plague, abandoned by all the world. Some writers nevertheless have said, (m) that GOD in this extremity shewed him mercy, and that after having lived so long a professed apostate, he died a true penitent. (n) But the knowledge hereof is reserved to GOD alone who doth justice, and sheweth mercy as he thinketh proper.

A. D.

1553.

1566.

Now the party of the Tritheists became so powerful in Poland, that it grew much superior to that of the Protestants, whether Lutherans, or Calvinists; several amongst the nobility, and even of the Palatines, professed that doctrine openly, which spread it self throughout Lithuania, Russia, Podolia, and Volinia. It also powerfully increased in Moravia and Silesia, which lay near Poland, and as those who came thither to preach up their doctrine, spoke of GOD after the manner that was most agreeable to them, without following any other rule but their private notions, this detestable heresy multiplied, and divided it self into so many different sects, that they were reckoned to be in number thirty two, which nevertheless agreed together in denying the divinity of JESUS CHRIST; (o) and some of them were even so bold as to say, that he was but a man, tho' more excellent than all other men, which soon after occasioned the birth of Socinianism. The Protestants, and chiefly the Calvinists, who were just beginning to establish themselves in that kingdom, growing insolent under the toleration of Sigismond, could not bear to see that the Tritheists had so much the upper hand of them: but they met almost with the same fate which befel those of Transilvania. For both parties having challenged each other to a dispute, during the diet of Petricovia, those amongst the Palatines who favoured them equally, prevailed with the king, that the chief doctors of both parties should hold a conference in an open and general assembly of the whole nation. (p) The great cardinal Hosius, bishop of Varmia, used his utmost endeavours to dissuade the king from so strange a resolution, in order to hinder the divinity of JESUS CHRIST from being brought in question in so solemn an assembly. But finding that the affair was agreed on, and that he endeavoured in vain to oppose so scanda-

(m) Grati. vit. Card. Commend. (n) Annal. Capuc. (o) Rescius de Sect. Evang. Staphil. Prateol. (p) Resc. de convent. Hæret. Flor. de Rem. l. 4. cap. 12.

A. D. 1566. Ious a proceeding, he chose rather to retire from the diet, than to be obliged to hear blasphemies uttered out against **JESUS CHRIST**. This conference was therefore held between the Calvinists and Tritheists, and accordingly there were presidents chosen on both sides, who were appointed to preside alternatively at the disputations. The High-Marshal, who was a Calvinist, and presided on the first day, made a short speech, whereby he exhorted the doctors to live in peace, and to find out some means of agreeing together upon those articles which were then to be debated; and at the conclusion of his discourse, he said, "Therefore, Gentlemen, let us begin in the name of **GOD**, and of the blessed Trinity." Hereupon one of the Tritheists replied in a haughty manner; "To what you have said, Sir, we shall not answer, Amen; for, in the first place, I declare to you, that we do not acknowledge any Trinity whom we can invoke, and that we expect no assistance from yours, but from the Father alone, whom we worship only as true **GOD**." Well, replied the Marshal, "Let us begin the conference upon that article, since it has now introduced it self." Then Gregory of Paul, and Gentilis, proposed all the passages of the former Arians; and as Andrew Radonien, and the minister Silvius, who were of the party of the Calvinists, appealed (as we do) to the ancient Fathers and the Nicene council, in order to produce the true explanation of them; but the Arians made a jest of them, and refuted them by the very same arguments which the Protestants daily use against us upon the other articles. For the Arians openly declared to them (as the Protestants constantly do to us) "That they required nothing but the word of **GOD** in its purity, which made it self manifest enough by its own light; that they would not admit of any thing but what was contained therein: and that it never expressed in precise terms, that either the Son was consubstantial to the Father, or that there were three distinct persons in one and the same Essence: That the Fathers were mistaken: That the Nicene council was but an assembly of men, and even such men as were either bribed or compelled by Constantine, and that one council being as good as another, they chose rather to follow the decisions of the councils of **Sirmium** and **Rimini**, who, by the authority of the Emperor **Constantius**, had received the doctrine of **Arius**." In short, whatever

ever the Protestants argue daily against us, was then made use of by the Arians against them, and their objections were directly the same with those which the Protestants make to us in our controversies with them. This appeared chiefly by the beginning of the gospel of St. John, which the Arians explained in a figurative sense, as they understood it, as also by some other passages, which, as they pretended, were agreeable to their Explanation, but would never receive the interpretation of the Fathers; and thus they continued several days disputing to no purpose, upon that only passage, because they had no certain rule to direct them, till at last the Protestants one day, after having disputed a long while, (q) began openly to sing the Hymn of the glorification, "Glory be unto God the Father, and to his only Son, together with the Holy Ghost the comforter for evermore." And hereupon the Arian ministers and noblemen rose up in a passion, and broke up the assembly, protesting solemnly that they could not bear to see so great an injury offered to God.

A. D.
1566

Thus ended this great conference without producing any other fruits, unless it be, that it caused a division between the Lutheran and Calvinist Protestants, who upbraided each other for having given room by their doctrine to this abominable heresy. The Calvinists said, that Blandrata himself had owned, in a dispute which he had with the Lutherans at Alba Julia, (r) that Luther was the first who had opened his eyes to the knowledge of the faith. And indeed we find in his writings, that he could not admit of the word *consubstantial*, without great reluctance, and that also the word *Trinity* was no wise agreeable to him; which undoubtedly gave occasion to Herferus, Campanus, Suensfeldius and Illyricus, the head of the centuriators, all of them professed Lutherans, to strike, as they did, at the mystery of the most blessed trinity. But the Lutherans complained still more of the Calvinists, and they openly called them Arians, (s) nay, even Sabellians. For they said that Calvin began to attack that great mystery of the Trinity, when he was so bold as to say, "that the holy Fathers had not well proved the consubstantiality of the Word, by these

(q) Deo Patri sit Gloria, &c. (r) Weiffenburg. Lut. contra Latomum. Lindan. Dial. 2. Prateol. in Trinitar. (s) Stancar. cont. Gent. Selusembur 1. 2. art. 3. words

A. D. 1566. “ Words of **JESUS CHRIST**, (t) in St. John, chap. 10. I and my Father are one; that this expression of the Nicene creed, **GOD of GOD**; seemed harsh to him; that the words which followed “ were but a simple and childish repetition; that the words person and substance, ought to be abolished, (u) and also when he said, “ that he had neither approved nor disapproved the creed of St. “ Athanasius till such time as he had tryed it by the scriptures, “ and that nevertheless he could not resolve to approve of this “ prayer, Blessed trinity one only **GOD**, have mercy on us. And here they said again, that the most inveterate Arians, as Blandra, Paulus, Alciatus, David, Gentilis, Gribaldus, and a thousand others, had been Calvinists, and that they confessed they “ had found in the doctrine of their master the very principles “ which they then maintained, either by confounding the persons “ in **GOD**, as Sabellius; or by separating them, by the difference “ of essence and nature, as had been done by Arius and Macedonius.

To these examples they might also have added that of the famous Andrew Dutitius, bishop of the five churches in Hungary, (x) and one of the most learned men of his days. For falling passionately in love with a beautiful Polish lady at the court of king Sigismund Augustus, where he was sent Ambassador from the Emperor Maximilian, he soon after used his utmost endeavours at the council of Trent to persuade the Fathers, that it would be very expedient to exempt the cloisters from celibacy, or at least that bishops might be allowed to marry. But finding that so brutish a proposal was immediately rejected with horror, he was so prepossessed with his foolish passion, that, in order to marry that lady, he turned Calvinist: and seeing afterwards, (as he wrote it to his intimate friend Beza) that if there be not a certain authority which binds the minds of men in one only opinion, a man may attempt any thing, he at last declared himself openly a Deist, saying, that it was sufficient to believe that there was a **GOD**, and to observe the law of nature as an honest man. In this manner

(t) Calvin, in c. 10. Joan. & in scrip. cont. Valent. Gent. Carls. de Corrupt. Instit. lib. 1. cap. 13. (u) Vide Canis. Præf. de Corrupt. Lincan. Præcol. Rem. l. 2. cap. 15. (x) Istvanf. de Reb. Hung. l. 25. Flor. lib. 4. cap. 12.

the Protestants upbraided each other. But in order to reconcile them, it may assuredly be said that those who were the revivers of Arianism, after an interval of near nine hundred years, were all before that, either Lutherans or Calvinists. A. D. 1566.

Nevertheless there were several other conferences held between the Protestants and the Arians at Sandomira, Lublin, Alba-Julia, and in many other cities of Poland and Transilvania, but with no better success, because the Arians attacked the Protestants with their own weapons. What proved advantageous to Religion in the conference which was held at Petricovia, was, that Sigismond, being awaked out of his deep lethargy, by the strong remonstrances of the bishops, and particularly of Hofius, as also being in himself a good Catholick, and having an extream abhorrence to the blasphemies of the Tritheists, he published an edict whereby he banished out of his dominions all the foreigners who had introduced so detestable a doctrine. (y) Gentilis, before he left the country, had so much assurance as to present him with a Book, wherein he expounded the articles of his impious opinion, which he protested to be the gospel in its purity, and wherein, (out of a wicked jest, which he had learned of Gregory of Paul) speaking of St. Athanasius's creed, he called it *Symbolum Satanasi*. But if these impious wretches were spared by the indulgence of mankind, they were severely punished by divine justice. As Gentilis and Lelius Socinus were travelling through Germany, and Suifferland, in their way to Italy, and preaching their Doctrine where-ever they passed, Socinus died at Basil, and Gentilis was arrested by the people of Bern, who caused him to be executed; and even to his death he would not make a recantation of his Blasphemies; on the contrary, as he was going to the place of execution, he boasted that he was the first that died for the glory of the Father, the only true God; "all the apostles, said he, "and all the martyrs having shed their blood but for the glory "of JESUS CHRIST, the son of God only by adoption. Blaudrata, who had perverted prince John Sigismond, (z) that unfortunately died an Arian in his arms, became possessed with fury, and was some years after murdered by one of his Nephews, who

(y) Bened. Arctius in Hist. Gent. (z) Rescius. de Atheism, Evangel.

- A. D.** made his escape with all his money. Francis David, being accused
 1571. of conspiring in a plot against the state, was confined to a prison where he died with blasphemies in his mouth, crying out most dreadfully, that he saw himself surrounded with Demons, who were going to carry him away: and James Paleologus, that famous apostle of the order of St. Dominick, and who, at the request of those impious men, had made a false translation of the bible, was taken in Moravia, whither he had fled for refuge, and conducted to Rome, where, for fear of death, he made a publick abjuration of Arianism; but having relapsed some time after into his former heresy, he was burned alive, and died hardened in his impiety, on the same day that the Ambassadors from Japan were making their entry at Rome, where they were come in order to pay their homage, at the feet of the bishop of Rome, to the divinity of
 1585. JESUS CHRIST who was worshipped as true God in the utmost parts of the east, (a) whilst these wretched Christian apostates were using their endeavours to rob him of it.

- Thus the greatest part of these authors of the new Arianism, as
 1571. well as Arius himself, fell, even in this life, into the hands of divine justice, which nevertheless made use of that scourge to punish those northern people, which proved far more terrible to them, than either war, plague or famine. For, after the death of Sigismund Augustus, (who, being contented to be a Catholick himself, never had resolution enough to suppress those heresies, tho' indeed he would not publish any Edicts in their favour) all the Hereticks that were tolerated, especially the Lutherans, Calvinists, and Arians, solicited, during the interregnum, for a liberty to exercise their Religion, not only by toleration, but even by the authority of the laws. And as a great number of noble-men had unfortunately engaged themselves in those parties, and chiefly into that of the Arians, they prevailed in the Diet, and at last obtained an edict, which was there made, whereby it was made lawful for every body to follow the opinion he approved of best. (b) This edict was confirmed by the new king Henry of Valois, whom they obliged to take the following oath, viz. "That he
 " would maintain the peace between the different parties who

(a) 22. Mar. Flor. de Rem. l. 4. c. 12.

(b) Flor. l. 4. c. 12.

" were

“ were contending for religion. ” His successor was also obliged to take the same oath, which was likewise required of the other kings that came after, and by these means the Arians, by degrees, encreased prodigiously in that kingdom. A. D. 1572.

As for Transilvania, the same edict of toleration was also published there in the year one thousand five hundred sixty five, and was often confirmed since in the states, under prince John Sigismond, who professed Arianism. Stephen Bathorius, a prince who was truly zealous for his faith, having succeeded him by the choice of the people of Transilvania, called in the Jesuits, in order to oppose the Hereticks, whom he could not destroy openly, because of the oath which was required of the kings to maintain the edict of Liberty. After he was chosen king of Poland, prince Christopher, his brother, (c) whom he left Vaivod in Transilvania, gave them an establishment in Clausburg, Weissenburg, and Varadin, where they preached against Heresies, and chiefly Arianism, with great success; as it appeared by the conversion of a great number of those Hereticks. This brought upon the Jesuits the aversion of the ministers of that impious doctrine, who were resolved to be revenged of them. It was not difficult for them to execute their design; for as they were become formidable, and had acquired a great deal of power during the infancy of prince Sigismond Bathorius, they joined against them, with the Lutherans and Calvinists, by the sollicitations of Demetrius, the false bishop of the Arians, who gave it out in all places, that the Jesuits were going to restore the empire of the Pope, and idolatry amongst the people of Transilvania: So that being superior in number at a convocation of the states, which was held at Megia near Clausburg, a decree was passed by their management for the banishment of the Jesuits, in spite of all the endeavours that were used by the Prince and the Catholicks to prevent that act, which was directed contrary to the edict of Liberty, which the Protestants had required. It is true, that this young Prince, having discarded those who had conspired against him, and defeated the Turks who were come to uphold them, became absolute master of his dominions, and that afterwards having caused that unlawful edict to be

(c) *Claudiopolis Alba-ulia.*

A.D. annulled, he called in again the Jesuits, and restored the Catholics
1595. to their former privileges. But this happy turn in the affairs did not continue long, by reason of an accident which happened to this unfortunate Prince, who lost the use of his senses either by sickness, or by witchcraft, as it was generally believed in those days. For having yielded his dominions to the Emperor Rodolphus, he soon after repented what he had done, and made them over to cardinal Andrew Bathorius, his kinsman; but the Emperor sent immediately Michael Vaivoda of Walachia into Transilvania, with the famous George Basta, General of the imperial forces, who defeated the army of this cardinal-Prince; and having put him to flight, he ran into a wood, where being fatigued he fell a-sleep under a tree, and in the mean while, some shepherds finding him thus alone, he was most miserably murdered by them with his own cimeter.

1600. Prince Sigismond, who was retired into Poland (according to his natural inconstancy) resolved again to assume the government of his dominions, and was assisted in his undertaking by the troops of Moses Szekely of Transilvania, who was a great General, and a professed Arian; but the Vaivode and George Basta having
1602. defeated him in several engagements, he found himself at last obliged to solicit the Protection of the Emperor, to whom he yielded up Transilvania a second time, and retired to the territories, which were appointed for him in Bohemia, where he died of an apoplexy, about eleven years after. The Vaivode, in the
1603. mean while, having endeavoured to assume an arbitrary command in Transilvania, was killed by Gorge Basta, who took upon him the government; and Moses being backed by a powerful body of Turks and Tartars, entered the country, whereof he immediately took possession of the best part, then marched with his forces to Clausburg, which was surrendered up to him by the Arian magistrates, upon condition that he would give up the Jesuits to them, in order that they might treat them as they thought fit. Moses, who was also an Arian, readily granted them whatever they required upon that head. So that after this treaty was signed, being entered the city on the ninth of June, the Arians of Clausburg, (*d*) joined

by those of Moses, went in arms directly to the college and church of those Fathers, where they acted all the barbarities and impieties that could be thought on, both against JESUS CHRIST, and the defenders of his Divinity. For having entered the church in a most furious manner, they first attacked the image of the blessed virgin, which they profaned in a thousand abominable manners, pronouncing an infinite number of blasphemies against her, till at last they cut it into pieces with their hatchets and cimeters: and after having executed their rage in the like manner on the statues of the saints, which they pulled down to the ground, they at last laid their sacrilegious hands on the *Sancta Sanctorum*; and having taken the holy cup out of the tabernacle, where was deposited the sacrament, they most impiously trampled on the ground with their feet. Hereupon brother Emmanuel Nery, a young religious man of Piemont, who held the office of Sacristan, or vestry-keeper of the church, seeing with horror all these abominable Sacrileges, and the Outrages which these impious men offered to JESUS CHRIST, ran without any other arms but his zeal, in the midst of this furious troop, and endeavoured to appease their rage, by representing to them the greatness and enormity of the crime which they were committing. But his extraordinary zeal was instantly rewarded with the Crown of glorious martyrdom, which he suffered in some manner with JESUS CHRIST himself, whom the Arians treated so unworthily in his most blessed Humanity, whilst they were at the same time endeavouring to rob him of his Divinity by the blasphemies of their heresy. For these Barbarians, having immediately turned their arms and fury against this zealous Priest, after having loaded him with an infinite number of outrages, calling him an Idolater and Papist, to shew the hatred which they bore to the religion he professed, they struck him to the ground with a blow of an hatchet, and then shot him through the body with a musket, so left him dead on the body of his divine Master, which, in the Sacrament, they had before trampled under their feet. It may be said, that this Martyr was happy to have shed his blood for so glorious a cause, by defending the Divinity and most blessed Humanity of JESUS CHRIST, against his implacable Enemies, the Arians. For he, in some manner, died like Moses in the arms of JESUS CHRIST, who received him on his

A. D.
1603.

A. D. his Body, when he fell on the Sacrament by the blow he had received, which made his martyrdom the more compleat.

1603.

After these furious men had thus satisfied their rage in one respect, they ran up and down the house of these Fathers, and with sticks and swords fell on several of them; amongst others, they beat brother George Bartholick so unmercifully, that they broke two of his ribs; and with a sword wounded father Peter Majorius, then pulled the sick out of their beds, and left them lying on the ground, and expelled the rest, after having loaded them with blows and opprobrious language: Yet, not content with all this, they plundered and pulled down the Church and College from the top to the foundations, glorifying themselves in so barbarous a manner for having revenged the Glory of God, by exterminating those from their City who made it a place of idolatry. But this horrible impiety did not remain long unpunished. George Basta having defeated Moses in two engagements, and the latter, with most of the noblemen of Transilvania, having lost their lives in the second battle; this General, after his victory, laid siege to Clausburg, and took it in the month of September. He then caused the author of the treaty with Moses to be put to death, and having restored the Jesuits, he obliged the City to give them another house, and a Church in the room of that which the Arians had demolished. But as it came to pass soon after, that Transilvania fell under the dominion of the Calvinist Princes, who were protected by the Turks, if the Jesuits, who had been more than once banished, and restored again, were sufferers by it, the Arians reaped no advantage from this change; for though they are still tolerated in that country, nevertheless the Catholics and Protestants, both Calvinists and Lutherans, were restored to their liberty by virtue of the edicts, particularly, when they found that all the different sects of Arianism had, by degrees, confounded themselves with the most detestable sect of them all, which took its name from Faustus Socinus.

This man, who was nephew to Lelius Socinus of the city of Siena, the inseparable companion of Valentinus Gentilis, being prosecuted in Italy for the crimes of Apostasy and Heresy, ran away, as had done the other Apostates, and passed through Geneva and Germany, from whence he resolved to pass into Poland, in order

order to compleat the work which his Uncle had begun, For, after having acquired a perfect knowledge of the doctrine of the Trinitarians, and of these new Arians, which, at this time, puzzled them very much, and created so many different opinions amongst them, he thought, that, in order to reunite them, he might attempt something beyond what had been till then; and therefore, setting aside all restrictions, he made use of the liberty which was then allowed them to explain the scriptures, every one according to his own private meaning, and, in short, was so bold as to say very freely, what was much easier to be comprehended, viz. That JESUS CHRIST was but man, and that he only began to take his Being from the time that he was born of the virgin Mary; that therefore one only GOD should be worshipped without distinction of Persons, according to the opinion of the Deists; and that there would be no difficulty to explain what was the Word, how it proceeded from GOD from all eternity, and after what manner it became Man, which very much perplexed the Arians. Yet I cannot say that this wicked man was the author of that heresy, for he had a great many predecessors amongst the ancient hereticks, and even amongst the new Arians, who had taught the same doctrine. (e) Ebion and Cerinthus, in the time of the Apostles, were the first who dared to utter this blasphemy; and it was on their account that St. John wrote his Gospel, (f) who was the last of the Evangelists, in order to confute them, which he did in a most heavenly manner, by establishing so plainly the Divinity of the Word, which became Man for the love of us. Symmachus the Samaritan, (g) who wrote a version of the Scripture about the year 196, maintained the same error, which he endeavoured to prove by the gospel of St. Matthew, whereupon he made Comments for that purpose; for neither he nor his successors could ever approve the gospel of St. John. (h) This was also one of the heresies of Sabellius, who confounded the three persons in GOD, and who afterwards denied that JESUS CHRIST was the Son of GOD. (i) Paul of Samosatus, bishop of Antioch, was condemned in the year 274. by the council of that very City, because he said that

260.

(e) Iorn. lib. 3. adv. hæres. (f) Hieron. de Script. Eccl. (g) Epiph lib. de mens. & ponder. Niceph. l. 5. c. 12. (h) Hilar. l. 1. de Trin. (i) August. in Catal. Hæret.

A. D. the divine Person of **JESUS CHRIST** began only to take his Being from the time that he was conceived in the blessed womb of the holy virgin. Photinus also bishop of Sirmium, who maintained the same impiety, was convicted by Basil of Ancyra at the council of Sirmium, (*k*) and condemned, as it may be seen in that history, by the very Arians themselves, who confessed that the Word, tho' a creature according to their doctrine, was nevertheless from all eternity, and that it became man, by uniting itself with human nature in the blessed womb of a virgin. Amongst the great number of Tritheists, who were the revivers of Arianism in these latter times, many of them before Socinus had already fallen into an opinion of this detestable impiety. Lucas Sternbergius made a publick profession of it, Okin introduced it slyly in his writings, (*l*) Duditius was used to say, that people were at liberty to believe what they thought fit, concerning that article; and Simon Budneus, who published this doctrine throughout Lithuania, composed a bible on purpose, after his own manner, in order that the world might find therein the hundred and twenty passages, whereby he pretended to maintain that blasphemy.

Therefore this Faustus Socinus is neither the author, nor the reviver of what we call Socinianism; but that name was given to it because Socinus treated this impious subject after a more nice and plausible manner, than the others; which afterwards procured him a greater number of followers, chiefly amongst the nobility of Poland, where a great many of his disciples, became his protectors. For indeed he said nothing but what might be easily understood, without being obliged to make a sacrifice of a man's reason, in order to submit it to the belief of what is so infinitely beyond his comprehension. His doctrine was, that **GOD** is but one only person, and that the Word and Holy Ghost, were nothing more than the wisdom and omnipotency by which he acteth all things according to his will: That **GOD** hath no Son by nature, but only by adoption; and that he who beareth that title by excellency, is **JESUS CHRIST**, who is a man extraordinary, whom he framed in the womb of a virgin by his almighty power, and by that divine

(*k*) Vincent. Livin. contra Prof. hæret. novit.
de Rom. l. 4. c. 13.

(*l*) Prateol. in Dial. Resc. Fl.

operation which is also called the Holy Ghost: That he is chiefly for this reason stiled the Son of God, and even God by participation, because of his super-eminent dignity, and of the ministry, which he hath received of God his Father, who hath given him all power, both in heaven and on earth, and hath appointed him mediator and high-priest, in order to reconcile us to him after our transgressions, by interceding for us; and that whatever is said of the Trinity, of the incarnation of the Word, of the presence of CHRIST's body in the Eucharist, and the efficacy of baptism towards blotting out the original sin, all these, he says, are meer illusions and fables of man's invention.

A.D.
1603.

There was nothing in this doctrine, above human understanding, nor that humbled the vanity of the mind, which naturally rebels against what it cannot comprehend; and besides, you could not discover therein the difficulties which perplexed the Arians and Antitrinitarians, when they were put to it, to explain their mysteries: and this occasioned amongst them that great number of opinions, which divided them into so many sects. Therefore most of those Hereticks, who were opposed chiefly to the divinity of JESUS CHRIST, joined all together, in order to follow that opinion, which in a little time got the upper hand. The Protestants began to fear this new enemy, who was growing formidable, by the union of so many forces, and at first used their utmost endeavours to prevent the progress of his doctrine. Volanus, who was the most powerful and famous Lutheran of those days, wrote against him, in defence of the great mystery of the Word incarnate, which he maintained by the scriptures interpreted according to the opinion of the Fathers and Councils. But Socinus having employed the arms of the Protestants themselves against him, found it no difficult matter to overcome him; for he told him what he himself had often said to the Catholics: (m) "Those Councils, and those Fathers whom you mention, are they infallible? There is no judge amongst men who hath authority to determine the affairs of religion; that power is vested alone in the word of God, which we find in the scriptures, and my belief is grounded on that only." And indeed there is no Protestant, who acts on his own principle, that can

(m) Socin. l. de Cbx. c. 12.

A. D. reasonably condemn a Socinian, because the disputes of the latter,
1603. either when he challenges, or defends himself, are always maintained by the scripture interpreted according to his own fancy, in the same manner as the Protestants proceed against us when any disputes arise, which are decided by them according to their own interpretations of the scriptures. A Catholick is the only person that can destroy this abominable heresy with the same arms which he employs against the Protestants, but it is not the business of an historian to mention the truths, which must be proved by a divine, tho' I think I have made them very plain in the treatise which I wrote on the true word of GOD. (n)

In this manner it was that Socinus by degrees re-united to his party, all the different sects of modern Arians, who, tho' they retain their ancient name in some parts, are nevertheless real Socinians, and have nothing left of the old Arianism, but their obstinate impiety by endeavouring to destroy the divinity of **JESUS CHRIST**. However, these impious men were abhorred almost throughout the world; and even Poland, where they began to spread the venom of their wicked doctrine, was happily delivered of them in our days, under the reign of king John Casimir. For during the last war that was carried on between Swedeland and Poland, it being discovered that the Arians or Socinians, who were striving to take advantage from the ruin of the Polish state, held a private correspondence with Prince Ragozky of Transilvania, who had invaded Poland at the same time; the Catholick noblemen, who were assembled at the general diet of Varsovia in
1658. the year sixteen hundred fifty eight, took that opportunity to free Poland from that abominable heresy, which might have brought still greater calamities on that state, who had already been very near its utter destruction. The Lutheran and Calvinist Nuncio's, who were present at this diet, fearing least the laws, which were going to be put in force against those Hereticks, might affect them also, and expose them to the like treatment, they all joined together, in order to oppose the decree. But as their number was much inferior to that of the Catholicks, and that they were left out of the question by an act of toleration, and moreover, as they bore

(n) Chap. 9. & 10.

an aversion to the Arians, whom (had it been in their power) they would often have banished thence out of Poland, at last a law was passed by a general consent, whereby Arianism was utterly abolished; and the Arians and Socinians, being both comprehended under the same name, were obliged either to abjure their heresy, or to leave the kingdom within the space of two years, which was the time allowed them to dispose of their estates. This decree, which has been since confirmed by the other general diets, was not of the nature of those which often lose their force by length of time, like those laws that are made from time to time, out of a party zeal for the suppression of publick disorders. It was put in execution, and is still in force to this day; several of these Hereticks retired into Hungary, and some to the territories of the Turks, who in a manner profess the same belief as they do, concerning the person of **JESUS CHRIST**; others went into Germany, where the states had obliged the Emperor to grant an act of toleration to the Arians, as well as to the Lutherans and Calvinists. A part of these Hereticks retired into Holland, (o) where all, excepting the true religion, are tolerated, and where the victorious arms of our most Christian king, who has restored it in above thirty places, which he conquered in one campaign, give us some room to hope, that it will soon again retrieve (either by the means of peace, or war) that liberty, which it had been deprived of for the space of near one hundred years. The rest of the Arians passed into Transylvania, which, in the miserable condition it is now reduced to, by the power that the Turks have assumed in that country, is rather become a banishment to them, than a place of refuge.

A. D.
1658.

1660.

As to those who were resolved to continue in Poland, and were far superior in number to the others, some of them became Catholics, and the rest were obliged to join in opinion with the Lutherans and Calvinists, so that they all were baptized, because one of the Errors of the Socinians being, that Baptism was nothing more than a sign, by which the primitive Christians took upon them to distinguish themselves from the Pagans, and was now no longer necessary, they never used Baptism. Socinianism was in this manner rooted out of Poland, at least with regard to the publick

(o) Merc. Fran. Tom. 2.

A.D. profession and exercise of that heresy. For we have known by
1660. experience, that many of those who adhered to the party of the Protestants, continued still Socinians in their heart, though they assumed another name, in order to skreen themselves from the Punishment which was inflicted by the law on those who were convicted of that impious heresy. Neither are those heretick tolerated at Geneva, in Suifferland, Germany, Muscovy, Suedeland, or in England, where there are severe laws which prevent those enemies of **JESUS CHRIST** from professing their impiety. So that the Arian heresy, after having unmercifully exercised its tyranny, for about three hundred and forty years, almost throughout the whole world, by all the wickedness, deceit, treachery, violence, and cruelty, which you have seen in this history, and by all the most abominable crimes that Hell it self could inspire in the most impious of men; this heresy, I say, destroyed it self in Socinianism, which sprung from it in these latter days.

It is true, that the professors of this last heresy have writ large Volumes, wherein they endeavour to maintain their doctrine, either from passages of the Scripture, or by those reasons and arguments which they oppose to the Catholick faith, with respect to these two great mysteries, viz. The Trinity, and the divinity humanity of **JESUS CHRIST**. But for the interest of Truth, and in order to undeceive those who were so far imposed upon as to be persuaded that those Books were written by men of good sense and learning; I think my self obliged to declare, that they shewed all the want of judgment and weakness imaginable in writing as they have done. For as to what relates to the Scriptures, they have only produced those passages which the Paulianists, the Photinians, and Sabellians, their ancestors, had opposed to us above a thousand years ago, and which the Fathers of those days had often times fully and plainly answered, by explaining them according to their true sense, which was that of the Church, of whom they were the principal Members. What can be more weak and despicable than to advance nothing more than what has been so often proposed, and as often explained; as it is still done every day, by considering **JESUS CHRIST** according to the two natures both Divine and Humane? And for the arguments which they oppose to us, they borrow from the writings of our Doctors those very passages,

sages, which we our selves object against our mysteries, in order to explain them; and they glory in them, whilst at the same time they take pains to conceal the answers which our Doctors have made to them. What can be more wretched? Let us add to this, that when we propose a hundred passages to them, which plainly express the Divinity of JESUS CHRIST, they will explain them according to their own Meaning; and they will not allow us to explain their passages as the Fathers of the ancient Church understood them. This certainly must raise the indignation of any man that is master of common sense. But, as an historian, it is my business to refute this heresy. I have already made that matter clear, in my treatise of the True Word of GOD, (p) by such invincible arguments, as the Protestants, to their great misfortune, are not able to employ against the Socinians; (q) and you may see a confutation of what I have mentioned, which is yet much stronger, in the learned Father Petavius, (r) who has left nothing untouched relating to this subject.

A. D.
1660.

It was therefore to no purpose that Arianism, after having been abolished during the space of almost nine hundred years, used such strong endeavours to revive again in the last century, by the interest of those who rose up against the Church. The very people whom it called upon for protection against the Catholics, have abhorred it themselves. It has been banished out of all the Christian countries, and dares not to appear either in its own shape, or under the cloak of Arianism, which has assumed both its place and name, unless it be in that wretched part of the world, which is under the government of the Mahometans, who take pleasure to see the Christians join with them in renouncing the belief of the Divinity of JESUS CHRIST. But it never was so firmly established as it now is, through those very means which the Arians applied, in order to destroy it in the minds of men, since it occasioned so many miracles as made it manifest throughout the world. And as Arianism was subdued at last, after all its furious attempts, it more gloriously conducted to the

(p) Chap. X.

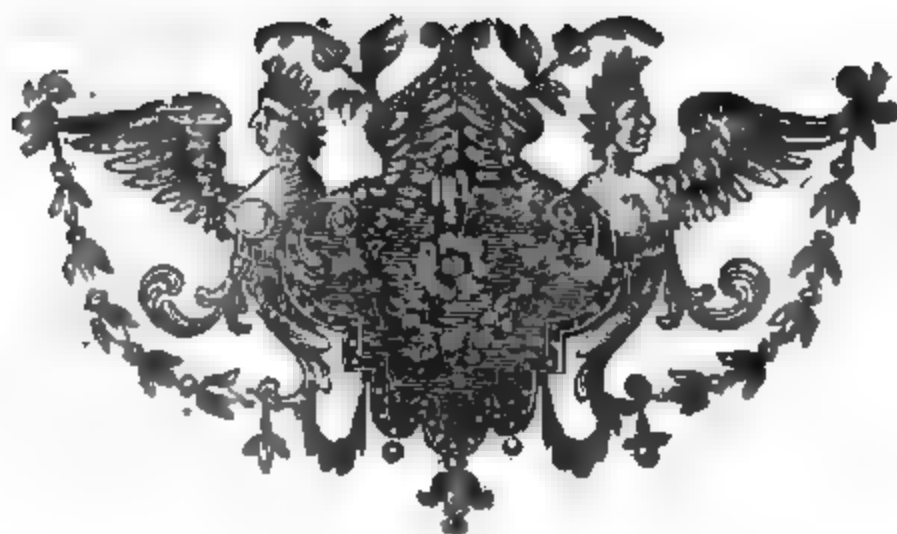
(q) Tom. 2. l. 3. de Trinit. contra Crell. Socinianism.

(r) Pettau.

triumph

A. D. triumph of that Truth, which hath declared from the beginning
1666. of Christianity to this time without interruption, that He who
became Man for our sake, is the Son of God by nature, who
liveth and reigneth, in equality of Power and Majesty, with the
Father and the Holy Ghost for ever and ever. Amen.

F I N I S.



INDEX

I N D E X

O F T H E

Principal P E R S O N S and T H I N G S

Contained in the

F I R S T V O L U M E.



N. B. *Whereas* Book IV. *ends at* Pag. 232, and Book V, *begins at* Pag. 157 (*by mistake*) *wherever the two last Books of the FIRST VOLUME are refer'd to, it is with this mark of Distinction, Book V. or Book VI.*



A

A C A C I A N S, a sect so called from Acacius, at first they pretended to keep the mean between the Catholicks and Arians, asserting barely, that the *Son was like the Father.* 213
Afterwards, having got the ascendant over the Emperor Constantius, they threw off the mask, and asserted, that the *Son was in nothing like the Father.* 227

AETIUS, of Antioch, a notorious Heretick, who asserted, that the *Son was of a very different nature from the Father.* He had the Sir-name of *Impious, or Atheist.* 198

He was banished to a desert place in Phrygia. 215

Julian the Emperor recalled him from his exile. B. 5. 159

AELIA FLACCILLA, the wife of Theodosius, an excellent Princess, and zealous opposer of Arianism. B. 6. 277

ALEXANDER, bishop of Alexandria, alarmed at the doctrine of Arius, he summoned a synod of a hundred bishops, and solemnly condemned his Tenets. 11

B b b

AMBROSE

I N D E X.

- AMBROSE** (St.) elected bishop of Milan, in a very extraordinary manner. B. 6. 235
- At the request of the Emperor Gratian, he writes his treatise *de Fide*. B. 6. 246
- He courageously opposes the Empress Justina's attempts, in favour of Arianism. B. 6. 281
- ANOMOEANS**, the disciples of Aetius, so called from the term *ἀνόμοιος* *unlike*. 199
- ANTHONY** (St.) the famous Egyptian Hermit, he founded several monasteries in the solitudes of Egypt, and reduced the Monks to regular societies. B. 6. 226
- ARIANISM**, an Heresy, first broached by Arius; it consisted principally in denying the *Divinity* of the *Son of God*, with several other blasphemous assertions. 8
- It made a great progress in Egypt. 9
- Was condemned by a Council at Alexandria. 11
- Caused prodigious disorders all over the East. 21, &c.
- At length was solemnly condemned at the Council of Nice, assembled by Constantine the Great. 25, &c.
- It revived under the reign of Constantius. 112
- And, upon the death of Constans, appeared boldly in the West. 167
- Under the reign of Jovian, it was discountenanced. 180
- Under that of Theodosius, almost totally extinguished. B. 6. Sub. fin.
- It every where caused infinite disorders and confusions. Passim.
- ARIUS**, a priest of Alexandria, author of the Arian Heresy. 1
- He engaged in the schism of Melitius. 2
- His first open attack upon the Catholick faith was, when Alexander Patriarch of Alexandria, was discoursing to his clergy upon the sublime mysteries of Christianity, and asserted the *Trinity*. 6
- His doctrine was condemned by the Council of Alexandria. 11
- Is protected by Eusebius, bishop of Nicomedia. 14
- Flies into Palestine, where he gains over several bishops. 15
- Introduced to the Empress Constantia, who espouses his cause. ibid.
- Banished by order of Constantine, and his books burnt, particularly his *Tbalia*. 46
- He

I N D E X.

- He pretends to recant his Errors, and begs pardon of the Nicene Fathers; upon which he is restored to his ministerial Function, upon condition never to return to Alexandria. 47
- Upon the insinuations of Eusebius, Constantine is prevailed upon to order his restoration to the church of Alexandria; which Athanasius boldly refuses to comply with. 61
- In vindication of himself, he presents his confession of faith to Constantine, couch'd in ambiguous expressions. 86
- Upon which, in obedience to the Emperor's letters, he is declared Innocent, by a Council at Jerusalem. 88
- He returns in a sort of triumph to Alexandria, and causes greater confusions than before; upon which he is recalled to Constantinople. 96
- He artfully blinds the Emperor, and is received into favour. 98
- He is refused Communion by Alexander, bishop of Constantinople. 99
- His party resolving to introduce him by force into the church, as they were conducting him in triumph, he was seized with a sudden horror, and withdrawing to ease nature, he was found dead, his Entrails and whole mass of blood having gushed out. 101
- ATHANASIUS, the celebrated champion of the Catholick faith, he first distinguished himself, by opposing Arius at the Council of Nice. 33
- Elected Patriarch of Alexandria. 55
- Accused by the Arians of causing the disturbances of Alexandria. 57
- He boldly refuses to re-admit Arius into the church, tho' at the Emperor's express command. 61
- Accused by the Arians of exactions. *ibid.*
- Of sacrilege. 62
- Of all which he clears himself to the Emperor. *ibid*
- Accused by the Arians of the murder of Arsenius. 65
- A commission being granted by the Emperor to Dalmatius to take cognizance of that affair, he appears, and is honourably acquitted; Arsenius being discovered to have hid himself in a monastery. *ibid*

I N D E X.

He appears before the pretended Council of Tyre, assembled by the Arians.	71
Falsly condemn'd by the Council.	78
He escapes by sea to a neighbouring town.	<i>ibid.</i>
Applies for redress to Constantine.	89
Accus'd by the Arians of a design to stop the vessels, that transported corn out of Egypt to Constantinople.	91
Banish'd by Constantine to Treves in Gaul.	94
Restor'd to his see by Constantine the younger.	113
Constantius, the Emperor, prejudic'd against him by Eusebius.	114
Cited to appear at the Council of Rome.	116
He comes to Rome; and during his stay there is said to have compos'd that creed, which goes under his name.	117
In the mean time, he is condemn'd, and depos'd by an Arian Council at Antioch.	125
Declar'd innocent by the Council of Rome.	130
Driven out of Alexandria by an armed force, sent by Constantius, and Gregory establish'd in his room.	131
Escapes, and flies to Rome.	134
Acquitted of all Accusations by the Council of Sardica.	140
Upon the death of Gregory, he is honourably restor'd by Constantius.	159
Again condemn'd by the Council of Arles.	169
Depos'd, and George the Cappadocean put in his room.	184
Escapes privately into the wilderness; and in his solitude composes several works.	189
Upon the death of Constantius, returns without opposition to his see.	B. 5. 164
Summons a Council at Alexandria.	<i>ibid.</i>
Order'd by Julian to quit Alexandria.	B. 5. 168
Julian having privately sent Ruffians to murder him, he escapes, and lies conceal'd in Alexandria, till the Emperor's death.	<i>ibid.</i>
He had information of Julian's death the very day that it happen'd, by one Didymus a monk, to whom it was reveal'd in a dream.	B. 5. 174
At the request of Jovian, he draws up a rule of faith, and confers with the Emperor at Antioch.	B. 5. 179
Upon	

I N D E X.

- Upon Valens's Edict to remove the Catholick bishops from their
· sees, he escapes privately from Alexandria. B. 5. 193
- Returns by the Emperor's permission; and ever after govern'd
his church in peace. B. 5. 193
- His death. 194
- **ATHANARIC**, king of the Ostrogoths, being defeated by Friti-
gernes, flies to Constantinople, where he is splendidly re-
ceived by Theodosius, and soon after dies there. B. 6. 283
- **AUDÆUS**, the Hæresiarch, a man of great austerity, and strict virtue,
began the Heresy of the Anthropomorphites. B. 5. 215
- **AUSONIUS**, the poet, made consul. B. 6. 257
- **AUXENTIUS**, bishop of Milan, a secret Arian B. 5. 189
Condemn'd by a Synod at Rome. B. 5. 192
- His death extinguish'd the last remains of Arianism in the
West. B. 6. 235

B

- **BASIL**, (St.) bishop of Ancyra, a very able man, and a semi-
Arian. 200
- Assists in drawing up the ninth Arian profession of faith, at the
Council of Seleucia. 210
- Elected bishop of Cæsarea. B. 5. 203
- His great courage. B. 5. 204
- Restores the Emperor's son to health. B. 5. 206

C

- **CONSTANTINE** (the Great) the first Christian Emperor,
assembles the Council of Nice, where he appeared with the
utmost magnificence, and address'd the council in a fine speech. 30
- Builds Constantinople, and transfers the seat of the Empire
thither. 63
- Dedicates a temple, built at the holy sepulchre of Jerusalem,
with great pomp. 80
- Dies at Achizona, and orders, with his last breath, the re-establish-
ment of Athanasius. 103

His

I N D E X.

His pompous funeral.	105
CONSTANTINE (the younger) shares the Empire with Constantius and Constans.	109
Restores Athanasius.	113
Quarrels with Constans about certain Provinces, and having attack'd him, is kill'd in a skirmish.	123
CONSTANTIUS shares the Empire with Constantine and Constans.	109
Gives himself up entirely to the Arians.	210
Dedicates a magnificent church, call'd the <i>Golden Temple</i> .	123
Defeats the usurper Magnentius.	165
His excessive vanity.	169
Treats the Catholics outrageously at the Council of Milan.	176
Enters Rome in a ridiculous Triumph.	188
At the request of the Roman ladies, promises to restore their bishop Liberius.	189
Marches against Julian, who had assum'd the Imperial purple.	229
In his march, dies of a fever, and declares Julian his successor.	ibid.
His character variously represented.	230
CONSTANS shares the Empire with Constantine and Constantius.	109
Being a favourer of the Catholics, he summons the Council of Sardica.	138
Magnentius having usurp'd the Empire, he flies with a few attendants; but, being overtaken, is murder'd by the usurper's order.	154
CONSTANTIA, the Empress (a bigotted Princess) espouses the cause of Arius.	15
Entirely influenc'd by a certain Arian priest, whom, upon her death-bed she recommends to Constantine.	83
COUNCIL of Nice, summon'd by Constantine, the Great, to decide the controversy between the Arians, and Catholics.	25
At it were present the greatest bishops, and several Pagan Philosophers, who publicly challeng'd the Christians to disputation: One of which was surprizingly converted by Spiridion, bishop of Tremitunta.	28
Arius's doctrine was examin'd; himself hear'd in his own defence, and the several answers of the Catholics.	33
	At

I N D E X.

At length, Arianism was solemnly condemn'd.	42
This Council settled the celebration of Easter to the Sunday following the first moon, after the vernal equinox.	45
Its canons and decrees were confirm'd by Sylvester, bishop of Rome.	48
COUNCIL of Tyre, compos'd of Arians.	70
Condemns St. Athanasius.	78
— Of Antioch, compos'd of Arians.	123
Deposes St. Athanasius.	125
Draws up a confession of faith, in which the term <i>Consubstantial</i> is suppress'd.	126
— Of Sardica, restores St. Athanasius, and confirms the Nicene faith.	141
— Of Philippopolis, where, the Arians who refus'd to join the Council of Sardica, assembled, and form'd a Synod; in which they condemn'd the more blasphemous propositions of Arius; but deny'd the <i>consubstantiality</i> .	144
— Of Sirmium, compos'd of Arians, condemns the Photinian Heresy, and deposes Photinus.	162
— Of Arles, summon'd by Constantius to establish the Arian Heresy.	170
Condemns St. Athanasius.	<i>ibid.</i>
— Of Milan, where most of the bishops, either deluded, or terrified, subscribe to the condemnation of Athanasius.	175
Draws up a confession of faith, containing all the blasphemies of Arius.	176
— Second of Sirmium, where a few Arians, assembled by their own private authority, draw up a confession of faith.	192
— Of Seleucia, where the Eastern Bishops met, at the same time that the Western assembled at Rimini.	212
Depose the Acacian bishops.	214
— Of Constantinople, where Acacius offer'd a new profession of faith: Which Constantius oblig'd the council to sign.	214
— Of Rimini, where the Western bishops assembled, at the same time that the Eastern met at Seleucia.	217
The Arians and Catholicks separate.	218
The Catholicks confirm the Nicene faith.	216

I N D E X.

- The Catholicks, wearied out by delays, and artfully persuaded by Valens, unanimously reject the Term *Consubstantial*. 221
- The Arians boast of this victory over the Catholicks. *ibid.*
- COUNCIL of Nice (in Thrace) where a few bishops, assembled by Constantius, confirm the formulary of Sirmium. 220
- Of Alexandria, summon'd by St. Athanasius, asserts the divinity of the Holy Ghost; reconciles the Latin and Greek church about the term *Hypostasis*. B. 5. 164
- Of Lampfacus, compos'd of Arian and Macedonian bishops. B. 5. 184
- Denies the divinity of the Holy Ghost. *ibid.*
- Of Constantinople. B. 6. 284
- Confirms the Election of St. Gregory. B. 6. 287
- Condemns the Macedonian Herefy. B. 6. *ibid.*
- Confirms the Nicene faith. B. 6. *ibid.*
- Great dissensions in the Council. B. 6. 289
- Of Aquileia, suppresses Arianism in the West. B. 6. 295
- Of Rome, summon'd to put a stop to the Schism of Antioch. B. 6. 297

E

- E**USEBIUS, bishop of Nicomedia, a famous Arian. 12
- Protects Arius. 14
- Assembles a little Council of bishops in Bythinia, who declare in favour of Arianism. 21
- Cunningly remonstrates to Constantine in favour of Arianism. 22
- His artifices at the Council of Nice. 42
- Condemn'd and depriv'd by the Council. 45
- Submits, in appearance, and is restor'd. 47
- An inveterate enemy of Athanasius, and continually plotting his ruin. 54, 64, 67
- Courts the Melitian faction, who openly revolted against St. Athanasius. 55.
- Depriv'd and banish'd by Constantine. 62
- Restor'd at the intercession of Constantia. 82

Translated

I N D E X.

- Translated to Conſtatinople.** 119
His death. 134
EUSEBIUS, biſhop of Cæſarea, ſurnam'd Pamphilius: A great Orator, and favourer of Arianism. 17
EUSEBIUS, biſhop of Vercellæ. A famous Catholick. He made uſe of a very remarkable ſtratagem to extricate Dionyſius of Milan from the difficulty of having unwarily ſubſcrib'd the condemnation of Athanaſius. 175
EUSEBIUS, biſhop of Samofata, baniſh'd by Valens. 194
 He travels in the diſguiſe of a ſoldier, and ordains prieſts and deacons in Syria, Phœnicia and Paleſtine. 196
EUSTATHIUS, patriarch of Antioch, his oration to Conſtantine at the Council of Nice. 38
EUDOXIUS, a Patron of Aetius, uſurps the See of Antioch by ſurprize. 198
EUROPE, a deſcription of the Northern parts of it, in the time of the Roman empire. B. 5 209

F

- FELIX**, biſhop of Rome, an account of his martyrdom, with an unqueſtionable proof of it. 207

G

- GALLUS** (Cæſar) his outrageous Behaviour at Antioch, for which, by the Emperor's order, he is beheaded. 173
GEORGE, the Cappadocean, intruded into the See of Alexandria, upon St. Athanaſius's being driven out, where he cauſes great diſorders. 184
 Torn in pieces by the people, burnt, and his aſhes thrown into the ſea. B. 5. 161
GOTHS, the more Eaſtern people of the Vandal nation, who inhabited along the Baltick ſea. B. 5. 212
 Settle in Dacia. B. 5. 213
 Divided into Oſtrogoths and Viſigoths. B. 5. 214
 Chriſtianity planted amongſt them about the time of Conſtantine the Great. B. 5. *ibid.*
 C c c Invade

I N D E X.

Invade the Roman empire.	B. 6. 241
Besiege Constantinople.	B. 6. 242
Defeat the Roman army.	B. 6. 251
Are every where defeated.	B. 6. 255
Submit to the Romans.	B. 6. 284
Embrace Arianism.	B. 5. 217
GRATIAN, marches to the relief of Valens.	B. 6. 246
Conquers the Germans.	B. 6. 247
Upon his accession to the empire, restores the Catholick bishops.	B. 6. 256
GREGORY, (St.) Nazianzenus, his excellent character	B. 6. 264
Founds the church Anastasia at Constantinople.	B. 6. 265
Persecuted by the Arians.	B. 6. 266
Elected bishop of Constantinople.	<i>ibid.</i>
Voluntarily resigns his See.	B. 6. 293
GREGORY, the Cappadocean; establish'd patriarch in the room of St. Athanasius, who was driven out of his See.	131
Murther'd by the people of Alexandria.	148

H

H ILARY, bishop of Poitiers, a celebrated Catholick; persecuted by the Arians.	183
Banish'd by Constantius.	188
Restores the Gallican church to its purity.	B. 6. 168
Comes to Milan, where he pronounces Auxentius (who had deceiv'd the Emperor Valentinian with his equivocal expressions) to be an hypocrite: But is forced to quit Milan, and soon after dies.	B. 6. 190
HOSIUS, bishop of Corduba, an eminent confessor of JESUS CHRIST.	23
He presides at the Councils of Nice and Sardica.	26 & 138
The Arians extort from him, by tortures, a subscription to their confession of faith; which the good old man recants upon his death-bed.	193
HUNS, a Northern people, invade the Goths.	B. 6. 240

I N D E X.

I

- J**OVIAN, proclaim'd Emperor. B. 5. 177
 Abolishes all Julian's acts against Christianity. B. 5. 178
 Requires a certain rule of faith of St. Athanasius. *ibid.*
 He is stifled by a pan of charcoal. B. 5. 181
ISAAC, the solitary, prophesies the death of Valens. B. 6. 224
JULIAN, created Cæsar, and sent into Gaul to oppose the in-
 roads of the Barbarians. 183
 He openly profess'd Christianity, tho' he had renounc'd it in
 his heart. *ibid.*
 Proclaim'd Emperor by the soldiers at Paris. 227
 Constantius, who march'd against him, dying by the way,
 left him in quiet possession of the empire. 229
 He solemnly renounces Christianity, and endeavours the re-
 storation of Paganism. B. 5. 157
 The Arians met with the worst treatment from him. B. 5. 158
 His court throng'd with Philosophers, Rhetoricians, &c. B. 5. 159
 Causes the Christians to be massacred in the East. B. 5. 161
 Consults the Oracles, Soothsayers, &c. who all promise him suc-
 cess in his Persian expedition. B. 5. 170
 Routs the Persians. B. 5. 171
 Entrusts his army to the Guidance of a fugitive Persian
 who leads them into a desert, where the Persians attack
 them B. 5. 172
 In the battle he is wounded in the breast, and dies. B. 5. 173
JULIAN Sabas, a solitary, leaves his retirement to assist the
 Catholicks against the Arians. B. 5. 207
 In his way thro' Cyprus confounds the Sophist Asterius. B. 5. 208
JUSTINA, the Empress, her attempts in favour of Arianism. B. 6. 280

L

- L**IBERIUS, bishop of Rome. driven by the Arians from
 his See. 179
 Applies in vain to the Emperor, and voluntarily goes into
 banishment. 180

I N D E X.

- The inconveniencies of his banishment, and regret at the loss of his See, so wrought upon him, that the Arians, laying hold of his weakness, prevailed with him to subscribe the condemnation of St. Athanasius. 195
- He subscribed likewise the Semi-Arian confession of faith. 204
- Being restored, the people of Rome refused to communicate with him till he recanted, and returned to his former resolution of mind. 206
- He was again driven out of Rome by the Arians, and forced to conceal himself in the Catacombs. 224
- LUCIFER, bishop of Cagliari, an intrepid Catholick, being banished, he continued heroically to oppose the Arians. 188
- Author of a sect from him, called the *Luciferians*. B. 5. 167
- He dies in Sardinia. *ibid.*
- LUCIUS, the Arian, forcibly thrust into the See of Alexandria, where he commits the most horrid outrages. B. 6. 224
- Persecutes the Monks of Egypt. E. 6. 228
- Driven from Alexandria. B. 6. 242

M

- MELITIUS, bishop of Sycopolis, causes a schism in Egypt. 2
- Censured by the Council of Nice. 45
- MARCELLUS, bishop of Ancyra, persecuted by the Arians. 97
- MARIS, bishop of Chalcedon, severely reproves Julian for his Apostacy. B. 5. 160
- MAGNENTIUS, general of the army in Gaul, usurps the Empire, and murders the Emperor Constans. 153
- Marches against Constantius, and is defeated. 162
- Kills himself. *ibid.*
- MACEDONIAN Heresy, it consisted in denying the Divinity of the Holy Ghost ; and caused a great persecution in the East. 226
- MARK, bishop of Arethusa, suffered with the most heroick Constancy, the persecution of the Pagans, in the reign of Julian. B. 5. 161
- MELANIA, a Roman Lady, rescues the Monks from the fury of Lucius. B. 6. 230
- MOSES,

I N D E X.

ULPHILAS, bishop of the Ostro-Goths, propagates Arianism amongst them. *B. 5. 216.*

Z

ZOSIMUS, an Arian, intruded into the See of Naples *B. 6. 225*
As he was performing the divine offices, his tongue came out of his mouth, so that he cou'd not draw it back again. *B. 6. 225*



INDEX.

I N D E X

T O T H E

S E C O N D V O L U M E.

A

- A** DALOALDUS, king of the Lombards, driven from his throne by his brother-in-law Ariovaldus. 318
- A** ETIUS, his treacherous contrivances against Boniface. 107
- Marches with the confederate forces of Romans, French, &c. against Atila. 138
- Defeats him. 143
- Murther'd by the Emperor Valentinian's order. 147
- A** GILULPH, king of the Lombards, openly professes the Catholick faith. 313
- His war with the Romans. 315
- A** LARIC, the Goth, invades the Roman empire. 47
- Besieges Rome. 75
- Raifes the siege, and retires into Tuscany. 80
- Renews the siege. 83
- Receiv'd into the city. 85
- Marches against Honorius. 87
- Commences a treaty with the Emperor, which is broke off by the treachery of Sarus. 88
- Marches to besiege Rome. 89
- His speech to his soldiers. *ibid.*
- Enters Rome, and plunders it, but spares the Christians. 91
- His death, character, and Funeral. 95
- A** LARIC, king of the Visigoths, kill'd in single combat by Clovis king of France. 219
- A** LBOINUS, king of the Lombards, conquers Italy. 303
- Murthered by his queen. 305

AMBROSÉ,

I N D E X.

AMBROSE (St.) prevails with the usurper Maximus not to attack Valentinian.	5
Refuses Auxentius the Arian's challenge.	9
Opposes the Emperor's edicts in favour of Arianism.	11
Persecuted by the Empress Justina.	13
Discovers the relicks of St. Gervesus and Protefus.	19
Miraculously preserved from Justina's secret designs against his life.	20
AMALRIC , king of the Visigoths, (an Arian) his cruelty to Clotilda his queen.	229
Defeated by Childebert, and kill'd.	231
AMALASONTA , mother of Athalaric, governs Italy during his minority.	249
Imprison'd, and murther'd by her kinsman Theodatus.	250
ANASTASIUS , Emperor of the East, indulges the Arians at Constantinople.	198
ARIANISM , extinguish'd by the victory of Theodosius over Maximus.	28
Quite extinct in Europe for nine hundred years.	330
Reviv'd in the sixteenth Century.	<i>ibid.</i>
ARIANS , at Constantinople, cause a tumult, and set fire to the Patriarch's palace.	39
Driven out of Poland in the reign of John Casimir.	354
Their dispersion over Europe.	355
ARIAN bishop, one converted by a miracle.	223
ARCADIUS , Emperor of the East, govern'd by Ruffinus.	46
Afterward by Eutropius the Eunuch.	48
Suppresses the Arians by an Edict.	61
ARBOGASTUS , his great actions.	31
Conspires against Valentinian, and causes him to be murther'd.	32
Kills himself.	39
ARIOVALDUS , (an Arian) usurps the throne from his brother-in-law Adaloaldus.	318
ASPARUS , his conspiracy against the Empeor Leo.	170
Massacred with his whole family.	174
ATTALUS , præfect of Rome, a sham Emperor of Alaric's creation.	8;
	Depos'd

I N D E X.

Depos'd by Alaric.	87
ATILA, the Hun, firnam'd <i>the Scourge of God</i> , his conquests in the empire.	133
A description of his person.	134
Besieges Orleans.	137
Engages the Romans in the <i>Catalaunic Plains</i> .	139
His army defeated.	143
Ravages Italy.	145
His death.	147
ATAULPHUS, brother-in-law to Alaric, succeeds him in his kingdom.	96
Falls in love with Galla Placidia, sister to Honorius.	<i>ibid.</i>
Prevail'd upon by her to attempt the restoration of the Empire to its former glory.	97
Marries her.	<i>ibid.</i>
Murther'd by the Goths.	99
AUGUSTIN, (St.) disputes with Maximus and Pascentius (Arians) and confounds them.	104
His charitable care during the siege of Hippon by the Vandals.	115.
His death.	<i>ibid.</i>
His library spared in the burning of Hippon.	<i>ibid.</i>
AUTHARIS, king of the Lombards, his excellent character.	308
His Edict in favour of the Arians.	311
AUXENTIUS, (or Mercurinus) the Arian, challenges St. Ambrose to disputation.	8

B

B ENEVOLUS, first minister to Valentinian, refuses to draw up an Edict in favour of the Arians, and generously resigns his Post.	7
BERNARDIN, a Capucin monk, embraces the Lutheran Sect.	340
BELISARIUS, the Emperor Justinian's General, reduces Africk.	240
And Sicily.	252
Unjustly deposes Pope Sylverius.	257
Besieges Vitiges, king of the Goths, and carries him Prisoner to Constantinople.	261
Recovers Rome from Totila.	266

I N D E X.

BLANDRATA , a Piemontese, revives Arianism.	334
Instils his principles into Sigismund king of Transylvania	335
BONIFACE , made governor of Africa.	103
Marries a Vandal Princess.	107
Recall'd by the Empress Placidia, he refuses to obey.	108
An army being sent against, he begs assistance of the Vandals.	109
Defeated by the Vandals, whom he had introduc'd into Africa.	111
Retires to Rome, and restor'd to the favour of Placidia.	<i>ibid.</i>
Kill'd in a duel by Aetius.	<i>ibid.</i>
BURGUNDIANS renounce Arianism.	224

C.

CABA O , a Moorish prince, his piety.	235
Defeats king Trasamond, the Vandal.	236
CARTHAGE , its description and state when taken by the Vandals.	120
CALVIN , opposes Michael Servetus.	333
CALVINISTS , a conference. between them and the Tritheists or Arians.	342
CHRYSOSTOM , (St. John) patriarch of Constantinople, by his wonderful eloquence saves the life of the eunuch Eutropius.	53
CHILDEBERT , one of the kings of France, ravages Spain, and defeats Amalric.	231
CHARLEMAGNE , conquers the Lombards in Italy.	330
CLOVIS , King of France, his conversion to Christianity.	202
Defeats Gondeband, king of the Burgundians.	213
Defeats the Goths, and kills Alaric, their king in single combat.	218
His death.	224
CONSTANTINE , a soldier in the English army, usurps the Empire.	71
His successes against the Barbarians.	<i>ibid.</i>
Engages the Emperor Honorius with success.	80
Taken, and put to death at Ravenna.	98
COLOMBANUS , instrumental in converting the Lombards.	316
	COUN-

I Z Z N D E X

COUNCIL of Toledo, summon'd by Recaredus, king of Spain: in which Arianism is solemnly abjur'd. 290

D

DEOG RATIAS, bishop of Carthage, his heroic charity towards the Roman captives taken by Giseric. 151

E

EMANUEL Neri, martyr'd by the Arians of Claufburg. 349

ERMENEGILDUS, king of Andalusia, abjures Arianism. 283

Makes war against his father Leuvigildus. 286

Imprison'd by his father, and martyr'd. 284

EVARIC, brother to Theodoric, the Goth, his conquests in Spain and Italy. 169 & 178

EUGENIUS, at the instigation of Arbogastus, usurps the Empire. 34

Defeated by Theodosius. 35

Beheaded. 39

EUGENIUS, (St.) his miracles. 186

Assists at the conference between the Catholicks and Arians at Carthage. 188

EUTROPIUS, the Eunuch, governs the Emperor Arcadius. 48

Made Consul. 51

Disgrac'd and beheaded. 53

EUDOXIA, widow of the great Theodosius, converted from the Eutychean Heresy. 150

F

FRENCH, the original of their monarchy. 138

FULGENTIUS, (St.) bishop of Ruspa, banish'd by king Trasamond. 233

Answers all Trasamond's objections against the Catholick faith. 234

GAINAS,

GAINAS , general of the Goths in the Roman army, endeavours the re-establishment of Arianism.	5
Appointed Generalissimo of all the Roman forces.	53
Disposes every thing at Constantinople in an arbitrary manner.	54
Conspires to seize Constantinople.	56
His designs defeated.	57
Endeavours to cross the Hellespont.	58
His soldiers passing over upon floats of timber, are all drown'd.	59
His death.	<i>ibid.</i>
GAUL , first call'd <i>France</i> in the reign of Clovis.	220
GALLA Placidia, sister of Honorius, married to Ataulphus, king of the Goths.	97
Afterwards, to Constantius, the Roman General.	100
Proclaim'd Empress with her son Valentinian.	101
GILDONUS , governor of Africa, sides with Eutropius, the Eunuch, against Stilico.	49
Defeated by Mascezilus, and strangles himself.	<i>ibid.</i>
GISERIC , king of the Vandals, his Character.	106
Invited into Africa by Boniface, establishes the Vandal Empire there.	110
Defeats Boniface.	111
Besieges Hippon, and takes it.	115
His violent proceedings to restore Arianism.	118
Surprizes Carthage, and uses the inhabitants cruelly.	120
His cruelty to his daughter-in-law.	135
Plunders Rome.	149
Ravages the Empire.	156
Persecutes the Catholicks.	157
His death.	182
GILIMER , (the Vandal) deposes his brother Hilderic, and imprisons him.	237
Defeated by the Romans.	243
Taken prisoner and led in triumph to Constantinople.	246
GONDEBAND , king of the Burgundians, an obstinate Arian openly, tho' secretly convinc'd of his error.	205

I N D E X.

Summons a conference of Catholick and Arian bishops.	210
Defeated by king Clovis.	213
GoTHs, massacred at Constatinople.	58
Ravage the Empire under the conduct of Theodemirus, and his brothers.	181
Extirpated out of Italy.	276
GRATIAN, the Emperor, murther'd by order of the usurper Maximus.	2
His fine character.	3
GREGORY, (St.) advanc'd to the Pontificate.	312
His care in converting the Lombards to the Catholick faith.	ibid.

H

H ILDERIC, king of the Vandals, restores the Catholicks in Africa.	237
Depos'd and imprison'd by his brother Gilimer.	237
HONORIUS, Emperor of the West, permits the Pagan superstition at Rome.	77
Makes peace with the Goths.	99
His death, and character.	101
HUNs, their incursions into the Empire.	131
HUNNERIC, king of the Vandals, his tyranny.	183
Summons a Conference at Carthage between the Catholicks and Arians.	190
Causes the tongues of those to be cut out, who refus'd to embrace Arianism. (All of whom miraculously spoke without their tongues.	192
His miserable death.	194

I

J OH N (Pope) his martyrdom.	227
JUSTIN, Emperor of the East, his edicts against the Arians, &c.	277
JUSTINIAN, Emperor of the East, his war with the Vandals in Africa.	239
JUSTINA, the Empress, endeavours the restoration of Arianism.	6
Her Contrivances against St. Ambrose defeated.	10 & 20
	LEO

I N D E X.

L

L EO, (St.) bishop of Rome, diverts Atila from his designs against that city.	146.
LEO, Emperor of the East, his successes against the Vandals.	170
LEUVIGILDUS, king of the Visigoths in Spain, persecutes the Catholics.	281
Imprisons, and murders his son Ermenegildus.	284
Reduces the Suevi.	286
Dies a Catholic.	<i>ibid.</i>
LUTHER, author of the Lutheran sect.	330
LUITPRAND, king of the Lombards, besieges Rome.	329
Diverted by the intercession of Pope Gregory the second.	329
LOMBARDS, their original.	300
Invade Italy.	303
Conquer it.	304

M

M ARCIAN, (afterwards Emperor) a remarkable Omen of his future greatness.	116
MARTIN, (St.) instructs the Suevi in the Catholic faith.	278
MAXIMUS, usurps the Empire in England.	2
Marches into Italy against Valentinian.	22
Defeated by the army of Theodosius.	27
Surpriz'd in Aquilea, and beheaded.	28
MAXIMUS, a Roman Senator, proclaim'd Emperor, and marries Eudoxia, Valentinian's widow.	148
Torn in pieces, and his body flung into the Tiber.	149
MAJORIANUS, Emperor of the East, his successes against Theodoric.	163
Murder'd by the conspiracy of Ricimerus.	164
His good Character.	165
MASCEZILUS, defeats Gildonus in Africk.	49
Drown'd by the contrivance of Stilico.	50

NARSES,

I N D E X.

N

N A R S E S, the Emperor Justinian's General, routs the army of Totila.	273
Recovers Rome.	274
Extirpates the Goths from Italy.	276
Made Governor of Italy.	299
Invites the Lombards into Italy.	300
His death.	303
N E S T O R I U S, patriarch of Constantinople, author of the Nestorian heresy.	111
His violent Proceedings against the Arians.	113

O

O D O A C E R, the first Gothick king of Italy.	177
Persecutes the Catholicks.	179
Murther'd by Theodoric.	197

R

R E C A R E D U S, King of the Goths in Spain, professes himself a Catholick.	188
Summons the famous Council of Toledo.	290
His death and glorious character.	296
R E M I S M O N D, King of the Suevi, embraces Arianism.	163
R H A D A G A I S U S, King of the Ostrogoths, invades Italy.	68
Seiz'd with an unaccountable Panick, he retires to the Apennine Mountains, and is block'd up by the Romans, who rout him, and take all his army captive.	69
R I C I M E R U S, the Arian Goth, conspires against Majorianus, the Emperor, and causes him to be-murther'd.	164
His tyrannical proceedings.	165
R O M E, its description and state when Alaric besieg'd it.	77
R U F F I N U S, Governor of the Emperor Arcadius, (in his minority) his vile character.	46

I N D E X.

Secretly invites the Barbarians into the Empire.	47
Pierc'd thro' with darts by the soldiers.	48

S

S EBASTIAN (Count) revolts from the Romans, and goes over to Giseric.	126
Gloriously <i>confesses</i> JESUS CHRIST.	128
Put to death by Giseric.	<i>ibid.</i>
SIGISMOND, King of the Burgundians, defeated and kill'd by Clodimir, King of Orleans.	226
SOCINUS, (Faustus) his heresy. It consisted in asserting JESUS CHRIST to be a meer man.	351
SPAIN conquer'd by the Vandals.	80
STILICO, the Roman General, his character.	46
Drives the Barbarians out of Greece.	47
Routs Alaric, the Goth.	66
His treacherous Designs against the Empire.	<i>ibid.</i>
His treasons being discover'd, he is beheaded.	74
SUEVI renounce Arianism.	279
SYLVERIUS, (Pope) unjustly depos'd by Belisarius.	257

T

T HEODOSIUS, the Great, his preparations against the usurper Maximus.	25
Engages the usurper Eugenius with an inferior force, and miraculously defeats him.	39
Destroys the last Remains of Idolatry in Rome.	30
His great actions, and death.	41
His fine character.	42
THEODOSIUS, the younger, revives the Edicts against the Arians.	114
THEODORIC, King of the Goths, defeats Odoacer, King of Italy, and treacherously kills him.	196
Succeeds Odoacer in the kingdom.	199
TOTILA, King of the Goths, defeats the Romans near Faënza.	262
Receiv'd into Rome.	26
	Abandons.

I N D E X.

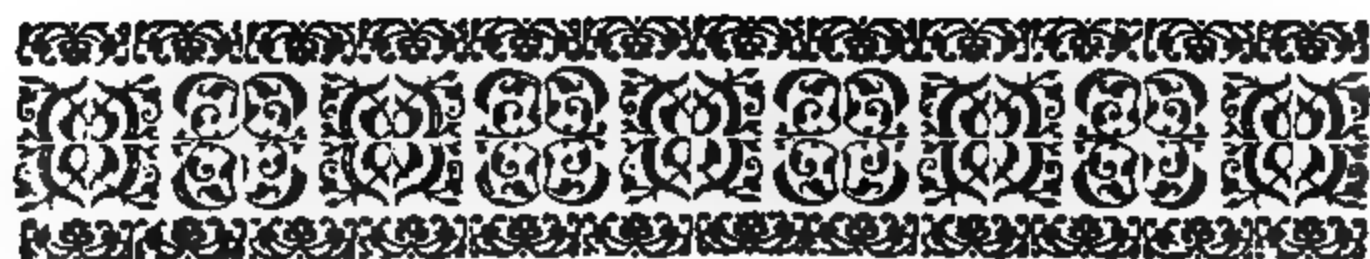
Abandons the city, which the Romans re-possess.	266
His exceeding cruelty.	267
Recovers Rome, and repairs it.	270
His army routed by Narſes.	273
Kill'd in his flight.	274
TOTIAS , King of the Goths, ſucceeds Totila.	274
His bravery and death.	275

V

VALLIA , King of the Goths, eſtabliſhes the Gothic Empire in Gaul.	101
VANDALS , in Spain, revolt againſt the Romans.	105
VALENTINIAN , (Emperor of the Weſt) publiſhes an Ediſt in favour of the Arians.	6
Murther'd by the conſpiracy of Arbogaſtus.	32
His character.	<i>ibid.</i>
VALENTINIAN , (the ſecond) cauſes Aetius to be murther'd.	147
Kill'd by Aetius's ſoldiers.	148
VALENTINUS Gentilis, head of the ſect of the <i>Tritbeifts</i> .	339
Executed by the people of <i>Bern</i> .	345
VITIGES , King of the Goths, beſieges Rome.	255
His army maſſacres the inhabitants of Ravenna.	259
Beſieg'd in Ravenna by Belifarius.	260
Taken priſoner with his wife, &c. and carry'd to Conſtanti-nople.	261

F I N I S.





T H E
H I S T O R Y
O F
S O C I N I A N I S M.

Wherein are treated its RISE and PROGRESS
in the different Parts of CHRISTENDOM,
from Monsieur *L'AMT*.

And the Theology of the Church of St. Dunstons in the Fleet

C H A P. I.

The Rise of SOCINIANISM.

THE original of the Socinians is more antient than is generally supposed, and may be said to have had its rise in the very first ages of the Church, amongst those grand Hereticks who appeared against the Trinity of the Divine persons, the Consubstantiality of the Word, the Divinity of CHRIST, &c. against whom the holy fathers took up arms, and whom the Church has condemned in her earliest Councils.

And, indeed, the most penetrating Historians of this sect pride themselves in having succeeded Theodotius of Byzantium, Artemon, Beryllus Bishop of Bostra, Paul of Samosata, and Photinus Bishop of Sirmium.

They might have added (taking their rise higher, and continuing it down to the fourth Century) that they were the successors of Cerinthus, of Carpocrates, Ebion, Elxai, Valentinus, who were before Theodotus, of Praxeus, Noëtius, Sabellius, Arius, and Priscillian, who followed their steps.

All these Hereticks were heads of the Socinians, and trod in the steps one of another, made use of their proofs, or gave them a new turn.

Cerinthus.
St. Epiphanius, L. 28.
c. 1. St. Irenæus,
L. 1. c. 25.

Cerinthus, who began to teach towards the end of the first Century, and in the life-time of St. John the Evangelist, made a great difference between JESUS CHRIST, and *the* CHRIST: He insisted, that JESUS CHRIST was a man born, like other men, of Joseph and Mary; but that he excelled the rest of mankind chiefly in justice, prudence and wisdom; that this JESUS having been baptized, *the* CHRIST of the sovereign GOD, that is, according to St. Epiphanius, the HOLY GHOST descended upon him under the figure of a dove, revealed to him the Fathers (who were till then unknown) and by his means revealed it to the rest; that it was by the virtues of CHRIST that JESUS had performed Miracles; that this JESUS had suffered, and risen again: But that the CHRIST had left him, and was ascended again in his plenitude without suffering at all. Thus, like the Gnosticks, he overturned that fundamental truth of our salvation, that the Word was made flesh; tho' he alledged, that JESUS was born from Joseph, yet he seemed to say, that he was the SON of the CREATOR, and even that by his union with the CHRIST, he was become the SON of the supreme GOD. Some of the Socinians have talked in this manner, and particularly Francis David.

Tillemont
Hist. Eccl.
L. 2.
p. 62.

Carpocrates.

Carpocrates, about the year 130, endeavoured to distinguish himself by some extraordinary opinions, contrary to those of *Saturninus* and *Basilides*, who maintained, that JESUS CHRIST was not truly man. Carpocrates gave into the opposite extreme. He insisted, that he was a meer man, son of Joseph, born as others are, differing from them in nothing but his virtues, which had drawn upon him from above, the power whereby his soul, being freed from his body, had obtained the privilege of ascending to GOD his FATHER, and to have a place amongst the angels, and heavenly powers. There have been in Hungary Socinians who talked in this manner.

Ebionites.

The *Ebionites* (who, according to Origen and Eusebius, are so named from the word *Ebion* (which signifies a contemptible fellow) because

because they had mean notions of JESUS CHRIST; but, according to the most common opinion, from one named *Ebion*, a Stoic philosopher (a disciple of Cerinthus, and his successor) do not agree among themselves concerning JESUS CHRIST. Some say he was born, in the usual way, of Joseph and Mary, and acquired his holiness only by his good works: Others own him to have been born of a virgin, but deny him to be the word and the wisdom of GOD, or that he existed before his human generation: Thus it is not likely, they would call him, the WORD of GOD. They only said he was the only true prophet; but however a meer man, who by his virtue rose so high as to be called CHRIST, and the SON of GOD. There are few Socinians, who do not thus explain themselves.

St. Irenæus.
Eusebius.

Elxai, a Jew, in the time of the Emperor Trajan, joined with the Ebionites; he and his disciple, called *Elxaites* or *Sampsicans*, admitted a CHRIST descended from Heaven in JESUS CHRIST; but pretended, that this CHRIST was not the SON of GOD, but an Angel, or power descended from heaven, to put an end to the sacrifices of the creator: That is, they absolutely denied the Divinity of JESUS CHRIST.

Elxai.

The *Valentinians* had no other sentiments of JESUS CHRIST. According to them he was but a mere man, upon whom the heavenly CHRIST descended; and that the HOLY GHOST was no more than a divine virtue: This is the common language of the Socinians.

Valentinians.

Theodotius of Byzantium, whom the Socinians regard as their great Hero, was a currier by profession, conversant in the *belles lettres*, and happy enough to have suffered persecution under Marcus Aurelius, though so unhappy as not to have persevered. All those that were taken with him, suffered martyrdom for JESUS CHRIST. That mean spirited proceeding brought him into great confusion and perplexities in his own country. Not being able to bear them, he went to Rome, and in order to excuse himself, there maintained, that it was no sin, or at least not a considerable one, to renounce JESUS CHRIST, since he himself declares, that whatever shall be said against him, shall be pardoned. From That he went on to a greater blasphemy, saying, that he had not renounced GOD, but only a man, namely JESUS CHRIST. This blasphemy drew upon him an excommunication from St. Victor, the then Pope. His disciples, who have retained the name of Theodotians, have supported the same error. Tertullian, St. Austin, and St. Philostratus, relate his relapse almost in

Theodotius.

the same manner: And St. Epiphanius says, he held that **JESUS CHRIST** was born in the same manner as the rest of mankind. Yet Tertullian, or another of the same age, says, he acknowledged him to be born of a virgin by the operation of the **HOLY GHOST**, but without any other privilege, than that of being more eminently virtuous and just. And this is the favourite paradox of the modern Socinians.

Artemon. *Artemon*, or *Artemas*, taught, sometime after Theodotius, that **JESUS CHRIST** was born of a virgin, and that he was **GOD**, but that he did not subsist either in his *human*, or *divine* nature, before his Birth. This opinion seems different from that of Theodotius. However, Theodotius finds no difference in it. He pretends, that all Artemon's heresy consists in saying, that **JESUS CHRIST** is not the supreme **GOD**, but meer man. And Eusebius, speaking of a treatise written against Artemon, says, it was written against him as well as against *Theodotius*: Which shews us, that they two were guilty of the same heresy, of which Theodotius was the Author, and which Artemon made so famous. St. Epiphanius calls their disciples *Aloges*, that is, without the Word, because they acknowledged not the word, preached by St. John. He likewise mentions the *Melchisedechéans*, arising from another Theodotius, called the banker. They believed that **JESUS CHRIST** was no more than meer man, but born of a virgin by the operation of the **HOLY GHOST**; and these Melchisedechéans, differed from the *Aloges* in nothing but in setting Melchisedeck above **JESUS CHRIST**.

Hermogenes and Praxeus. *Tertullian* speaks of two Hereticks named *Hermogenes* and *Praxeus*; the latter was the first who had the boldness to maintain a new heresy at Rome. He acknowledged one only **GOD**, but in speaking of him, he destroyed the distinction of the Persons. He insisted, that the **FATHER** was the same as **JESUS CHRIST**, and that it was he that was incarnate, born of the virgin, suffered, and himself sat down at his right hand. It is true indeed, that by means of Tertullian he recanted, and that his recantation, written by his own hand, is preserved by the Catholics. But his return to the Church did not last long.

Beryllus. *Beryllus*, Bishop of Bostra in Arabia, whose letters and other works were collected by St. Alexander of Jerusalem, in the library he made, appeared about the Year 235, under Alexander Severus, Maximin, and Gordian: He for some time governed the Church committed to

his care with great reputation, and at last fell into a heresy, which denied that JESUS CHRIST had properly an existence before the Incarnation; and pretended, that he did not begin to be GOD, until he was born of the Virgin, and even that he was only GOD, by the FATHER'S being in him, in the same manner as he was in the Prophets. The Socinians speak no otherwise. He was afterwards converted by Origen, and Eusebius places him amongst the illustrious ecclesiastical writers.

Noëtus, an Asiatick of Ephesus, or of Smyrna, in the beginning of the third century, trod in the steps of Praxeus. He taught, that the eternal FATHER was not different from the SON; that there was but one person in GOD, who took the name sometimes of the FATHER, and sometimes of the SON, who was born of a virgin, and suffered upon the cross. Noëtus.

His disciple *Sabellius* of Pentapolis, of the Lybia Cyrenaica in Egypt, seemed to own, there were three persons in GOD, but not really distinct and subsisting; he considered them only as three names, and virtues. The Socinians are fond of such a TRINITY. Sabellius.

Paul of Samosata, Bishop of Antioch, another Patriarch of the Socinians, maintained, that the word was not really united to the humanity of JESUS CHRIST, and besides, denied this word to be a person distinct from the FATHER. It is said in a letter, which the fathers of the second councils of Antioch sent to Pope Dionysius, that they had condemned Paul of Samosata, chiefly for reviving the heresy of Artemon, in teaching that JESUS CHRIST was merely man, who had not subsisted before he was born of the virgin Mary. Paul of Samosata.

Arius, a priest of the Church of Alexandria, about the end of the year 328, otherwise explained himself. He advanced that the word of GOD was a creature formed out of nothing, and of a substance different from the FATHER, that he had a beginning, and was capable of changing: Thus he deduced the Trinity of the persons, the Consubstantiality of the Word, the supreme Divinity of JESUS, and all those mysteries that are the consequences of them. Arius.

Photinus, the last Patriarch of the Socinians, was a native of Galatia, Bishop of Sirmium, and disciple of Marcellus, Bishop of Ancyra. He did not dissemble his sentiments in regard to Sabellianism, of which his master had been suspected by the Arians; he openly maintained, that the word was not a distinct person from the FATHER, and that he ought not to have attributed to him the title of SON Photinus.

SON of GOD, before he was born of Mary. This is the manner of talking among the Socinians.

Priscillia-
nists.

To all those Hereticks we may add the *Priscillianists*, who appeared about the middle of the fourth Century; they embraced many heresies, but particularly those of the Manicheans, and those which fall under our subject. Turribius, in his memorial, addressed to Pope Leo, tells us, that they, as well as the Sabellians, held, that the FATHER, SON, and HOLY GHOST, were but one single person; and in the same manner as Paul of Samosata, and Photinus, asserted, that JESUS CHRIST was called the SON of GOD, only from his being born of a virgin.

This conformity between the modern Socinians and those antient Hereticks, whom they themselves acknowledge as their fathers, together with the diversity in the sentiments of those, who first amongst them declared against the divinity of JESUS CHRIST, the odd fantastical expressions, which most of them have used in their books and controversies; the alterations made in their system of faith and discipline; and the cities where they first settled in order to form a society separate from the rest of the sects; all these circumstances have induced historians to give them different names, which we will here mention, to give a greater light into our subject.

CHAP. II.

The different Names which the SOCINIANS have born, and now bear.

THE Catholics, Lutherans, and Calvinists, seeing the mysteries of the TRINITY, and the divinity of CHRIST opposed at the beginning of the Reformation, gave names agreeable to their errors to such as thus swerved from the first principles of their religion; calling them Ebionites, Samosatians, modern Arians, Sabellians, Photinians, Trinitarians, Unitarians, Antitrinitarians, Deists, Tritheists: Some time after those names were changed; and they called them Pinczowians, Racovians, Sandomirians, Cujavians, the Polish Brethren, and at present, Socinians, Monarchy-men, Arminians, Menno-nites, and Latitudinarians.

They called them *Trinitarians*, because there were some, who in the beginning confessed three things in the Trinity; but they did not mean that the FATHER, SON, and HOLY GHOST were three persons; that indeed there was a nature or GODHEAD common to all the three, but not an essence; that there was but one GOD supreme, great, eminent, Creator of all things, called the FATHER, and that the SON and the HOLY GHOST, were not the true GOD. Servetus is the head of this kind of Socinians, and falls under Sabellius's heresy, who maintained an unity of nature, and denied the Trinity of persons: Though these are improperly called Trinitarians, this name agreeing with such only who confessed three persons really distinct and subsisting in one essence or divine nature.

They called them *Unitarians*, almost for the same reason: It was thus that all those were called in Transylvania and Hungary, who believed in GOD the FATHER, SON, and HOLY GHOST, and yet acknowledged but one person, namely, the ALMIGHTY FATHER, and only GOD: Who only admitted the Apostles Creed, and the doctrine of the primitive Church, without explaining it: And said, that as there was but one GOD in essence, so there was but one in person, or one person: Yet they worshipped JESUS CHRIST as the only LORD, and the only SON of the most high GOD. And they were therefore in contempt named Ebionites, Samosatians, Arians, Photinians, &c.

They called them *Antitrinitarians*, because amongst these Innovators, there were some, who, not comprehending the doctrine of the Unitarians, and admitting nothing into Religion, but what was agreeable to their reason, took the side quite opposite to the others. The Unitarians and Trinitarians admitted a kind of Trinity; the Antitrinitarians admitted none at all, and comprehending nothing real in GOD but his essence, reckoned the divine persons, or the personalities as nothing: And by a natural consequence, gave no privilege to the SON, or the HOLY GHOST, which might distinguish them to be GOD. They were certain ministers of Poland, who first forged this system.

They called them *Tritheists*. The antient Tritheists, not to confound the persons, admitted and distinguished three natures in GOD, dividing the divine essence into three persons, and calling one the FATHER, the other the SON, and the third the HOLY GHOST, as if each person were not perfectly GOD, but only an intelligence, which made three substances in GOD. In the same manner they, whose

whose history we are writing, established, as it were, three GODS in different degrees, GOD the FATHER, GOD the SON, and GOD the HOLY GHOST, with this difference, that the HOLY GHOST was not GOD so much as the SON, nor the SON so much as the FATHER, and that the FATHER was the true and supreme GOD. It was thence concluded, that they were true Tritheists. It is supposed, that Gregory de Paul, a minister of Cracow, and Valentin Gentilis were the inventors of this ingenious Chimera.

Deists.

They called them *Deists* for the same reason; for by making the FATHER greater than the SON, and HOLY GHOST, they denied the SON and HOLY GHOST to be GOD. Gomez and Farnovius are they who explain themselves thus, in order to deprive JESUS CHRIST of his divinity.

Pinczowians,
Racovians,
Sandomirians,
Cujavians.
Polish brethren.

They called them *Pinczowians*, *Racovians*, *Sandomirians*, *Cujavians*, because the first who declared against the divinity of JESUS CHRIST lived at Pinczow, Racovia, Sandomir, and Cujavia; and it was only in Poland they were so called.

They called them the *Polish Brethren*, because all the modern Sectaries in Poland, who declared against the mysteries of the Trinity, and of a GOD incarnate, formed a sort of confederacy to support themselves against such as did not believe as they did: And all they who entered into this confederacy, affected the name of *Brethren* amongst each other.

Socinians.

They called them *Socinians*, from Faustus Socinus, who seeing all the Unitarian ministers in Poland divided among themselves, so as to make above thirty sorts of societies or communions, all differing in their tenets, except that which took away the supreme divinity from JESUS CHRIST, in which they all agreed, united them all by his new systems, and the new turns he gave to his doctrine, and thereby made himself their master, and their chief, though they never would consent to hold any religious society with him, and even went so far as to excommunicate him.

Monarchy-men.
L. revelation
catholic veri.
Mennonites,
Arminians,
Cocceians,
Quakers.

They called them *Monarchy-men*, and it is the name which Zwicker gave to the Unitarians of Poland, meaning, that they acknowledged GOD the FATHER alone as the only and sovereign GOD.

In Holland and England they now call them *Mennonites*, *Arminians*, *Cocceians*, *Quakers*, &c. because the name of a Socinian being every where odious, most of them have joined with those tolerated Congregations, and so much the more readily, as they agree well enough

nough with the Socinians in that essential point: I mean of JESUS CHRIST, whom those Communion do not acknowledge to be the great GOD, or whose Divinity appears doubtful to them, or a point, the belief of which is not essential to Salvation, as will appear when we come to speak of those Sects.

To conclude, Mr. Jurien calls them *Latitudinarians* and *Tolerants*. His reason is, that the Latitudinarians are a sort of people who are enemies to all the mysteries of the Christian religion, who reduce the Articles of Faith to believing a GOD, a Providence, a Paradise, and a Hell, who scarce believe a JESUS CHRIST crucified for the Salvation of the world, and who so widen the paths of Salvation, that all Hereticks, Jews, Mahometans, and Heathens, may enter into them without any change in their sentiments. And indeed, the Socinians, who declare themselves enemies to our mysteries, are satisfied with worshipping a GOD, acknowledging a Providence, such as it is, that is, such a one as does not foresee future contingencies; admitting a Paradise and a Hell, believing a JESUS CHRIST, not as the supreme GOD, but as man, a great king, and a spiritual judge established by his GOD; are very easy with Jews, Mahometans, and all the other communions, and insist much upon Toleration and Liberty of Conscience.

Latitudi-
narians.

C H A P. III.

The Motive which gave rise to SOCINIANISM.

THOUGH we have laid it down as fact, that the Socinians took their rise from those Hereticks who divided the Church in its beginning; yet we are to think, that those antient heresies being laid asleep during the space of many ages, the Socinians have not taken upon them to revive them without some fresh motive. This motive is the reformation, which Luther, Zuinglius, Calvin, Mennon, and others have introduced into Christianity. It is therefore to these new reformers that the Socinians think themselves obliged for their new paradoxes.

In effect, all those Reformers, not admitting any other judge of the disputes incessantly raised in matters of religion, but the holy Scripture alone, nor any other interpreters, for the sense of them, than
C their

their own genius: There were found among them men who carried their wantonness of wit so far, that at length neither would they admit of any other religion than that, which their own particular genius could inspire them with, upon the bare reading of the sacred books, and allow of nothing in their belief, but what the scripture should hold out to them in a manner clear, and incapable of any dispute. And as the words Trinity, Consubstantiality, Eternal Son, baptism of infants, were not found in the scripture, in a manner that appeared decisive to them, they began to retrench from their belief the words Trinity, Consubstantiality, the supreme Divinity of JESUS CHRIST, his Eternity, the baptism of infants, and other doctrines, the detail whereof would carry us too far.

These novelties did not fail making a great noise, not so much amongst the Catholics, who expected nothing less from people who had divorced themselves from the Church, as among the Lutherans and Calvinists. Most of them openly shewed their detestation of them, and every where opposed them with heat and violence; but they too who adhered to them, wanted not an answer, and making use either of Luther's, or Calvin's words, put their adversaries, although their masters, out of a condition of replying.

In short, what could the Lutherans or Calvinists say that was reasonable, who had rejected Tradition, the Authority of Councils, and allowed nothing but the holy scripture, interpreted according to their own private fancy? which was just the Conduct of such as Arianised. They also explained the Scripture according to their taste or prejudices, and from thence drew conclusions for the greatest part of their belief.

True it is then, that Luther, Calvin, and all those Reformers, have furnished the Socinians with motives for revolting against the mysteries of the TRINITY, and of the incarnation of the Eternal SON of GOD. And indeed, the latter have been modest enough in the praises they have given themselves, and in their apologies for their faith, not to say they are the authors of it; but that they have set it in its clearest and fullest light after Luther, and Calvin, and the rest, had begun to remove the rubbish, with which, according to their way of talking, the errors and prejudices of the Church of Rome had covered'd it.

Lubien-
eski Hist.
Ref. Ecc.
Pol. c. 4.

Doubtless it was to leave us a perpetual monument of their acknowledging the Lutherans and Calvinists as their masters, and the first

first Founders of their Sect, that they had pictures drawn, where they represented a magnificent Temple, with Luther on the top of it, striving with all his might to take off the tiles and rafters; Zuinglius and Calvin, who were making use of different machines to throw down the walls; Servetus, Blandrat, Gregorio Pauli, and others, who spared nothing, but were making use of every thing, antient errors as well as modern, in order to sap the foundations of it, and remove the last or corner stone, to wit, the divinity of JESUS CHRIST, the adoration due to him, and his mediation: Whereon is built the spiritual edifice of the SON of GOD.

From all which we may conclude, that the Socinians, even by their own confession, have taken their rise from the new Sects; and that it is on occasion of their principles, they have revived the antient heresies concerning the Trinity, the Consubstantiality of the Word, and the Divinity of JESUS CHRIST. So that they, who have written upon the Sect of the Socinians, have taken care to shew us, that the first who opposed the Divinity of JESUS CHRIST, were either Lutherans, Sacramentarians, Anabaptists, or Calvinists, or belonging to some of the Sects that rose in the sixteenth Century.

The first of those, who, from the Errors of the modern Sectaries, gave in to Arianism, were Fabritius Capito, Cellarius, Halzar, Valdes, Campanus, Schufenvel, Illyricus, Michael Servetus, and all those who have distinguished themselves amongst the Anabaptists, of whom I shall give an account, in speaking of the Socinianism of the Upper and Lower Rhine, introduced into the Communion of the Mennonites.

C H A P. IV.

The SOCINIANISM in Italy, by whom, and how spread into different parts.

WHilst some of Luther's disciples made the world talk of them in Germany by the novelty of the Tenets they had broached upon the mystery of the Trinity, forty persons of the most distinguished for their rank, employments, and talents, in 1546, set up a kind of Academy at Vicenza, a town in the Venetian territories, to confer together upon matters of religion, and particularly upon such

Hist. Ref.
Eccl. Pol.

as then made the greatest noise. And nothing keeping them within the bounds of that Faith and respect they owed to the Church, they took the freedom to call in doubt most of the Articles of our holy Faith.

They easily agreed that there was but one GOD most high, who had created all things by the power of his Word, and governed all things by that Word; that this Word was his SON; that this SON was JESUS OF NAZARETH, the SON of Mary, and true man, but a man, who had something more in him than other men, having been begotten of a Virgin, by the operation of the HOLY GHOST; that it was he whom GOD promised to the antient Patriarchs, and sent down to mankind; who preached the Gospel, and shewed unto men the paths he trod, in order to ascend to Heaven, by mortifying his flesh, and living in holiness; that he died by the command of his Father, to procure us the remission of our sins; that he was raised again by the power of the FATHER, and that he was glorified in Heaven.

To these Tenets, which appear at first sight to contain nothing but what is orthodox, they subjoined, that such as obeyed this JESUS were justified of GOD; that such as were holy in him, through him received the Immortality they had lost through Adam; that he was himself the sole LORD, and Head of the people, who obeyed him; that he was the judge of the Living and the Dead; that towards the Consummation of things he should return unto us; it may be said, that they made all their Religion to consist in these points only.

As to the doctrines of Christianity, viz. whether there be a TRINITY, or one GOD in three persons really distinct: Whether JESUS CHRIST was GOD, and a GOD consubstantial with the Eternal FATHER; whether the HOLY GHOST was also a GOD proceeding from the FATHER and the SON from all eternity: Whether justification was wrought by the merits of JESUS CHRIST, or by our own, or not: About these they gave themselves no manner of trouble; they looked upon all such Doctrines, as upon the points of the Grecian philosophy, and not as belonging to the Faith; and confirmed themselves in that thought, by all the proofs employed by the antient Hereticks against us, being besides persuaded that a fine genius could not long continue firm in the Tenets of the Roman Church.

The assemblies of these men could not be kept so secret, but a republick so regulated, and so vigilant as that of Venice, at last had information of them, as well as of the subject matter of them: And fearing the ill consequences which are inseparable from novelties in matters

matters of religion, issued out decrees against such who called together or frequented such assemblies, and ordered them to be seized. Two were taken and put to death, viz. Julio Trevifano, and Francis de Rugo, who were strangled. B. Ochin, L. Socinus Pazuta, Gentilis, James de Chiari, Francis Neri, Darius Socinus, Alciatus, the Abbot Leonardus, &c. escaped, one into Switzerland, the other into Turkey, and the rest where they could.

Narratio
comp.
B. A. p.
210.

It was this dispersion that caused all the evil since spread into different Regions, as to our belief in the MYSTERY of the TRINITY, and of the Incarnation of the SON of GOD. It is true they had not all the same share of labour, nor of success. We know nothing of Darius Socinus, Francis Neri, nor James Chiari, but in giving the history of the rest we shall see, they made a great noise by the novelty of their Tenets, and gained many proselytes in Poland, Hungary, and other parts.

CHAP. V.

SOCINIANISM introduced into Poland under Sigismund I.

Sigismund I. king of Poland, was according to Historians, the Solomon of his age: No Conduct could be more prudent, nor Kingdom better governed than his: And indeed, he spared no means to support the Catholick Faith, and to hinder the new heresies, which made a great noise in all the states of Christendom, from getting footing in this Kingdom. However, it must be owned, as he himself acknowledged before he died, that even in his time all Poland was infected with the Heresies of the Hussites, the Picards, the Anabaptists, the Bohemians, Lutherans, Sacramentarians, and even with the modern Arians.

The first who began to corrupt the Faith of the Poles, in regard to the mysteries of the TRINITY, and Divinity of JESUS CHRIST, and the HOLY GHOST, was a Dutch Adventurer, to whom they give the name of Esprit or de Wit. *Homo, natione Belga, Spiritus, hoc enim nomen Belgæ erat.* This man, whom some take to be the same as Adam Pastoris, one of the Anabaptists Heads, who made their appearance towards the lower Rhine, and whom others affirm to have been no other than a disciple of Pastoris, had good parts, improved

De Wit a
Dutchman
B. A. Nar-
ratio
comp.
Append.
p. 216.
N. 1. p. 61

improved by the study of Philosophy, and of the holy Scripture. He happened to be at Cracow, in the year 1546, and was invited to an entertainment, which John Tricessius (a man of distinction by his birth, learning, and knowledge in the Greek and Hebrew tongues) gave to Fricius Modrevius, Bernard Wojewadka a Printer, and Prætor of Cracow, James Prillufius a Counsellor, and some other persons of condition.

All these guests, whilst dinner came up, went into Tricessius's library, which passed for one of the best in the town, and each man laid hold either of his favourite Author, or on that which first came to his hand. De Wit took out one, wherein were prayers of different kinds, which the faithful are used to say over at their devotions: He found one addressed to the Eternal FATHER, another to the SON, a third to the HOLY GHOST, and a fourth to the HOLY TRINITY. The Dutchman wanted no fairer an opportunity to shew what he thought upon the TRINITY; and pushing those that stood nearest to him, as one surprized, he broke out; How then, have you three GODS? *Tresne vos habetis Deos, O boni?* No, answered they, We believe one GOD in three persons, and three persons in GOD. But, replied the Dutchman, *Qui habet & qui habetur diversa sunt*, the person containing, is different from what he contains; if GOD have three persons, and if there are three persons in GOD; GOD is then different from the three persons, and therefore the three persons are different from GOD; You are upon the catch, answered the guests, *Sophistam agis, O spiritus*; we speak simply, we believe there is a GOD, and that there are three persons in GOD, and that those three persons are GOD. This GOD, then replied de Wit, is both three and one with you. *Est igitur Deus vobis & trinus & unus.* Yes, affirmed they, but under different relations. If it be so, concluded the Dutchman, that is, if GOD, be one, and three; then you ought not to address yourselves to those three persons in different prayers, since the one of these three can grant you nothing but dependantly of the other two, or in conjunction with them. *Si igitur iste trinus unus est, cur diversis orationibus eos compellatis? cur in his orationibus diversa beneficia, quæ in genus mortalium conferant, ab illis petitis.*

This reasoning, however captious and ridiculous, yet did not fail confounding those Gentlemen, so true it is, that it belongs not to the Laity to dispute upon the mysteries of religion, without they have made

made it their particular Study. They were so much surprized as to remain silent. Their Faith persuaded them of the truth of a GOD in three persons, and their Religion did not at that time allow them to contest such a truth, so they broke off the dispute as handsomly as they could, and sat down to table.

Modrevius, who gives us this account, adds, that being returned home with his head heated by the Dutchman's arguments, he undertook to go to the bottom of it, and dived so far into it, as to adopt it for his own, and become a strenuous Arian. Notwithstanding his wit and his fine parts, he could not imagine GOD, that infinitely perfect Being, under different regards, under which our prayers may be addressed to him, as well to do honour to those regards, that is, his attributes, his perfections, his relations, and himself in those regards, as the more still to raise and enflame our devotions and prayers; and riveted those arguments so fast in himself, as never after to depart from them. He still went on to worse in his conceptions; and so boldly declared against a GOD in three persons, that it may be affirmed, that his quality, credit, wit, capacity, and obstinacy, considered, Socinianism owes its establishment and progress in Poland to him; and to be convinced of it, and see how this Sect was introduced into this kingdom, we must observe what condition it was in under Sigismund Augustus.

C H A P. VI.

The state of Poland and progress of SOCINIANISM under Sigismund II.

SIGISMUND II. governed himself very differently from his father SIGISMUND I. The latter spared no pains to prevent the antient and modern heresies from gaining any footing in his Dominions: The former took all possible measures to give them entrance, and strengthen them, but yet without quitting the Roman Catholick religion; more, indeed, through weakness or necessity, than through malice or impiety.

This prince was the last of the Jagelons, who in the male line had been in possession of the Crown of Poland about two hundred years; and we may say, after one of our Historians, that he had collected in his

his own person, most of the good and ill qualities of his Ancestors. He was generous, prudent, and almost always successful in his wars. In 1552, he settled Alexander in the Principality of Walachia, having dispossessed Stephen, and quieted the troubles of Dantzic; in 1556, he drove Henry Duke of Brunswick out of Prussia; in 1557, he reduced William of Furstenburg, Grand Master of the Teutonic Order, to his Duty; he covered Livonia against the Attempts of Basilius, grand Duke of Muscovy; in 1562, he established Gothard Ketlerus Duke of Courland. More than ten times he beat the Muscovites, and forced them to live in peace with him. The Tartars stood in fear of him, and he kept them within bounds, after having beaten and routed them several times in the incursions they made into his territories. In 1569, he forced Solyman II. Emperor of the Turks, a man so formidable to all Christendom, to keep up a good correspondence with him, and to send him his son to negotiate a treaty of peace; the same year he reconciled John Sepus, King of Hungary, and his nephew, with the Emperor Maximilian II. in 1570; he made a reconciliation between his brother-in-law John King of Sweden, and Frederick II. King of Denmark, and put an end to the divisions which then reigned between the Poles and Lithuanians. For these reasons, says a Socinian writer, his Subjects loved him, his neighbours respected him, strangers admired him, and his enemies feared him.

Lubienieski Hist.
Ref. Eccl.
Pol. l. 5.

But it must be acknowledged, that all these shining qualities found a sad and unhappy counterpoise in those that were bad: He is set out as a man of a weak constitution; of a very small capacity for affairs; extremely and obstinately bent upon his pleasures; inflexible in the ill he had once projected; insensible of the point of honour, so that he could carry his aim; an enemy to the affairs of the state, not caring ever to hear them mentioned; so whimsical in his amours, and those pleasures that are aimed at in them, and so extravagant in his ways of pursuing them, that it was enough to have conversed a quarter of an hour with him perfectly, to know him, and ever after despise him.

The broachers of those new doctrines, always intent upon spreading their errors, and seeking the means of establishing their Sect, judged very rightly, from this character, that they might at last find those means of multiplying themselves, which the deceased King had deprived them of with so much prudence and piety, and they were not mistaken. That we may be convinced of it, we must consider the

this king's passion for Barba de Radzivil, a lady of one of the noblest and richest families in Lithuania, widow of the Palatin Geofoldus, or Gastold; but a lady whose life was extreme disorderly, and still more infamous. The Queen mother, and the Princesses her daughters, fearing this amour might proceed to a marriage, did all they could to stop the progress of it. They were no strangers to Radzivil's gallantries; and indeed often brought them into conversation, especially the Queen mother; who let slip no occasion of complaining of them, and reproaching her son with them, in order to put him out of conceit with her. All this however made no great impression upon a mind so light, and a heart so insensible to honour, as Sigismund's; nay, it only served to raise his passion for his mistress, and to induce him to prosecute his marriage with her. The Queen thinking herself affronted by such an intention, went on from complaints to murmuring, and from murmuring to threatening, often loudly protesting she would leave nothing unattempted in the Republick, even to the putting it into a flame, rather than suffer so infamous a Courtizan as Radzivil, to become her Daughter, her Queen, and Sovereign.

The King, who hearkned to nothing but his passions, giving himself no pain about his mother's remonstrances and complaints, still less regarded her threats. Hitherto he had gone no farther than laying schemes for his marriage: But now, in order to brave his mother, he resolved to bring it to conclusion, by a solemn and authentic Declaration. Any other but Radzivil, and of the same character, would have stopped there: But it was too little for her ambition to share the King's bed, she was determined to enjoy the title of Queen, and the Prerogatives inseparable from it, so that she gave the King no rest, till he had granted her all her pretensions. But the Matter depended not upon him alone, the consent of the Senate and Palatines was requisite, and indeed Sigismund was exerting himself to the utmost to obtain it, whilst the Queen mother, and the Princesses her daughters, were making their strongest efforts to have this marriage broken off, or at least to prevent its being recognized by the Republic, and to hinder Radzivil from enjoying the name and privileges of Royalty. But all their Endeavours were to no purpose.

The King, who was determined to have his marriage acknowledged lawful, convoked the Senate, together with all the Grandees, and spoke to them to this effect; " My Faith and Salvation are dearer to
 " me than all the Kingdoms in the world; and since I have given
 D " that

Lubienius
 Hist. Ref.
 Eccl. Pol.

“ that Faith to Madam de Radzivil to marry her, I must therefore
 “ keep it with her, whatever it may cost me, that I may not be per-
 “ jured, and renounce my salvation. ” That if they pretended to force
 him to a breach of faith with any one, after having solemnly given
 it to that person, and with all possible unconstraint, he did not un-
 derstand how they themselves could depend upon the Faith he had
 given them at his coronation ; and since they insisted, even upon pain
 of depriving him of his Crown, that he should be faithful to them in
 what he had sworn to them in the *Pacta Conventa*, they therefore
 ought to oblige him upon pain of losing his Crown, to keep and per-
 form the Faith and Oath he had given to Madam de Radzivil, to take
 her to be his lawful wife, unless they had two different balances for
 their judgments, one of full weight for themselves, and the other of
 false measure for him : And to confirm his Argument, he produced a
 Book, and read out of it, What shall it profit a man to gain the
 whole World, and lose his own Soul ? What shall I gain then, con-
 cluded he, by being your King, and under that title gaining battles
 for you, if after that, I break my Faith to my wife, since I thereby
 lose my own Soul, and damn myself ? Therefore come now to a re-
 solution ; as for me, I am resolved to be saved, and therefore will not
 go from the Faith I have given to Madam Radzivil, and I will have
 her for my wife.

N. 1. p. 7. After this discourse, the Lords declared the marriage lawful, that
 Madam de Radzivil was the King's wife, and their lawful Queen ;
 and indeed they began to pay her the honours due to her as their
 Sovereign. A Complaisance they thought fit to pay, either out of
 compassion to the King's weakness, or from a hope that his successors
 might do the Palatines the same honour by marrying their daughters,
 or in order to advance their fortune and rank at court ; or because
 they were convinced of the justice of his demand ; or in short, to in-
 duce him to favour them in the new opinions which several of them
 had already taken up.

*Life of
 Cardinal
 Comen-
 don.*

It is easy to comprehend now what the Bishop of Amelia tells us,
 that during those intestine divisions, amours of the King, and mean
 solicitations to the Grandees from both parties, the Royal Authority
 was strangely weakened ; that licentiousness grew to an excess ; that
 crimes remained unpunished ; and that the Innovators very well knew
 how to make the best advantage of those disorders, to insinuate and
 strengthen themselves every where. At this time, adds that Author,

the

the Worship and Ceremonies of the Church of Rome were ridiculed; the new Doctrines of Luther and Calvin were publicly professed; and there passed not a day without Assemblies and fresh Cabals. The publick Prayers, and the celebration of the holy Mysteries were performed according to the modes newly introduced. The antient Religion passed for a monstrous heap of apish Ceremonies; the worship of it was abolished in several places. The Churches of the Catholicks were seized for these new Broachers of Doctrine to preach in, all the treasures of the Churches fell into the hands of the Laity; the Priests were turned out of their houses, and despoiled of their effects; the chief men at Court, and part of the Senate, either through inclination or interest, fell in with this unhappy contagion; and the body of the People found themselves strong enough, neither to fear the authority of the Laws, nor the King's power.

But still besides, such foreigners as had embraced the new opinions, and whom Sigismund I. had forbidden the Kingdom, flocked into it from France, Switzerland, Italy, Germany, and other parts, and were so bold as to live there conformably to the corruption of their Courts, and to spread abroad a thousand pernicious Doctrines with which their minds were infected. Amongst those foreigners are reckoned Servetus, Blandrat, Lelius Socinus, Alciatus, Ockinus, Gentilis, Gribaldus, Stator, and many others, who had all taken up the new Arianism, and declared against the Mystery of the Trinity; and as they wanted neither genius, nor capacity, address, nor friends, they made use of so many Artifices, and set so many engines to work amongst the Grandees, that in the end they found some, and those the most considerable Persons in the State; who, either out of vanity, or a spirit of rebellion, or interest, or some disgust, they had conceived against the Catholick Faith, or from some other motive, made it their business, as if it had been a duty, to grant them their protection; and by this means these new Arians gaining access to the Grandees of the Court, and being under no apprehensions of suffering, found ways of infusing their new Tenets into a great Number of People of all Conditions and Sexes.

Several Persons of Distinction had already declared for them in the reign of Sigismund I. as John Ericessius and his son, Andrew and John Philipovius, James Prillusius. *Viros nobilissimos & doctrinâ conspicuos, initiis reformationis Sigismundo primo rege factis, socii eorum Ercius Modrevius, &c.* to whom are added Modrevius, Nicolas

Vindiciæ Unitarior.
B. Anti.
p. 281, &
282.
colas

colas Olefnicus, Stanislaus Lassocius, his brother Christopher Jerom Philipovius, Martin Chelmius, Nicolas Rejus, Stanislaus Cicovius, and after them (that is, after the Schism begun in the year 1565, between the pretended Reformed and the Unitarians) John Lutomirscius, and his brother Stanislaus, Nicolas Sicnicus, called the Demosthenes of Poland, Tenutarius, John Niemojevius, and some others. *Aliique firmo pede secuti sunt.* All these men distinguished by their Birth, their Qualities, their Employments, their Wit, and their Capacity, immediately and at first declared for the Doctrine which opposed the Mystery of the Trinity, and of the Divinity of JESUS CHRIST, and in consequence of that Declaration, took the name of Unitarians, who acknowledge but one GOD, and one person in GOD. *Zelosi & fortes Patroni sententiæ Unitariæ extiterunt.* Most of these men were powerful in labouring and preaching: Some of them exercised the Ministry of Preaching amongst the pretended Reformed; others had Posts, and even the highest both in the Army and at Court, in the Republic, in the Senate, in the Palatinates, and in the Cities, and some of them engrossed the King's, or the Queen mother's favour: In short, the Progress this Sect made under such great men cannot be exaggerated, and even before the Schism begun in the Diet of Petricovia in 1565, between those Unitarians, and the pretended Reformed. From the year 1552 and 1555, their number was considerable enough to form Churches at Pinczow, Racovia, Lublin, Luclavia, Kiovia, Volnia, and other places, and so well distinguished themselves from the other Innovators, by the singularity of their Sentiments upon the Trinity, that they were no longer called modern Arians, but Pinczowians, Racovians, &c. and grew so powerful, as to be able to give the Law in the Synods, which the Reformed and they held in Poland in the Reign of Sigismund Augustus, as we shall see by what immediately follows.

C H A P. VII.

The first and following Synods held at Pinczow to the year 1651.

PINCZOW is a small town in the Diocese of Cracow. Towards the middle of the sixteenth Century, Olefnickski, a man of Parts, ^{Hist. Ref. Eccl. Pol. Olefnicius.} and still more of Enterprize, was Lord of it; his family was one of the most noted in the Province, related to that of Sieniniuski, and the Cardinal Sbigneus was of it; as to the rest, the man of all the World the fondest of Novelties in matter of Religion. He renounced the Roman Faith, to embrace Lutheranism; disgusted with Luther's opinions, he went over to the Sacramentarists, and declared himself the Protector of all those whom the Bishops prosecuted for Heterodoxy. One of the first whom he honoured with his Protection, was Stancar, an Italian by birth, a man skilled in the Oriental Languages, whom the Bishop of Cracovia had prosecuted, and clapped into prison, for spreading of Heresies, and from whence he could find no means of deliverance, but by the secret Practices and Intrigues of Stanislaus Lassocius, Tricesius, and some others. The refuge which Olieneski gave this turbulent spirited man, drew upon him several sharp Contests with Macicijovius, Bishop of Cracow, about which he gave himself very little pain, and always went well accompanied by a good number of armed men. Stancar advised him to turn the Cordeliers out of the City, to prophane the Church, and seize upon their Monastery, together with all their Possessions to his own use. But being advised by some persons of a less turbulent Spirit, he attempted nothing of that kind; and contented himself with serving GOD in his own Castle, after the manner of Zuinglius, whose Heresies Stancar preached to him.

The Bishop, who could not reduce this Lord to reason, cited him before the King's Council, but in vain. Olefnieski easily justified himself before the Council, and came off without any decree against him. This Proceeding of the Council, which was as it were an abrogation of the Law made in 1524, which forbad the exercise of the new Heresies in Poland, was, in a manner, an authentic permission to the rest of the Nobility to introduce those Heresies, which were the most in fashion, and most to their taste, into their Estates, and Olefnieski well

well understood it. Having thereby gained a victory over his Bishop, he openly persecuted both the secular and regular Clergy, turned them out of Pinczow, and declared himself more than he had till then done, the Protector of all Ecclesiasticks that apostatized for the sake of marrying, and who were upon that account prosecuted by the Bishops.

The first Priest whom he honoured with his protection was Valentin, Curate of Krzconovia, who had married publicly. The Bishop of Cracow cited him to appear before him, Valentin obeyed, and boldly maintained before him, that he had done no more than he might do, and that his marriage was lawful. The Bishop, though then Chancellor, carried the thing no farther: He foresaw, that these judicial Proceedings would be to no purpose, and that the Lord Olesnieski would easily hinder the effects of them in order to support him who had put himself under his Protection.

This Complaisance, or rather Obstinacy of Olesnieski, in receiving all such as declared for the new Heresies, gave opportunity to Blandrat, Gregory Pauli, Crovicius, Stator, Schoman, Brelus, Tricesius, Lasco, and some others, to retire to Pinczow, there to set up a Church against the TRINITY, which became so famous for the Ministers that governed it, and for the extraordinary things that passed in it, that there was no talk in Poland, but of that borough, in the same manner as Athens was talked of all over Greece, and the Polite World.

The Pinczowians (for we shall call the new Arians or Unitarians by that name) being strong enough in number, and in men of learning, to maintain their new Doctrines against the pretended Reformed, demanded a conference with them, and these, scandalized at the errors that they taught and spread with impunity in their new Churches, easily consented to have one.

*Synod of
Pinczow.*

*Hist. Ret.
Eccl. Pol.
c. 4.*

They met for the first time in 1555, at Pinczow, under Olesnieski's protection. The first resolution they came to was to examine the Doctrine, Manners, Spirit, and Religion of the Brethren of Moravia, who were generally called by the Name of Vaudois, the Poor of Lyons, Picards, Hussites, Anabaptists, and who were joined in Communion with some of the Polish Brethren, or new Arians. Upon this resolution, it was debated whether they should write to Lifismaninn, who was in Swisserland, and newly married, to exhort him immediately to return into the Kingdom. The Lords Patrons of the

new Churches, and some of the ministers who had occasion for that Apostate Cordelier, to support the common Cause by his credit and parts, concluded he ought to be written to, and took that matter upon themselves. But Sarnicius, a man of quality, of a sour, and domineering temper, a zealous minister for the pretended Reformation, and a declared enemy to the Pinczowians, strongly opposed that debate, and the return of Lifismaninn, tho' to no purpose. Lifismaninn was written to, and Budzinius undertook to write that Letter, as well as those which the King had the Complaisance to write to the Ministers of the Swiss Cantons; after these Debates, Stator, Stancar, Blandrat, de Lasco, and some others, had a smart dispute concerning JESUS CHRIST in the quality of MEDIATOR; the one insisting, he was no farther so than as man, and the others, that he was so as God-man.

This Synod was not held so secretly but that Zebridovius, Bishop of Cracow, had intelligence of it; who to disperse, or stop the progress of it, sent his Chancellor with a party of Soldiers thither. Olesnieski, wiser than the children of Light, had had the precaution to order the Gates of the town to be shut, and good Centinels placed at them. The Chancellor determined to execute his Bishop's Orders, found means of letting the Synod know he came from the King, and was charged with his commands. (Upon advice of this, they debated and concluded, that he and three more should be let in; who were carried into the Church-yard belonging to the Cordeliers, where the Assembly was held, but not then there. Olesnieski, accompanied with a few other Lords, examined the Orders the Chancellor brought, and finding them signed by Przerembsius, Vice-chancellor of the Crown, and the very man, who a little before had cited him before the King's tribunal, and that they were sealed with the King's Seal, he and all the Assembly received that Seal with their usual respect and ceremonies, and made a jest of the Orders, saying, that the Catholic Bishops had written them without the King's knowledge, and continued the Assembly, the rest of the Deliberations of which did not come to Lubiesnieski's knowledge.

In 1556 a Diet was held at Warsaw, in which after many Contests between the Prelates and Catholics on one side, and the Reformed on the other; the former would have had a Decree made to oblige the Evangelical Ministers, who were in the Seats and Houses of the Noblemen, to be installed and approved by the Bishops of the several

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ral Diocesess where they should reside, to preach the Gospel according to the sense of St. Austin, St. Jerom, St. Chrysostom, and St. Ambrose, and to pay Tithes and other Ecclesiastical Duties. The latter, to elude that Deliberation, insisted that those Fathers had departed from the purity of the faith of the Apostles, of Apostolick men, and even of the Council of Nice. These replies were the occasion of leaving the pretended Reformed in the liberty they had arrogated to themselves, that no violence might be used against those which the Catholicks enjoyed.

*Synod of
Secem-
nia.*

It was in consequence of that Liberty, that the Pinczowians, and pretended Reformed met the same Year at Seceminia, where Peter Gonés gave himself great airs; he there with ostentation and obstinacy maintained the preeminence of the Eternal FATHER over the SON, and HOLY GHOST; that the Apostles Creed was the only one that ought to be the rule of our Faith; that the Nicene, and that attributed to St. Athanasius, were meer human compositions; that the HOLY TRINITY was not one GOD; that the SON was less than the FATHER; that indeed he was GOD, but a GOD which had always honoured his FATHER, from whom also he had received whatever he had; that the communication of attributes was a Chimera, as well as the Consubstantiality of the Word with the FATHER. To these Paradoxes he added, that the Word, which is invisible, was changed into Flesh in the bosom of the Virgin Mary, or that GOD was turned into Man, and some other impieties, which he had borrowed from Servetus.

This Discourse made different impressions upon the minds of the Assembly; the Pinczowians were pleased and edified by it, and the pretended Reformed shocked, and indeed they raised a great clamour against it. To quiet them, it was resolved to examine those Questions to the bottom, and to send to Philip Melancthon, for his thoughts upon them. Upon this resolution, Gonés submitted his faith and person to the Synod, and thought it more expedient to give way to a small number of Lutherans, Sacramentarians and Unitarians, than to the Roman Church, or to the antient Fathers and Councils.

That piece of respect did him honour; he was chosen to carry the letters of the Synod to Melancthon, and those too relating to himself, wherein were laid down his Doctrine and Opinion upon the *Logos*; asserting the inferiority of it to the eternal FATHER, and in which
great

great praise was bestowed upon him. Melancthon put the pains of examining those letters, and that proposition of Faith, upon Selnecejus ; who having reported that this profession of Faith smelt strong of Arianism, he sent back this Pole and all his company, without doing them the honour of hearing them. The Synod did not stop there ; in pursuance of the Decree, made in the Assembly of Pinczow in 1555. To examine into the Religion of the Brethren of Moravia, they went upon it, and condemned the union which the Brethren of the pretended Reformation had made with those of Kaminieck, and told them, that that union had ruined the Discipline of the reformed Churches.

In 1558 there was another Assembly at Pinczow, at which were present Blandrat, Gonés, Stancar, Lifismaninn, Crovicius, who had great disputes on the preeminence of the Eternal FATHER, agreeable to the notions of Servetus. Andrew Jubienieski, Elder of the Synods, did his utmost to bring them to an agreement ; he thought he had found the secret to do it, by rejecting the common belief of a God in three Persons. Hist. Ref. Eccl. Pol.

Upon this design, in the month of November in the same Year, a new Assembly was held. John de Lasco, Superintendant (that is, Bishop) of the Churches of Great Poland, Gregorio Pauli, Stanislaus Sarnieki, Felix Cruciger, and other persons of distinction were present at it ; and after long and great disputes, they broke up, without coming to any conclusion, and every man continued in his own opinion. The Historian, who has furnished us with the memoirs of this assembly, says, it was held for no other end, than to combat the ¹⁸⁴ Mystery of the TRINITY, and to overturn the belief, which Christians have of it. *Ad hanc Synodum annotat Chronicon Labienicii fuisse magnum ingressum ad demoliendum dogma Trinitatis.* Bib. An.p.

The Ministers met again the 15th of December the same Year at Briescia in Lithuania, and this is their ninth Synod. Gonés made a greater clamour than he had done in the other Synods. In this he attacked Infant-baptism, and insisted it was nothing but human invention, and produced a Treatise he had written on the Subject. The Pinczowians would have had it read in the Assembly, and it was accordingly read ; the Reformed were offended at it, censured a doctrine so often anathematized in the Anabaptists, and would have prosecuted him ; but Jerom Pickerski, who was of his opinion, honoured him with his protection, and the minds of the Assembly grew calm

calm upon the matter, to make way for another, which was of no less consequence, and which Gonés set forth with more boldness, than he had done the former: It related to the MYSTERY of the TRINITY, the distinction of persons, the communication of attributes, the two natures in JESUS CHRIST, and some other points received in common amongst both the Catholics and Protestants; all those Mysteries he denied, and maintained they were meer Chimera's, introduced into the Church by the Authority of the Popes. These new attempts revived the Complaints of the Reformed; which obliged the President of the Assembly to forbid Gonés any more maintaining the errors he had advanced, upon pain of excommunication; tho' to no purpose, for this sort of People give themselves no uneasiness about Ecclesiastical censures: And he answered in the fanatic way, that he had internal Lights, and that he ought to follow them rather than the command of man; which gave occasion to Piekerski (who had received the same prohibition) to harangue the Synod upon the errors, and disorders, which, in his opinion, were crept into the Church; and he spoke with such a grace, and so much force, and Pathos, that many declared on his side, and went over to Gonés's doctrine. Wherefore, notwithstanding the different attempts of the Prelates and the Reformed, and in spite of the anathemas they pronounced against the Enemies of the TRINITY, and of Infant-baptism, the errors of Gonés upon the preheminance of the FATHER, and upon the baptism of Infants, to whom it was afterwards denied, were received into the Church of Pinczow. It is pretended that Blandrat and Lisismaninn had a great hand in that innovation, and was what brought upon him very sharp contests with Gregorio Pauli, who had not yet declared for the superiority of the FATHER over the SON.

*The tenth
Synod.*

The Reformed, alarmed at the contempt shewn to the Decrees of their Synods, and their censures, thundered out against the disobedient, and such as spread false doctrines, assembled for the tenth time on the 25th of April 1559, and chose for their Presidents the Sieur de Lasco and Sarnicius, both of them good protestants, and declared Enemies to the Pinczowians. They began, by making a Decree to oblige all Ministers to give an account of their doctrine, and of what they believed concerning the Unity of GOD, on the TRINITY of persons. They were in hopes thereby to clear the Churches of Arianism, and put into them Ministers of a sound doctrine: But that Decree had no success, and for this reason. On

On the 22d of November of the same Year, they assembled at Pinczow: Stancar there disputed strongly in maintenance of his doctrine, ^{The twelfth Synod of Pinczow,} that JESUS CHRIST was our mediator only according to his human nature; and the letters of Remi Chelmski were read here, wherein he asserts that the Polish Lords had great Scruples concerning the prayers we address to the HOLY GHOST, because most of those prayers conclude, to the FATHER through the SON. It is pretended those pretended Scruples had been suggested to them by Stator of Thionville. 1559.

In September 1560, the Innovators convoked an Assembly at Zianz, ^{Synod of Zianz.} which passes for the nineteenth of their Synods. Blandrat there shewed so great a capacity, and found such hearty friends in it, that ^{B. A. p. 185.} from a wretched fugitive as he was, he was made the head Elder of the Churches of lesser Poland.

C H A P. VIII.

Continuation of the Synods of the Reformed and Pinczowians from the Year 1561, to 1562, wherein the Divinity of the HOLY GHOST was opposed.

ON the 30th of January 1561, the Reformed and the Pinczowians held their nineteenth Synod at Pinczow; it wholly turned upon the answer made to Chelmski, and the new title conferred upon Blandrat. Stator, who longed for nothing so much as an opportunity of laying open his doctrines, said, he had learnt from good hands, that Chelmski was not satisfied with the answer that had been made him; that he had sent him his thoughts upon it, but yet without venturing to go to the bottom of the matter, or setting it in its full light; but that since he had now the honour of being before so many, who were able both to judge of, and approve his doctrine, and that a minister of the Holy Gospel should never blush at speaking the truth at a time when he ought to tell it, he would inform them that he was perfectly convinced, that it was pure idolatry to call upon the HOLY GHOST, and that he would demonstrate whenever they pleased, that there was not a single passage in the Holy Scripture which proved the Divinity of the HOLY GHOST, nor any adoration, or invocation of him, nor even any Belief we are to have in him. ^{Synod of Pinczow.}

Lubieniec-
ki Hist.
Ref. Eccl.
Pol.

As Novelty has ever something agreeable in it to light and wavering minds, these Paradoxes appeared plausible to some of the Assembly, who would have had them received by the Synod; but others were offended at them, demanded justice against him who had advanced them, and put themselves into a posture of convincing him by the Scripture, that he was in an error. But Stator, who had well studied his Subject, who spoke with ease, and who handled the Scripture as he pleased to bring it to serve his purpose, was himself beforehand with his Enemies, and endeavoured to prove to them by the very Scripture, that the HOLY GHOST was not GOD, and consequently that no religious worship was due to him.

The Ministers of the Reformation did not want quotations of many passages from the Scripture to confute his arguments which were negative, and which at the bottom, proved nothing against the Divinity of the HOLY GHOST; yet as they did not appear clear and decisive enough to a temper so obstinate as Stator's, they were forced to have recourse to Tradition, and the interpretations which the antient Fathers have given to those passages: And as Tradition and the Fathers were prohibited goods in a Synod of the Reformed, they proceeded to passion and invective.

Stator, far from being moved, persuaded himself, that since nothing but foul language was offered in confutation of his Paradox, he should be declared master of the field of Battle, and puffed up with his victory, continued speaking in a magisterial tone. He loudly complained of the behaviour of the Geneva ministers, and particularly of that of Calvin; accuses him of having violated all the laws of Charity and Justice, in regard to Blandrat, by accusing him of heresy, and throwing a stain of infamy upon him, by a Sentence, whereof he had a copy, which he produced: It was read, and there were many who thought it was just, and worthy of commendation. The complaining strain not succeeding with Stator, he employed another battery against Calvin; saying, it belonged not to him to accuse his brethren of arianising, he who sabellianised himself, by admitting three Gods, and insisting in his writings, that the FATHER was not begotten, the SON was begotten, and the HOLY GHOST proceeding. This reasoning to many appeared ridiculous; wherefore he changed his tone, and said, that Blandrat and he were greatly wronged, by being accused of Heterodoxy, they whose sentiments of the matters in question, were no other than those of the Reformed Churches;

Churches; that as to the rest, if it was being a Heretick to believe B.A.p.184. in the FATHER, SON, and HOLY GHOST, and to believe in every thing which the holy Scriptures say concerning them, and nothing else; he ingenuously owned he was a Heretick, and was willing, in support of those pretended Heresies, to suffer whatever the jealousy and malice of his enemies could raise up against him upon account of his belief, too happy in the good testimony of his conscience upon such his doctrine: He thus ended that part of the Scene belonging to him.

Blandrat, in aid of such a Friend, who had so handsomely and so well defended him, spoke with no less intrepidity in his justification. He insisted, that Faith being simple and divine as to its motive, as well as object, nothing ought to be believed but what was expressly and formally in the Scripture, and what was to be deduced from it, by clear, natural, decisive consequences: He added, that the contents of the Apostles Creed were not entirely conformable to the Scripture, to those of Nice or Constantinople, and those of that generally attributed to St. Athanasius still less: *Videmus in symbolo Apostolico quasdam phrases Scripturæ inusitatas, quarum plures in Nicæno, plurimas in Athanasio, videre est.*

Jerom Ossolinus, or Ossolinski, a man of quality, shocked at the Hist. Ref. Eccl. Pol. great liberty which Blandrat had assumed in speaking, told him, in behalf of the Synod, that the Assembly was greatly offended with the scandalous Doctrines he maintained, and spread amongst the Faithful, and to justify his reproaches, called upon Lifismaninn, as a witness that was present, who had blamed him, for giving a book of an ill tendency to a lady of quality to read. Lifismaninn did not seem pleased with being called upon on that occasion, being unwilling to have it said, that his sentiments were different from those of Blandrat: He resumed the matter of the Preheminence of the Eternal FATHER over the SON, and endeavoured to convince Ossolinski of it, by the authority of the antient Fathers, as he had already done in his letter to John Charniuski; which opened a door to great contests and mutual reproaches of Heterodoxy. To put an end to them, the Moderators obliged those who had accused Blandrat and Lifismaninn of Heresy, to make them reparation in their honour, upon condition however, that Blandrat should sign the Profession of Faith, after which he should stand justified from the Crime of Heresy with which he had been charged.

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As the Temper and Letters of Calvin had very much contributed to the disturbances raised against Blandrat in this Synod, it was thought the duty of the Assembly, to write to Calvin and Balingier, an account of what had passed in it. Lisismaninn took upon himself the writing of those Letters, and the following year, Ezechovius carried them to Geneva, with the Palatin of Radzivil's Letters: The latter contained, that he could not condemn Blandrat, being persuaded, that he sincerely believed three consubstantial, coeternal, and coequal Persons in GOD: And that if they would force him to condemn this man, it was necessary for the Geneva and Zurich Ministers first to condemn that doctrine. By this it is plain, that the Palatin did not refer himself solely to Calvin, and that he suspected his resentment against Blandrat. After these many Contests the Synod broke up. Luthoremiski was removed from the Ministry of Pinczow, to be made Superintendant, or Bishop of the Churches of lesser Poland.

Synod of
Cracow,
1561.
B.A.p.185.

The sixteenth of September, in the same year, the Innovators assembled at Cracow; this Assembly made their twentieth Synod. Calvin's Letters, which Ezechovius had brought from Geneva, were read in it. These Letters exhorted the Churches of the Reformation, and particularly those of Cracow, and Pinczow, to have a watchful eye upon Blandrat, and to guard against his doctrine. They displeased many, and particularly Ossolinski, who exclaimed that it were to be wished, that the mystery of the TRINITY had never been spoken nor written of: *Utinam & scripta de Trinitate sparsa non essent*. (By that he apparently blamed the Fathers and Councils, who have instructed us in this mystery, and that we ought to stick to the Scripture only.) Those Complaints were supported by Blandrat and Lisismaninn, and indeed they had the nearest concern in them, and cried out; Alas! Let all the learned talk as much as they please of the mysteries of Religion, but let them leave us one only GOD; let them not divide him, and let them make themselves a Mediator to their own minds; *Relinquant mihi doctores unum Deum, nec illum dividant, babeant Mediatorem qualem sibi confinxerunt*: And we will give ourselves no trouble about the rest. Yet this great clamour, and all these complaints came to nothing: Blandrat was forced, in pursuance of Calvin's Letters, to give evidence of his Orthodoxy, upon the Trinity and Consubstantiality of Persons: He did so, he signed the formulary of Faith commonly received

ceived by the Reformed Churches, and it was imputed to Lisismann as a crime, the having written to John Charninski upon the Superiority of the FATHER in regard to the SON.

Lubienieski tell us of another Synod held at Pinczow, the nineteenth of November, in the same year; it was therein resolved to have satisfaction for the impieties which Stator had advanced against the Divinity of the HOLY GHOST, and he was obliged to give in his sentiments in writing upon that subject, in order to come to a clearer explanation of them than he had as yet done. But he shuffled, says John Stoinski, a minister of Cracow, and did not dare to put in writing all he thought concerning it. He insisted in his own Justification, that since the Ministers were satisfied with Blandrat, and had commended his Faith, although condemned by Calvin, they might very well let him alone as to his belief, him who had no other upon the matter in debate, than that of Blandrat: That indeed if such were Hereticks, who believe in the FATHER, SON, and HOLY GHOST, he acknowledged himself so, being of that Belief.

Synod of Pinczow, 1561. Hist. Ref. Eccl. Pol.

CHAP. IX.

Continuation of the Synods of the Reformed, and the Pinczowians, from the year 1562, to the Diet of Petricovia.

IN the year 1562, and in the month of March, the Innovators assembled again at Xianz; and this is their twenty-first Synod: Blandrat, dissatisfied at the violence which he pretended had been offered him in the Synod of Cracow, in being forced to subscribe, presented a new confession of his Faith. The purport of it was, that the FATHER, SON, and HOLY GHOST, were three different Hypostases or Persons, and that they were essentially GOD; that he acknowledged the eternal Generation of the SON, and his Divinity, and that the HOLY GHOST was truly GOD Eternal, proceeding from the FATHER and the SON. However orthodox this declaration appeared, the Synod would not do him the honour to suffer it to be read in the Assembly. Some particular men examined it; there were some that spoke in its commendation, and others that found fault with it, doubtless because he did not retract the opinion he had

Synod of Xianz, 1562.

B.A.p. 186.

had warmly maintained, that the FATHER had a Superiority over the SON.

*Synod of
Pinczow.*

The Synod of Pinczow, held in the month of April 1652, composed of two and twenty Ministers, and twelve Gentlemen, Patrons of their Churches, was more favourable to him. After having therein examined Gentilis's profession of Faith, who was there, and wherein he set up direct Arianism, his own was read and approved, being authorized by some Texts of Scripture, and he promising to reconcile himself with Calvin, upon condition, nevertheless, that he should allow the freedom of believing, that the CHRIST was the SON of the most High and Almighty GOD, and to speak of this High and Mighty GOD, in a plain simple manner, and without interpretation; that he should not be obliged to follow any other rule of Faith than the Holy Scripture and the Apostles Creed, and that he should retract what he had said at the beginning of his Commentary upon the Acts of the Apostles. Blandrat ran no risque by making these the conditions of his reconciliation with Calvin: He knew too well his enemy's temper to believe him a man that would recant upon the sole prospect of gaining the friendship of such a man as he, for whom he had the utmost Contempt. However, these conditions were sent to Calvin, and indeed they only served the more to raise his spleen against that wretched Fugitive, and to furnish him with innumerable opportunities of hunting him out of Poland.

Blandrat's affair being over, a decree was made, forbidding all ministers and other preachers to speak as philosophers concerning the Doctrines of the TRINITY, of the divine Essence, Generation, Spiritation, and of the eternal proceedings, and ordering them, that when they should be obliged to lay those mysteries before the people, to do it agreeably to what the Scripture and the Apostles Creed say of them. It was by the means of this decree, that the Pinczowians gained great reputation amongst the Reformed Churches, that they ruined the belief of the TRINITY amongst the other Sectaries, and that they never mentioned it in the Pulpit, or in their Assemblies, but to combat it.

The first who pursued this Decree, and added something of his own to it, was Gregorio Pauli, a Minister of Cracow, and Superintendant of the Churches of lesser Poland. He not only no longer spoke of the mysteries of the TRINITY, of the divine Essence, Generation and Proceedings, as a Philosopher, but he never spoke of
them

them at all. When he was to preach, he read the New Testament in order, and without adding any thing to it but the Glosses, Commentaries, Paraphrases, and moral Reflections, he was pleased to make upon it; and as he was Superintendant of the Reformed Churches, he forbid all the Ministers of his District to call upon, or even pronounce the name of the TRINITY, at the entrance of their Discourses.

This novelty made a great noise amongst the Reformed. Sarnicius, a good Protestant, a zealous Defender of the Mystery of the TRINITY, and still more desirous of the Post which Gregorio Pauli held, loudly blamed his conduct; and that he might not break with him without preserving some appearance of Charity and Decency, desired him not to introduce such innovations into the Churches of CHRIST, but to instruct the People in the usual way, and to explain at Length, and plain Paraphrases, not the Text of the New Testament, but the Apostles Creed, and those points which solely regard the Belief of the Faithful. Gregorio Pauli, who was of a haughty Temper, and valued himself upon his title of Superintendant of the Churches, despised the Complaints, Advice, and Prayers of Sarnicius, and went on with his novelties in his Instructions, and even in his Presence. Sarnicius thus despised, broke with him, and brought a prosecution upon him before the Magistrate of Cracow, and accused him of Arianism, and of favouring the errors of Servetus.

In the month of July the same Year, Bonarus not being able to reconcile these two Ministers, Stanislaus Szefranecius, a man of Quality, assembled at his house at Rogow, a number of Ministers and persons of Quality, in the form of a Synod; and one of the first things they went about, was the endeavouring to reconcile those two men. As soon as Gregorio had leave to speak, he harangued the Assembly upon it for the Purity of the Faith, censured the dissensions that reigned in their Churches, attributed them to Satan, the Author of Discord, and protested it was an injustice to attribute them to him, or to accuse him in general or particular of preaching up Arianism, because he preached one only GOD, FATHER of our LORD JESUS CHRIST. He added, that if by preaching that Truth he was become a Heretick, then the Apostles were to be taxed with Heresy, they who had no other object in their preaching than the only GOD, the GOD of Israel, the Creator of Heaven and Earth, and JESUS of NAZARETH, the MESSIAH promised to the antient

*Synod of
Rogow.
Hist. Ref.
Eccl. Pol.*

Patriarchs, the King of the Holy People, and the Saviour of the World; and that he was not ignorant, that since the time of the L. 3. Hist. Apostles, many errors were crept into the Church of CHRIST, as Eccl. c 29. Hegesippus owns in Eusebius of Cæsarea, and particularly as to the three Persons in the divine Nature, and the two Natures of JESUS CHRIST; novelties, continued he, which the Apostles knew nothing of, and which we ourselves might be ignorant of without any danger to our Salvation: That in order to avoid those errors, and this corruption in doctrine, we ought to stick to the holy Scripture, examine every thing, as the Apostle says, and hold to that which is good: That therein might be seen the Preheminence of the Eternal FATHER over the SON, which would be easy for him to prove; that indeed the Council of Nice had defined, that the SON was consubstantial with the FATHER, but there were also many of the Fathers, who were not well pleased with that term; that the Council did not venture to decide upon the Divinity of the HOLY GHOST; that St. Hilary, in his twelve Books upon the TRINITY, had never given the Title of GOD to the HOLY GHOST, nor said we were to worship, or call upon him; that St. Athanasius was the first and only one who had advanced that the HOLY GHOST was GOD, or supposing any of the Fathers had taught that doctrine before him, they were but few, and of no consideration; since, according to the testimony of St. Gregory of Nazianza, that tenet began to be taught in the Church, but about the year 365.

After this discourse, he attempted to prove the Preheminence of the FATHER over the SON, by the authority of St. Hilary, St. John Chrysostom, St. Cyril, Theophilaët, and some other of the Fathers, because those antient Writers have called the Eternal FATHER the cause, or principle of the SON: And in order to justify himself against Sarnicius for not speaking of the TRINITY, essence of Persons, Hypostases; he alledged the authority of the Synod of Pinczow, preferring it to that of so many Fathers and antient Councils, which direct us to make use of these terms, and to say, *Homousion, Hypostases, Consubstantiality, &c.*

Sarnicius had an answer ready to this Speech; he owned that corruption had crept in amongst Christians, ever since the death of the Apostles, but that this corruption was in the Ebionites, and in the followers of Cerinthus, of Simon Magus, of Paul of Samosata, and of Arius, and having owned thus much, he opposed the errors

errors of Gregorio Pauli from the Scripture, Councils, and antient Fathers.

That happened on this occasion, which happens in most of the disputes upon Religion: Each man chose his side; some applauded Gregorio, and others commended Sarnicius: Which gave Gregorio an opportunity of returning to the charge; he disclaimed the holding any opinions that favoured the Ebionites or antient Hereticks; and added, that all the authorities Sarnicius had employed against his sentiments, did not at all affect the proofs himself had urged from the Scripture; that whatever he had said of the Fathers by way of opposing him, were of no use, since they were but men: That the hymn *Gloria Patri, & Filio, & Spiritui Sancto*, in which he triumphed, was not in use till the beginning of the fourth Century, according to Eusebius and Nicetas: That it could be no Evidence, there being none to be made use of or received, agreeably to the principles of the Reformation, but the Scripture itself alone, and without any gloss: To conclude, that he believed in GOD through JESUS CHRIST, and gave him all glory through JESUS CHRIST the Mediator; that he adhered to the simplicity of Peter the Fisherman, and of the Apostles Creed, wherein he differed from the Jew. The latter believing in Almighty GOD, and I besides in JESUS CHRIST his SON, the promised MESSIAH, agreeably to the command he has given us in St. John; *Creditis in Deum, & in me credite*. In short, he so well maintained his cause, that all who were present at this Conversation, were inclined of his side, and were of opinion, that in order to preserve peace among the Churches, the Evangelists and Calvinists ought to bear with the Pinczowians, and the Pinczowians ought not to disturb the Evangelists and Calvinists; that no more mention should be made of new forms of Faith, unless they were perfectly conformable to the Scripture, and that for the rest they should hold to the last Synod of Pinczow. This decision was giving up the cause to the Pinczowians; by this they had what they wanted, peace, liberty, and the Scripture alone for the rule of their Belief.

Sarnicius plainly saw the consequences of this resolution, and that it would only serve to ruin the Belief of the TRINITY in the new Churches of the Reformation; wherefore upon the close of this Conference, either through a true Zeal for the belief of the TRINITY, or from an extreme desire to get into Gregorio Pauli's place (for he is accused of that ambition) he went and repeated his Complaints to

Bonarus and Miscovius against Gregorio, and accused him of Heresy. They, in order to do his Complaints justice, sent for Gregorio, together with Wisnovius, and some others. The first thing Sarnicius did was to reproach them with not calling upon JESUS CHRIST in their Prayers. Wisnovius maintained the contrary; from words they went on to foul language: They mutually reproached each other with their errors. In short, Sarnicius had the worst of it; the most antient Elders of the Church of Cracow, desired him to give over his pursuits, to leave the Church at peace, to keep up to the Decree of the Synod of Pinczow, not to set the Brethren and Ministers a quarrelling with the Lords their Patrons, and to maintain a good understanding with Gregorio Pauli.

These admonitions made no great impression upon Sarnicius; and he discovered as much to Bonarus, at his country-house, where were met several Ministers, in order to search into the most natural meaning of these words, *Unus Deus, unus & Mediator Dei & hominum, homo Christus Jesus*: There is one GOD, and one Mediator between GOD and man, who is the man CHRIST JESUS: Sarnicius would have it, that this word GOD meant the TRINITY, and Gregorio denied it upon a forced sense which he gave those words. Sarnicius cried out Heresy, demanded to have him deposed from his office, and turned out of Cracow as one who revived the Heresies of Arius and Servetus.

*Synod of
Pinczow,
1562.*

To put a stop to these Contests, and to see who was in the wrong, a new Synod was appointed at Pinczow, in August 1562. Sarnicius was invited to it, and promised to be there, but thought fit not to keep his word. They who were there gave in their profession of Faith, which professions of faith came to the knowledge of Sarnicius, who made a handle of them to convince Bonarus and the Moderators, that those men had ill thoughts of the TRINITY, and thereby he sowed division amongst the Reformed Churches.

The sudden death of Bonarus, who was Lord of the Manor, and had taken the new Church at Cracow under his Protection, and soon after his widow's marriage, altered the face of Gregorio Pauli's affairs. The Manor on which his Church stood fell into the hands of a new master; and Cichovius, Archicamerian (a title much resembling that of a Senator, or of a tribune of the Roman people: *Archicamerarius, quæ dignitas apud nos est Senatoriæ proxima, tribunum plebis Romano more recte vocaveris*) a man much esteemed amongst the Reformed,

for

for having given them one of his houses at Cracow, which served them for a Church, called an assembly at his House, where the intrigues of Sarnicius and Laurentius Prasnicus, his Colleague, were so powerful as to get Gregorio Pauli prosecuted, tho' he was absent. In this Assembly he was condemned to lose his Superintendence of the Churches of the lesser Poland, and to leave Cracow, as a man who endeavoured to revive the heresies of Arius. The Decree was put in full force ; but he went not far, for he soon found persons who honoured him with their protection, and gave him a safe retreat. In this number are placed Cichovius himself, Lutoromiski, Nemojovius, Philipovius, Lazanovius, Crovicius, Paclesius Schoman, &c.

Sarnicius did not stop here ; he plainly saw it was acting but by halves for the good cause, to turn Gregorio out of his Superintendence, if at the same time some curb was not put to the itching, which most of the Ministers had to be preaching the errors which the Pinczowians held upon the TRINITY. Invested with the Superintendence of the Churches of the lesser Poland in the room of Gregorio, he had a new profession of faith drawn up in opposition to that of the Pinczowians, and to it added a Decree, purporting, that all such as preached up the Superiority of the Eternal FATHER over the SON, should be deposed. This Decree, tho' approved and signed by the Synod, had no effect, the Ministers still went on in their own way.

The Elders, who clearly saw that by such a proceeding, the flames of discord would every day blaze out fiercer in their Churches, agreed to have a new Synod in November, and exhorted Sarnicius to be there. But he, not at all in the humour to appear at it, as a Scholar, but as Master, refused to be at it, foreseeing plainly, that he should not have the latter title.

In June 1563, the Pinczowians, at the solicitation of Lutoromiski, assembled to the number of two and twenty Ministers at Mordas, a town in the Palatinate of Vilna, and there made a Decree against such as maintained the doctrine of a GOD in three persons. This Decree was as it were the first alarm which made most of the Churches of the Reformation rise against the mystery of the TRINITY. A great number of Ministers, Magistrates, Noblemen, Knights, Satrapæ, Palatins, Generals, Governors of Provinces, Secretaries of State of the greater and lesser Poland, Lithuania, Russia, Podolia, Volinia, Prussia, Moravia, Silesia and Transilvania declared for the new Arianism, against the divinity, equality, and consubstantiality of JESUS CHRIST ;

Synod of
Mordas in
1563.

2

and

and if that party was not the strongest and most extensive amongst the Enemies of the Roman Church, at least it appeared formidable to the Evangelists, and Calvinists. It was to bring it low, or curb it, that in the Diet of Petricovia in 1565, they demanded leave to enter into a publick Conference with all those who had declared against the Mystery of the TRINITY, who desiring no better, it was granted them.

C H A P. X.

The Progress of SOCINIANISM in Poland after the Diet of Petricovia, in 1565.

WE may easily imagine that those Innovators would never have been able to maintain permission of Sigismond Augustus to hold a publick Conference upon Doctrines of Faith, if most of the Nobility who composed the Diet of Petricovia had not been infected with the new heresies. It was venturing too openly and boldly against a Catholick King, and one resolved to remain in the bosom of the Church of Rome. They who supported the Evangelists and the Reformed were shocked to see their Sect every Day falling away, or changing its appearance, and becoming the Subject of the raillery of the Pinczowians, who were continually urging them to disputes; and they who were for the Pinczowians, or who were indifferent as to religious Controversies, and who, by the licentiousness which the heresies and the ill government had introduced, were in great numbers, were transported to see their party engage with their adversaries, reckoning that their capacity, together with the pretended justice of their cause, would bring them off victorious. This is what made them beg the King to grant them this Conference, to prescribe the Rules, name the Commissioners, and Divines for it. The Catholick Lords, however, who were at that Diet, exclaimed loudly against such a proceeding; and the great Osius, Cardinal of the Holy See, who saw the consequences of it, took the trouble (notwithstanding his great age, and the fatigues he had suffered in the Journey at his return from Trent) of waiting on the King, in order to lay before him how much his honour and religion were concerned in this Conference: That it was his duty as a King to recall his word, and the power he had granted the hereticks upon that account, and even

even to break and dissipate such Conversations, wherein the Faith, being exposed to the arguments of Wranglers and captious Men, was always in great danger. However judicious this remonstrance of the Cardinal was, it had no effect: For the King, as it were enchanted either with the extreme desire of seeing the Innovators engaged with their adversaries, or the sollicitations of the Grandees on this head, or the apprehensions of disobliging those whom he either loved or feared, resolved that the Reformed should dispute in publick with the Pinczowians, on those points which were controverted between them. This proceeding so much displeased the Cardinal, and the Catholick Lords, that they went out of the Diet, that they might not be witnesses to the blasphemies which would be thrown out against the Holy TRINITY in this Conference.

They who formed this Conference were, on the side of the Pinczowians, Gregorio Pauli, Stanislaus, Lutoromiski, Superintendant of the Churches of the lesser Poland, and Secretary to the King, John his brother, Nicolas Sienicius, John Niemojovius, Casanovius, Paracelsus, &c. and on the side of the Reformed, Sarnicius, Silvius, Plusius, and some others of the most noted among them.

In the first Session with much ado the places were settled: It was agreed the Pinczowians should speak first, after them the Reformed; and each Man in his turn. Casanovius was appointed Secretary to the former, and Plusius to the latter. The Commissioners were chosen out of each party, and presided in turn. The first was John Firlai Palatin of Cracow, Grand Marshal of the Crown, a stanch Calvinist: At the Conclusion of a short Speech, in order to exhort both parties to procure a solid peace for the Churches, he said, let us then begin in the name of GOD, and of the Holy TRINITY. At this word a Pinczowian, who very probably was Gregorio Pauli, rose up in a Passion against the President, and, as if he had been scared, said, we know of no TRINITY; therefore we shall not say *Amen*. The Marshal, who without doubt should have made this Man hold his tongue, since he spoke at an improper time; and could not know but the President might have some other rules, or some other things to prescribe for the Conference, the Marshal, I say, replied; then begin your dispute with that Mystery.

Upon this, Gregorio Pauli, assisted by Gentilis, and some others, played off all the arguments made use of by the antient Ebionites, Samosatians, and Arians, against the TRINITY of persons, the
Confub-

Consubstantiality of the SON, his Eternity and other divine Attributes. Sarnicius, Sylvius, and some other Ministers of the Reformed, before they entered upon the dispute, had a mind to come to an agreement upon a point, on which certainly the Success of their cause depended, *viz.* whether the Pinczowians would receive as proofs the authority of Tradition, of the Fathers, and first Councils; but they, practised in the principles and maxims of the reformation, answered that Luther, Zuinglius, and Calvin, denied both Tradition, Councils, Fathers, and Church, and adhered to the holy Scripture only without comment, or interpretation, as the only proof of the doctrines of Faith, and that they would imitate them; and that they themselves too, being Lutherans, Calvinists, or Sacramentarians, could not deviate from that rule, and receive the authority of Tradition, or of the Councils, or antient Fathers for proof, without giving up the cause to the Roman Catholics on a great many points controverted between them, since by their confession, the Catholics were grounded on Tradition, the Councils, and the Fathers, and so clearly, that no reply could be made to them with any sort of reason. Now, added they, the Scripture taken in its natural sense, and such as it at first appears to the understanding, does not say there are three persons in God, and that the SON is consubstantial with the FATHER; therefore you ought not to admit the TRINITY, or Consubstantiality. In short, if we are to explain the Scripture by the Councils, we think we have as much reason to stand by the explication which the Councils of Sirmium and Rimini have given us upon this matter, as they, being Evangelists and Sacramentarians, to stand by the decision of the Council of Nice; nay, that they had much more reason to stand by the Councils of Sirmium and Rimini, than they had who held for the Council of Nice, since the Councils which they adhered to had been free, but that of Nice not by the presence of Constantin the great, who kept all the Fathers in awe, and under a necessity of acting according to his pleasure: This they ought to have proved, but did not, judging the fact notorious, or at least useless to their design.

C. 1. The Reformed therefore found themselves under a necessity of confining themselves within the bounds of the Scripture, and of using it without comment; they did so, but went not far. They began with explaining these words of St. John; *In the beginning was the word.* The Pinczowians, who were prepared upon this passage by the paraphrase

phrases which Lælius Socinus had written upon it, gave it a figurative sense, and confirmed that sense by other passages, to which the Reformed themselves gave a figurative sense, as to these words, *This is my body; I am the vine, my Father is the Husbandman; I am the water which springeth up to eternal life, &c.* The Reformed wanted not proofs drawn from tradition, the Councils, and Fathers, to break the force of these new fictions and explications, but did not dare to make use of them; and at last, after many words and much foul language on both sides, the Reformed not being able to bring any proofs drawn from Scripture, to which the Pinczowians could not reply, they with all their might, and in the full Assembly, broke out into, *Gloria Patri Deo, gloria Unigenito, cum Spiritu Paraclete, & nunc & in perpetuum*; Glory be to GOD the FATHER, Glory be to his only SON, and to the Spirit of Comfort, now and for ever.

This manner of proceeding, which at the bottom should have passed for a proof of their weakness and ignorance, and of the loss of their cause, was taken in another sense by the Pinczowians. They took it into their heads that GOD was blasphemed, in order to insult them, demanded justice of the Assembly for it, protested they would no longer suffer such abuses to be done to the majesty of the great GOD, and pretending to be extremely offended, broke up the Assembly, and separated in this manner.

As soon as they were gone, the Reformed pressed the Palatin Fir-lai to make some regulations, in order to settle a peace amongst the Churches, and put a stop to the Novelties of the Pinczowians, which was promised them, and it was ordered therein, that no publick Conference should be granted any more to the new Arians: That the Tenet of one only GOD in three persons consubstantial and coequal in every thing, should be maintained, and that all the Churches of the Reformed should adhere to it.

All the Pinczowian Ministers who were not present at that regulation, protested against it, and said they had acted against the stipulations agreed upon before the Conference, by condemning Gregorio Pauli and his Adherents without hearing them, and so well maintained their cause, that the Assembly divided into two parties, one of which declared for the great TRINITY, and the other for the small TRINITY; the former called the latter Arians, and these, the other blasphemers. The former, who knew not whom to blame for the ill success of their dispute, and for not confounding their adver-

series, mutually reproached each other with having given birth to this new Arianism. The Calvinists accused the Evangelists with it, because Luther had said, that he could scarce bear the word TRINITY, and Consubstantiality. Nor were the Evangelists nonplus'd by those reproaches: They were not ignorant, that several expressions had escaped Calvin against the TRINITY, and that the most determined Arians, as Blandrat, Alciatus, Gentilis, Gribald, &c. had been Calvinists, and that they themselves owned, that they had found the principles of the opinions which they maintained in the doctrine of Calvin. The second, I mean the Pinczowians, still went on their own way, but with less heat and ostentation, because they Hist. Ref. Eccl. Pol. had been strangely decried both in speech and writing, particularly Philippovius, and Lassicius. It was as heartily wished to have them treated in Poland, as Servetus had been at Geneva.

CHAP. XI.

Infant-Baptism is therein debated.

IT was much about the same time that Infant-Baptism was debated on both sides with great sharpness. The Pinczowians were against it, upon pretence, that the Scripture, according to their sense, did not speak of it expressly: And the Reformed were for it, upon pretence, that the Scripture was not against it, and that Tradition down from the Apostles to them, authorized it.

Nucleus, Hist. Eccl. The first who rise against Infant-Baptism, were the Arians of Cujavia, of Bristia, and of several Churches in Lithuania. Before this almost universal Revolt upon this subject, Sandius says, that Farnovius and Visnovius had already begun to re-baptize such adult persons as had been baptized in their Infancy. The honour of this Innovation is given to Gonés, who about the year 1562, had written a treatise against Infant-Baptism, to Peter Pulchranus a German, Rector of the College of Bieha in the Province of Lublin; to Paclesius, to Mathias Albinus, Minister of Ivanovia; to Jerom Pickarsius, and to Martin Czechovius. This last got such an ascendant over the minds of those of Cujavia, as to bring them to baptize adult persons only.

Simon Zacius Prossévicius, one of the Elders of the Church of Vilna, had in the year 1559, composed a formulary of Faith against Infant-

Infant-Baptism. This formulary in the sequel raised violent disputes between Czechovius, Nicolas Wandrogovius, and Paul, Superintendent of the Churches of Lithuania: The latter was for Infant-Baptism, and the two others against it. In 1565, a Synod was appointed at *Bresnia* with design to reconcile them, at which were two and thirty Ministers, but without any success: That number was not sufficient to stop the clamours or impetuosity of the two Re-baptizers, and the affair was put off to another Synod. *Synod of Bresnia, 1565.*

It was held on the 25th of December 1565, at Wendrovia, a town in Podlakia. Lutoromiski took the pains to write to the Churches of Vilna, to desire them to send thither their deputies. Forty-seven Ministers, sixteen persons of quality, and a great number of Lithuanians, who were not for Infant-Baptism, were present at it. Philippovius presided in it by the consent of the whole Assembly. The Letters of Madam Kisciana, and Madam Anne de Radzivil, Palatines, were read; after which those of the Churches of Lublin, Sidlovia, Brescia, &c. of the Elders of those Palatinates, and of several other persons of both sexes, and of different conditions, were examined. They all desired that nothing might be decided in regard to Infant-Baptism, but upon the terms of the Scripture, and that they would apply themselves to the pacifying the Troubles that reigned in the Churches. Six days were spent in disputes for and against Infant-Baptism, and with as much heat as had been shewn in the rest of the Synods for and against the mysteries of the TRINITY; but however, without coming to any conclusion: *Utraque pars permanfit in sua sententia.* *Synod of Wengrovia, 1565.*

In the mean while the Ministers of Lithuania being returned home to their Churches, boldly spread abroad, that the Synod had condemned Infant-Baptism, and had declared, that the people should take care to be instructed in the Faith before receiving Baptism. Some Ministers of Vilna, who were for Infant-Baptism, protested against this false Report, and writ in a sharp stinging manner to those of Brescia, for endeavouring to introduce into the Churches the pernicious Custom of not baptizing the Infant Children of the Faithful. These worthless men (I make use of the very terms of the letters) at first demanded Baptism for adult persons only, to quiet their consciences on that subject; and going on from one abyss to another, they called in doubt the validity of their Baptism, and openly maintained, that they had not been baptized. The time will come, continue those letters, when they shall imagine there is no necessity

for the baptizing the Adult, they being all spiritual; and they will at last come to that pitch, as to deprive men of all the means of salvation. After these complaints, the same letters exhorted those of Brescia to fly from that generation of Anabaptists, to keep to the plain institution of Baptism, and to the Gospel, and promise them to beg of GOD to deliver them from those turbulent and unquiet spirits. These letters are dated from Vilna, 1566.

The Ministers of Brescia took those letters very ill; and answered them in the same strain. You say (they are their words) that the doctrine, which is against the baptizing of Infants, is the pest and destruction of the Commonwealth, and of the Churches of GOD; but we on our side call it the doctrine and command of the Apostles, and will keep to it. And indeed, after these disputes they remained constant in their error, and did not baptize Children any more.

Some other Churches, in particular those of Russia and Transylvania, were not satisfied with embracing the error in regard to Infant-Baptism; they called it an idol, and likened it to the brazen serpent, adding, that they who insisted upon the necessity of it, were like to those who sought Noah's Ark, Jeremiah's Yoke, and Joas's Arrows; and maintained, that this Baptism, which had been necessary in the beginning of the Church, was now-a-days useless, since the Infants of the Faithful are called holy by the Apostles, and that being really holy, it was an error to impute to them original sin; from whence they concluded, that it was useless to give them Baptism, inasmuch as by the principles of such as give it, they give it only to take away original Sin, to make men holy, and to encrease the Alliance and Family of GOD, and of JESUS CHRIST his SON.

Upon these maxims they received the antient custom of the Church in regard to the Catechumens, and took care to instruct such on whom they conferred Baptism. Indeed the practice was not general; so that, to avoid prosecutions, had such a proceeding been known, each man had the liberty, on these occasions, of doing what reason, conscience, or interest, perswaded them to.

C H A P. XII.

*Continuation of the Synods of the Reformed and Pinczowians,
from the year 1566, to 1568.*

THE disputes concerning the Preheminence of the FATHER, Hist. Ref. Eccel. Pol. the Consubstantiality of the SON, and the Baptism of Infants, still grew more and more warm. To put an end to them, the Catholick Lords, and some of the Reformed Ministers, as Sarnicius, Gilovius, Silvius, Zachius, Trecius, complained loudly of those impieties, and demanded justice upon them at the Diet of Lublin, in 1566. Diet of Lublin, 1566. King Sigismund Augustus, who appointed it, to do justice to their complaints, made a decree against the Re-baptizers, and such as opposed the mystery of the TRINITY, and obliged them to depart the kingdom in a month.

In pursuance of that Edict, Philippovius was prosecuted, and accused before the King (perhaps in this accusation, there was as much revenge, jealousy, and avarice, as justice and truth) he was accused, I say, of having re-baptized some Adult Persons, and taught impious Doctrines against the Holy TRINITY. The accusation being proved, he was condemned to lose his head, without any one daring to speak in his favour, because they who had declared against him, had a very great credit both with the King, and in the Diet. Deserted thus by his friends, except Prilecius, and finding himself in the King's presence, he cried out, *Veniet tempus, quo alius rex judicet, & superior causa evadet, qui suos tuebitur*: The time shall come when another King shall judge, the good cause shall triumph, and that King preserve his servants. Zamofiski, a good Catholick, of whom we shall have occasion to speak, hearing him talk in that manner, accused him of menacing the Republick with a new King, who would justify him, and of thereby being an Enemy to the King and the State. Sigismund himself was moved at it, and imagined, that the criminal was some new Prophet, who foretold ill to him; or an Astrologer, who by the help of his art had discovered, that within a year there would be some alteration in the Republick; and this was what set him the more against the Criminal.

Philippovius, mortified with this new accusation, was resolved to demand justice at the Diet, either to gain time, or perhaps too to shew

shew his affection to the King, and for the publick tranquillity; but Cicovicius advised him against it, not to exasperate the minds of men the more against him. He therefore abandoned himself to his tears, and in that condition addressed himself to the father of Zamofiski, begging him to do him justice against the injustice which his son did him. That Lord, who knew Philippovius, by several handsome instances which deserved his protection, threatned his son that he would kill him himself, if he did not give the accused immediate satisfaction. The son, who possessed all the good qualities of a gentleman and a man of honour, did so, and that in so generous a manner, as disposed the King to alter his mind in favour of the Criminal. This gave so happy a turn to Philippovius's affairs, that all the accusations brought against him, all the prosecutions and pressing instances of his enemies, and the sentence of death so solemnly pronounced, came to nothing.

At the same time, and by virtue of an Edict of the Diet, the Curate of Biacia prosecuted several persons accused of Arianism and Anabaptism, but without success; for as soon as they had appeared and declared that they were neither the one nor the other, and that they held the Scripture, the Apostles Creed, and the Faith of the first Ages, they were set at liberty, and discharged from persecution.

Gregorio Pauli, who was apprehensive, that under favour of that Edict, Miscovius would prosecute him for his errors, ran away together with some other Ministers, who held the same doctrines: Some of them made to the Woods, there to live at peace; others retired to Albinus, and several to Philippovius: Rudzinius, who lived there, received them in *visceribus Christi*, in the bowels of Christ: He comforted them upon the persecutions they suffered, and exercised them in the works of the Sect, that is, in prayer, in giving the communion, and in preaching, which he continued to do, so long as any regard was had to the Edict of the Diet: They feared, lest by acting contrary to it, they might be treated as Servetus had been, and as such, who had held erroneous opinions like theirs, had been punished.

Synod of At the same time, the Evangelists and Calvinists, authorized by
Lublin, the Diet of Lublin, held a Synod there, where they found their
1566. number and authority so great, as to hinder the Pinczowians from
Testam. of being present at it, and even to force them to depart Lublin with
Schoman. precipitation. Things would have been carried further, if Nicolas
A.A.p. 194.

Sienieski, Internuntio at the Diet, had not besought the King to support the liberty of the Diets, and of his subjects. The King was so complaisant to that Lord, as not only to forbid any violence to be done to the Pinczowians, but was pleased also to honour them with his protection. However, they had the prudence not to appear at the other Diets, or to appear but seldom, and in a small number, that they might not give umbrage to the Reformed, or draw upon themselves fresh insults. But this piece of prudence did not avail them; for the Reformed, finding themselves the stronger, and as it were Masters in those Assemblies, carried their complaints as far as possible against Arianism, and were continually pressing such Lords with whom those Arians had taken refuge, to drive them out of their territories, which some of them were very much inclined to.

In this year 1566, George Schoman places the Epocha of the favourite opinion of the Pinczowians, and which afterwards was set in its full light by Faustus Socinus. Having filled their minds with the rhapsodies of Lælius Socinus, they began to shake off Arianism to give into the Samosatian doctrine. *Sub id ferè tempus ex rhapsodiis L. Socini quidam fratres didicerunt Dei filium non esse secundam Trinitatis personam, Patri coessentialem, &c.* It was not enough to give the preference to the Eternal FATHER over the SON, and to deny the Consubstantiality of the latter, his Eternity and Personality really distinct from that of the FATHER: They boldly affirmed, that JESUS CHRIST was not GOD, but a man like others, born indeed of a virgin, by the operation and virtue of the HOLY GHOST. It was one Luke Sternberg who first maintained this impious Paradox in Poland: Many were for going to the bottom of it, adhered to it, and thereby gave the beginning to Socinianism. *A quibus nos commoniti sacras literas perscrutari, persuasi sumus.*

Though the Pinczowians appeared no more at the Diets to dispute, yet they did not give over their Assemblies and Synods, in which they made a great clamour. Farnovius maintained, in a Synod, that the Word was before the world. Some of the Pinczowian Ministers attacked him roundly upon this Tenet, and one named John Bon, a Sacramentarian, attacked them in his turn, and treated them as Arians. After much passion and foul language on both sides, which was of no service to the common cause, they parted in very ill temper, after having appointed a Synod for the 24th of June 1567.

That

*Synod of
Serinia,
1567.*

That Synod was held at Serinia, a borough of the lesser Poland. An hundred and ten persons distinguished, either by their nobility or employment, and a great number of the common people of both sexes came thither from Poland and Lithuania, either out of curiosity or necessity. Philippovius was President of this too, notwithstanding the opposition of some of the Sacramentarians, who did not care to trust him. Criscovius and Swzechovius were Secretaries for Casanovius, Farnovius, Niemojevius, Zilinus, Cechovisius, Daniel, Bielinus, who all maintained, that the Word, or the SON of GOD, had been before Mary, and that he was the Creator of Heaven and Earth, as well as the FATHER: That is to say, that they were still Arians, and were resolved to support their sentiments, since they did not add that the word was eternal. Coscianus & Budzinius were Secretaries for Schoman, Gregorio Pauli, Securinus, Albinus, and Calinovius, who insisted, that the SON, the Word, the Interpreter of the FATHER, or JESUS, was not before the world, and began to exist but about the time of St. John Baptist, and the Emperor Augustus, that is, that they adhered to the opinion of Lælius Socinus, that JESUS CHRIST began to be but when Mary brought him forth. The dispute continued long, and after each man had explained the passages of Scripture, which he alledged, agreeably to his own Genius, and the interest of his cause, they separated with a little less disorder than in the foregoing Synods.

But Farnovius, a very noisy man, and who was not used willingly to yield, took it into his head to write sharply against those who insisted that CHRIST was not before his mother; which created fresh divisions amongst the Churches, and formed a fourth party, who had the name of *Binatarians*, or *Farnovians*, given them, to distinguish it from that of the Catholics, Evangelists and Calvinists.

To quiet all sides, and without noise, the affair, the arguments, and answers, were put into the hands of Stanislaus Cichovius, Archicamerian of Cracow. Matters being in this situation, the Synod was put an end to by a piece of advice which Philippovius gave the two parties, which was, that they ought to hold the doctrine generally received concerning the TRINITY, and mutually behave towards each other with Charity, and allow every one to write upon their opinion, but without sharpness, against such who were of different sentiments, that they might be present at the prayers and sermons of the Reformed Churches, provided every thing were conformable to the

the style and natural sense of the holy Scriptures, and refer all such as should pray or preach otherwise, to the Tribunal of Conscience. His decision was the same as to Infant-Baptism; I mean that he left every one to his liberty to do what he should think most expedient, waiting till the last Judgment, wherein it would be seen, which of all parties was in the right. Thus was Toleration established in the Churches of the Reformation, and that by Synodal Authority.

In this manner the President concluded the Synod, wherein, as may be easily seen, each side gained his cause, and was supported in its opinions. But this decision, which had more of Pyrrhonism and licentiousness, or rather of weakness and complaisance, in it, than prudence or Christianity, was not universally approved of. Farnovius, a factious man, set the minds of men into such a ferment, that the Churches of the Pinczowians divided into so many branches and opinions, that at that time there were reckoned no less than thirty two Sects, all of different sentiments, and which notwithstanding agreed in this point, that JESUS CHRIST was not the true and supreme God. This diversity, together with the wars which these Innovators made upon each other, and which the Reformed made upon them, gave a just motive for turning them into ridicule, and for the reproach cast upon them, that their Church was not the true Church of God, since so many divisions reigned in it upon fundamental points of Faith. They saw plainly that this reproach was but too well grounded: And to remedy it, they resolved to call a new Synod.

A great number of Ministers and Divines of the Pinczowians, Evangelists, and Calvinists, met at Cracow in 1568, and after many arguments and debates for a re-union, and forming but one Church, to set up as a balance against that of the Catholics, they resolved upon making a new confession of Faith, which might be approved by all the parties of the Reformation. That form being drawn up according to the design, was presented to Sigismund Augustus. They imagined that he, having granted liberty of conscience to the Lutherans and Calvinists, would grant the same liberty to the Pinczowians too, upon sight of this form of Faith, which jumbled them into one Church, and that by the means of that liberty of conscience, they should no longer be excluded from the Employments and Honours due to their birth and merit. Perhaps their hopes had not been ill-grounded, if the minds of the King's Council had been corrupted by the new Heresies: but luckily it had understanding enough to

*Synod of
Cracow,
1568.*

perceive that that piece was impious, and even incomprehensible to those who had framed it, and courage enough to reject it, and give a very cool reception to those who had presumed to present ~~it~~ to the King.

This Refusal disconcerted them. They could never unite again, whatever measures they entered into at Sandomir in 1568, and at Racovia in 1569. It is said, that some gentlemen, Divines and Ministers met there, to examine into some points of Scripture, and make some regulations; that the point of concord could never be come at, and that after much debating they broke up the Assembly, all equally out of humour, and calling each other Pharisees, Sadducees, Jews, and Atheists. Things were pushed on with so much heat, that all the Ministers, except Czechovicius, were suspended; and probably some remedy might have been applied to the evil that encreased every day, if one Simon an Apothecary, whom the Pinczowians on this occasion looked upon almost in the same view as the Jews did on Esdras at their return from Babylon, had not by his credit and learning hindered that suspension, and caused those Ministers and Preachers to be restored to the exercise of their functions, who carried matters so far during the Reign of Sigismund Augustus, who died in 1573, that if the Pinczowians and they who had declared against the divinity of JESUS CHRIST, was not uppermost in Poland, at least it appeared so terrible to the Evangelists and Calvinists, as well by their great number of Churches at Cracow, Lublin, Pinczow, Novogrod, Racovia, in the country, and on the territories of several Noblemen, as by the great number of persons considerable for their nobility, employments, and capacity, which attached them to it. I shall now pass into Hungary and Transilvania, where the new Arians, who had the name of Unitarians given them, made no less progress than they did in Poland.

C H A P. XIII.

The State of Hungary and Transilvania in the Reign of Sigismund Zapoliha, and the progress of SOCINIANISM after the death of Cardinal Martinusius.

TO give light into the hot disputes which broke out in Hungary and Transilvania, in the time of Ferdinand and Sigismund Zapoliha, so favourable to the beginning and progress of Socinianism, it is to be observed, that after the bloody battle in the plains of Mohars, or Mohagzie, which the Turks won over the Hungarians, (wherein Lewis their King, a youth about twenty, perished in a marsh.) Ferdinand, brother to Charles the Fifth, grounding his pretensions upon the right of Anne his wife, and sister to Lewis, as well as upon Treaties made by his predecessors with the Kings Matthias and Uladislaus, got himself elected King of Hungary by a numerous party of Hungarians, who were headed by the Queen mother, the widow of Lewis, by Stephen Bathori, Palatin of the Realm, and by a great number of Prelates and Barons. John Zapoliha, Vainode of Transilvania, and Earl of Scepus, who upon other pretensions had already disputed the Crown at the death of Uladislaus, likewise got himself elected in 1526, by another faction, which they say represented the States of the Kingdom, and was crowned by the Archbishop of Strigonia. But having neither money nor forces to support his election against so powerful a competitor as the brother of Charles the Fifth, he retired into Poland, to the Palatin Jerom Laski, in expectation of the whole Kingdom's declaring for him, which they did, brought to it by the intrigues of a Monk, whose name was George Martinusius, or Martinusias, and whose history is as follows.

G. M A R T I N U S I U S.

Martinusius was descended of a noble, but poor Family, so that from his childhood he was forced to enter into the service of the mother of John Zapoliha, where he behaved with so much prudence, that being arrived at an age capable of choosing his way of life, she procured him to be admitted amongst the Benedictins; others say amongst

amongst the Monks of St. Paul the Hermit, and Father Paul will have it, that it was amongst the Monks of St. Basil. After entering into Priest's Orders, he gave into his natural genius, which was delicate and subtle, industrious and adroit, enterprizing, capable of the greatest and most difficult affairs, and happy enough to be successful in every thing; and he so wrought up the minds and dispositions of the Hungarians in favour of his old Master, as to make them declare for him against Ferdinand. Having taken these steps, he waited on his Master then with the Palatin Laski, to give him an account of the State of his Affairs in Hungary, and to let him know that he would do well to make use of the opportunity to enter upon his inheritance. Zapoliha, who was grown tired with a private life, and desired nothing so much as to take the advantage of his election, sent back Martinusius into Hungary, promised soon to follow him, and engaged him to do his best to make the design he had began, succeed.

Du Verdier Hist. of the Turks

Whilst the Monk was setting every Engine to work, the Palatin Laski persuaded him of the necessity of desiring the assistance of Soliman II. Emperor of the Turks, in order to make head against Ferdinand. Zapoliha approved the advice, and Laski went himself to Constantinople, and obtained aid from Soliman, upon condition that Zapoliha should pay tribute to the Port. Upon these conditions, Zapoliha went into Hungary. Wars were to be maintained against his Competitor; and after many battles and towns taken on each side, a peace was concluded, wherein it was agreed, that the two Kings should each keep the Towns they had conquered; and that if Zapoliha died without Children, the whole Kingdom should revert to Ferdinand.

The Peace being concluded, Zapoliha, in acknowledgment of the obligations he had to Martinusius, made him Counsellor of State, high treasurer of the Crown, and Bishop of Waradin. In 1540, he carried his gratitude farther; the moment he had, after a long siege, taken the Castle of Foragas by force (whither Stephen Mailats, the most obstinate of Ferdinand's partisans, had retreated, and where he expected the relief which the King sent him under the command of Nadaski, to raise a rebellion in Hungary) he received a Courier with the news of the birth of a son, whom God had given to him the 7th of July. For joy of it, he gave an Entertainment, and drank after the Hungarian manner. This excess encreased his distemper; whereupon he thought seriously of death, made his Will, therein
declaring

declaring Martinusius Regent of the Kingdom, and Guardian of his son, jointly with Isabella his wife, daughter to Sigismund I. King of Poland, and in a few days died at Saffabes, in the 53d year of his age.

Martinusius was not long unemployed, nor without shewing instances of his great Abilities. Scarce had Zapoliha payed his tribute to nature, when Ferdinand was extremely inclined to forget one of the articles of the peace, purporting that he should not be King of all Hungary, except Zapoliha died without Children, and reclaimed the towns which the late King had conquered before the peace. The Queen, fond of ease, would willingly have given them up to him, to avoid a war, which possibly might be attended with ill consequences: But Martinusius was absolutely against it. He represented to her, that Ferdinand's way of acting, was an open and horrid piece of injustice, and that he intended to make advantage of the minority of his Pupil, who was but 13 days old, of the Queen's timorousness, and the pretended ignorance of a Regent who had been brought up in a Cloister: Besides, that the Grandees of the Kingdom would be the first in their Complaints both against her, and himself, should he give up those appennages of the Crown of Hungary, and leave the rest of the Kingdom as a prey to Ferdinand and Solyman, by abandoning those towns which were the strongest. After these reflections and remonstrances, he opposed the attempts of Ferdinand, fortified his frontiers in the best manner he was able, sent an Ambassador to Solyman, to conjure him to come to his Pupil's relief, and in the mean while shut himself up in Buda with the King and Queen.

Ferdinand, in order to get into his hands the towns he pretended to belong to him, sent an Army into Hungary under the command of Roccendolf, or Regendolf, who having taken some of the Frontier towns, came and sat down before Buda. Martinusius defended himself long enough to give time to the Turks to come up with their Army to his relief. Scarce was it before the town, when the Germans raised the Siege, and left the Turks Masters of the Field and of the Town. Soliman, who followed his Army, upon News of it, hastened by long marches to Buda, took possession of it, as well as of the rest of Hungary that was dependant upon Stephen the young King, to whom he gave the name of John Sigismund. He covered this Usurpation with a pretence of making himself amends for

for the charges he had been at, and of being always in a condition to hinder Ferdinand from making fresh inroads into Hungary. However, he was desirous of keeping some measures of decency in this usurpation, which must pass for a monstrous piece of treachery and perfidiousness in any but Turks: He took the King and Queen into his protection, gave them the Sovereignty of Transilvania, which he had lately wrested from Ferdinand, and desired the Queen to send him the King that he might see him. She complied, and he received him with those ceremonies which are to be seen in the Monk

Tom. I.
P. 631,
632.

Hilarion de Coste, in his *Eloges des Dames Illustres*, and sent the Queen word, that if he did not see her, it was for fear the Visit might prejudice her reputation.

Martinusius, whom Solyman had confirmed in the Regency, retired to Lippa, a town of Transilvania, where the new Court had its Residence. There he seriously reflected on the wrong measures he had taken with the Turks, and on their perfidy: And to remedy it, he contrived means to make peace with Ferdinand. Nor was that difficult, for it was concluded on this single condition, that in case of John Sigismund's death without Children, Ferdinand should enter upon all his Rights, and be acknowledged sole King of all Hungary and Transilvania.

Father
Paul.

Upon the conclusion of the Treaty, Ferdinand, to recompence Martinusius, and bring him over entirely to his Interest, gave, or promised him a pension of fourscore thousand Livres, others say fourscore thousand crowns, to which he added the Archbishoprick of Strigonia, the richest and most considerable See in Hungary, amounting to above 25,000 ducats a year. In short, to carry his liberality to the utmost, on the 12th of October 1551, he procured him a Cardinal's Hat, with a permission from Pope Julius III. to wear the red Hat and Habit without going to Rome, notwithstanding the Habit of his Order which he was obliged to wear. These were gratifications capable of flattering and captivating a Man, who had known himself poor, a domestick Servant, and a Monk. Yet all this made less impression upon him, than the obligations he had to the Family of Zapoliha, and the honour of doing his Duty. Unfortunately for himself, for the State, and for the Catholick Religion too, it was too soon perceived; and the sequel will plainly shew it.

Father
Paul.

Hist. of
Coste.

John Baptista Castaldi, Marquis of Cassani, an Italian, a cunning head, attached to the house of Austria, and brought up in the fami-

ly of Francis Avalos, Marquis of Pescara, at that time commanded in chief, or under that Marquis, the gros of the Army which Ferdinand kept up in Transilvania, under pretence of preserving that Principality against the Enterprizes of the Turks; but in reality at the instance of Martinusius, who had a mind to restrain the authority of the Queen mother, and force her to depend upon him in the government of the State. The Marquis imagined that the Cardinal made no great account of any of the benefits whereby the Court of Vienna had obliged him; that he had no good Will to Ferdinand, whose interest he did not scruple to sacrifice whenever they came in competition with those of his Pupil, and that probably he might be worth a million in Gold, a considerable Sum for the times and the country, which he lived in!

Upon these imaginations he formed the design of ridding himself of Martinusius: And to confirm himself in so horrid an intention, took it into his head to persuade himself he should oblige the house of Austria, that in the million of Gold, which he should be master of, he should find the means of paying his troops, that began to mutiny and disband for want of their pay, and besides, that in recompence of so considerable a piece of Service done Ferdinand, that King would not fail making him Regent of the Principality, or at least he should get rid of a Man whose authority extreamly restrained his own. Father Paul,

To colour over this Assassination, which he was desirous of executing, with some shew of Justice, he had the Cardinal accused at the Court of Vienna, with holding intelligence with the Turks; that he was contriving no less than the making Transilvania Mahometan, of driving out the young King and the Queen mother, and making himself the Sovereign of it under the Protection of the Porte, upon condition of paying them a large tribute. Upon these propositions, the Court of Vienna consented, or as others say, solemnly decreed the Cardinal's death.

Castaldi authorised by this Decree, suborned sixteen Italians, with his own Secretary at their head. They all came to Binsa, or Binga (a Castle which the Cardinal had newly built upon the ruins of the Monastery where he had been a Monk.) The Secretary told the Cardinal's Valet de Chambre he had a Message to deliver the Cardinal from his master. The Valet suffered him to go in alone, and would have shut the door after him; but the Marquis Sforza, a Captain, one of
of

of the Assassins, put his knee between the door, and whilst he was contesting with the Valet, the Secretary stabbed Martinusius in the throat with a dagger, at the moment he was going to sign a paper which the Secretary had given him. The Cardinal finding himself wounded, cried out, *O Virgin Mary!* and gave the Secretary a blow with his hand, that laid him upon the Floor. The Marquis of Sforza, at sight of this, forced open the door, and gave the Cardinal a blow with a Sabre, which split his head in two, and only gave him time as he was expiring, to say, *Jesu, Maria, quid est hoc fratres?* Jesus, Mary, what is the meaning of this, my Brethren?

Father
Paul.

This blow was given the 18th of December 1551. The Cardinals and Prelates then at the Council of Trent, considering the ill consequences that attempt might have, conjured the Pope to take cognizance of it, and punish the Authors. To engage him to do so, they assured him that Martinusius was worth a million; that he had died without a Will, and that of right that million belonged to the Apostolick Chamber. The Pope deputed some of the Cardinals to take informations of it upon the spot; and those informations charged Ferdinand and his troops in Transilvania, with it. He again sent Commissioners to Vienna, to inform themselves more fully of the Fact. It is said on this occasion, that in consequence of the informations taken in Transilvania, the Pope excommunicated the Emperor and his Ministers, and that by the informations taken at Vienna, those censures were taken off. However that may be, it is sure that the last Commissioners declared Martinusius innocent of the Crimes Castaldi had accused him of, and absolved Ferdinand, and those who had not been present at the murder, with this clause; Supposing the facts reported in the cause be true: But this clause, which brought into doubt Ferdinand's innocence, was taken off, upon the Complaint of his Ministers. They only who had given the blow, went to Rome to obtain absolution, not so much Criminals, as Men who had performed an action worthy of reward. Upon Martinusius's death, Petrowitz, a Dalmatian Nobleman, a favourite of the Queen mother, and a great partisan of the new Opinions, came into his place, and thereby grown very powerful in the State, with all his might favoured the new Sects, and encreased them, particularly that of the *Unitarians* (for so were the new Arians of Hungary and Transilvania called) by the means of George Blandrat, whom he sent for out of Poland into Transilvania.

C H A P. XIV.

Continuation of the same Subject. SOCINIANISM introduced into Transilvania under John Sigismund, Prince of Transilvania, by the Intrigues of Blandrat.

JOHN Sigismund, now about three and twenty years of age, upon the report he had heard of the Abilities of the Physician Blandrat, ordered him to be written to, to have him about his person as his Physician. Blandrat, who at that time stood but ill with the Reformed Churches of Poland, and was even persecuted by them, did not stay to be twice written to on that Subject, but immediately set out, and arrived in Transilvania in the Year 1563.

Scarce was he got thither, when he began to gain a name by some important cures, he undertook with Success. There needed no more to gain him admission and credit with the most considerable Men. Petricowitz, who was pleased with his wit and temper, his manners, and his doctrine, took an affection to him. The Princes Stephen and Christopher Batori, made use of him as their Physician in ordinary, and Stephen went so far as to make a friend and counsellor of him. John Sigismund declared him his first Physician, and put so much confidence in him, as never to be better pleased, than when he had him with him. Blandrat being as cunning, as eager in advancing his fortune, and insinuating his new opinions, knew very well how to put all those advantages to the best use.

It is observed, that when he had eased his patients of their pains, and brought them out of danger, he used to tell them diverting Stories; that by his jovial humour, he easily insinuated himself into their confidence, and particularly into that of people of Quality: That when he had gained their friendship, he would entertain them with serious affairs, such as those of Religion, Politicks, and State; and as the assassination of Martinusius still hung extremely heavy upon their minds, and so much the more as the murderers gloried in it, and the Germans declared openly, that they had thereby preserved the State and Religion; therefore Blandrat generally made it the subject of his conversation; and thereby, and by other arts and discourses corrupted the Minds of most of the Grandees of the Court, upon the mystery of a GOD in three persons, and a GOD incarnate.

Those Grandees were already infected with the heresies of Luther, Calvin, or Zuinglius; and the Prince took a particular pleasure in hearing him argue upon matters of Religion, not as a Divine, but as a Heathen Philosopher, and especially upon the TRINITY, as on a Chimera which might reasonably strike a horror into Men. These dispositions in the whole Court, could not but raise the desire, which Blandrat had, to insinuate his paradoxes upon the TRINITY, and our other mysteries.

However, as he was not capable of such matters, nor of deep reflections, as his mother continually kept a strict eye over him to preserve him in the Roman Faith, as Solyman II. had formerly desired, that is, commanded, that there should be no alteration made in Religion, that the minds of men might not be divided upon so nice a point as that of the Roman Faith, amongst nations who had always continued in it since their conversion from Paganism: And as in obedience to that injunction, an Edict had been made in 1555, to banish all foreign Religions as the Romans had done; an Edict indeed that was never put in execution, since, as we just now observed, most of the Grandees had fallen in with the Protestants, and the Calvinists obtained a suspension of it as to themselves: Sigismond did not as yet dare publickly to embrace the errors which Blandrat infused into him; but matters altered very much soon after.

In 1561, *Francis Davidis*, a Man bigotted to the Confession of Augsburg, and Superintendant of the Reformed Churches, had a sharp dispute with Simon Calmoneki, a Sacramentarian, and a noted Preacher, cunning, well versed in controversy, and favoured by the Governor of Clausenburg (it was Colofvar.) What occasioned the dispute, was some people newly arrived from Geneva, and Zurich, who so divided the minds of the Transilvanians by the novelty of their doctrines, that they no longer knew which side to take, nor what to fix to. *Francis Davidis*, in order to clear up these doubts, demanded a publick Conference to be held in the presence of Sigismond and all the Lords, and challenged the Sacramentarian Preacher, and all those new comers, to maintain their opinions before him. The Challenge was accepted, on condition that they should send the Acts of the Conference to Philip Melancthon, and stand to his Judgment.

Here I fix the first Epocha of the change in heart and mind of Sigismond, as to Religion; for had he been a good Catholick, he had driven all those Broachers of false doctrine out of his Kingdom.

However

However that may be, Melancthon was not a Man to give into Zuin-
glius or Calvin's Opinions, and decided in favour of Francis Davidis,
as appears in the history of the Confession of Ausburg. But before
his decision arrived in Transilvania, Francis Davidis, by a turn of
mind not to be accounted for, unless we attribute it to a Spirit a-
verse to all confinement in matters of Religion, declared for the
Confession of Zurich, and from a good Lutheran became a Sacra-
mentarian ; a good Omen for Blandrat, as we shall see.

Hitherto we have nothing more than presages of Sigismond's hete-
rodoxy ; it was not till towards 1566 that he gave proofs of it.

Petricowitz, who governed the Principality with an authority
which nothing could oppose, and who besides knew that Selim, Suc-
cessor to Solyman II. gave himself no trouble about the differences
which might arise in Hungary and Transilvania, in matters of Reli-
gion, at last resolved to execute the design he had long formed, *viz.*
to bring all those new opinions into vogue. And to succeed in that
design, under pretence of the Edict of 1565, which allowed the ex-
ercise of the new Sects to such as had embraced them in Transilvania,
he made way for all Strangers who professed the Reformed Religion,
gave them the liberty of publickly performing the functions of it,
and granted them Colleges for the Education of their Children, and
a power of disputing and maintaining Controversies against such as
were not of their opinions.

One of those who distinguished himself the most amongst these new
Comers, was *Dionysius Alexis*, a learned and able Man, who had the
secret of pleasing Blandrat, and by his means, of gaining access to
Sigismond. That Prince liked him so well, as to make him one of
his Confidents, and even his master in matters of Religion, and made
so great a progress under such a master, that in a short time he grew
out of conceit with the Roman Church, and became a good Lu-
theran.

But this was not Blandrat's aim. Some of the Calvinists, such as
Gallus, Matthew Denei an Apostate Monk, Peter Melvis, Peter Ca-
rolinus, George Geontius, &c. who had been introduced into the
Court of Sigismond, were so loud against the Doctrines and Practices
of the Lutherans, as being too like the Romans, and so extolled the
Doctrine of Geneva, and Zurich, that Sigismond became tired of Lu-
theranism, and fell in with the Calvinists and Sacramentarians.

All these changes were so many good Omens for Blandrat, he easily foresaw by them that a time would come when that Prince would believe nothing, or only what he should propose to him; and to arrive at that point, gained the friendship of Francis Davidis, who stuck to nothing as to Religion. He had quitted the Confession of Augsburg against his own conviction, and gone over to that of Zurich, for reasons which no body could ever comprehend, and at last quitted the Confession of Zurich for the doctrine of his new friend, which was no more than an Arianism set in a finer Light.

It cannot be conceived how far Blandrat carried his conquests upon this union. All the Counsellors and great Lords of the Court, who were already fallen in with the doctrines of Wittenburg, of Augsburg, Geneva, and Zurich, as Petrowitz, Jasper Cornis, Christopher Famigali, John Gerendi, Head of the *Sabbatarians*, a people who did not keep Sunday, but Saturday, and whose Disciples took the name of *Genoldists*. All these, and others, declared for the opinions of Blandrat; and Francis Davidis preaching one day in the Church of St. Stephen at Tewiswar, before Sigismond and his whole Court, inveighed so much against the TRINITY, and such as believed it, and with so much eloquence maintained from the holy Scripture, that the Eternal FATHER was the only true and supreme GOD, to whom the SON was inferior, that the young prince openly declared that he was of the Preacher's opinion.

This blow made a great noise, and confounded the Lutherans and Sacramentarians. They easily judged that the example of the Prince and great Men at Court, who thus gave into Arianism, would not fail debauching the rest of the people against them, who had embraced their opinions, and that this overturning of Religion would have two effects. First, that their Sects would no longer be the prevailing, as they had been in prejudice of the Roman Catholick Religion, which they had put a stop to almost all over the Principality. Secondly, That they should be exposed to the same persecutions they had made the Catholicks suffer under Petricowitz's authority, and Sigismond's protection. (For in truth Petricowitz, in favour of the Reformed, treated the Roman Catholicks very ill upon all occasions) To obviate these misfortunes, they employed all sorts of Complaints, murmurs, submissions, Cabals, and Attempts against Blandrat, and Francis Davidis.

But these, to put a stop to those Complaints, or make a shew of their Learning, and the pretended justice of their Cause, proposed the way of Conferences and Debate upon the controverted Matters. the first was held at Alba Julia in 1566; and in the heat of the dispute, Blandrat told the Reformed, they were very much in the wrong to oppose his doctrine, since he had drawn it from the writings of their Doctor, Martin Luther, and added, that if he had particular notions, as to the TRINITY, he was obliged to that famous Restorer of the Gospel for them: That he should always think it an honour to call himself his disciple: That he had not blushed to maintain his Tenets upon the TRINITY before the Senate of Geneva, much less should he blush to defend them before such as love truth, as did those Lords, before whom he had the honour to speak.

All these Compliments, as well as all that passed at the Conference, came to nothing. So that they asked leave of the Prince to meet once more the same year: And to make the Transilvanians believe that theirs was the only true doctrine, as well as the only agreeable to the Scripture, they declared against Fathers, Councils, and all human Authorities, and insisted upon the Scriptures taken in their natural sense, and in order to flatter the young Prince, besought him not only to honour them with his presence, but also to take upon himself singly the quality of Judge, and decide the matters in controversy, after having heard them, though assuredly he understood but little of them: For he is handed down to us by Historians as a man of a weak understanding, inconstant in the Faith, beset by corrupt men, no less ignorant than himself as to the matters in question.

The Lutherans and Calvinists, who in their disputes with the Catholicks, had, as they themselves say, some times gained the advantage, accepted Blandrat's Challenge.

The day being appointed, they all met at great Waradin. The Prince presided at the Assembly, accompanied by his Lords. Blandrat and Davidis disputed against the Belief of a GOD in three persons; and Peter Malius, Peter Caroli, and some others, Calvinists and Lutherans, maintained, that GOD was one in nature, and three in persons, consubstantial and really distinct; but without success. For they, insisting upon the authority of Tradition, Councils, Fathers, and the unanimous consent of Doctors in points of Religion; and David is refusing all authority but that of the Scripture, and turning their own argument against them, by reproaching them with using

two sorts of weights and measures in points of controversy with them, and with the Catholics. The young Prince decided in favour of Blandrat and Francis Davidis: That the SON and HOLY GHOST were not the supreme GOD; that there were not three consubstantial persons in the TRINITY; and that the supreme and only GOD was not incarnate.

Upon this, most of the Courtiers, who seldom understand any thing in the mysteries of the Faith, or have any other Religion than ambition, interest, the current of the Court, and the will of the Prince, especially where the Roman Faith is not the prevailing one, declared openly for Arianism, and began to Socinianize. The Lutheran, and Sacramentarian Ministers, who had no measures to keep with their party in regard to their fortune, declared for that side that was uppermost, whilst the rest retired covered with shame, for not having answered the expectations which their brethren had entertained of their Learning. And the Unitarians, who prided themselves in the victory they had gained over their Adversaries, had the memorials of the Conference printed, together with two Treatises against the TRINITY, and sent them all into Hungary, Poland, Bohemia, and other parts, where there were any of the Reformed, and thereby very much advanced their Sect.

And still more, by the versions and corrections of the Bible, which Blandrat and his Associates made. The Ministers of Transilvania made a version into the Hungarian Tongue: James Paleologus translated it into Greek, James Somerus assisted him in that work, and Mathias Glirius, a Pole, well versed in the Oriental Languages, and who publicly professed Arianism, made one into Hebrew. All the versions were full of false interpretations, and turns agreeable to the prejudices of those Unitarians, of Arian, Samosatian, and Sabellian Notes, and most of the Hungarians, and Transilvanians, who read the Hungarian version, and who had neither Capacity, nor Books, nor Orthodox Learned Men, to examine whether the text, notes, and explanations, given to some passages relating to the TRINITY, the Divinity of JESUS CHRIST, Original Sin, &c. were conformable to the Original, were so unhappy as to adhere to what they read, and thereby, often without perceiving it, became Arians, or Samosatians, that is Unitarians and Socinians.

But farther, Blandrat, always intent upon the progress of his Sect, by his credit with people of the first quality, insinuated to them the

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necessity of sending their Children to study at the Universities of Venice, Padua, &c. and of conversing often with the Jews there, upon pretence they would make a much greater progress in the *belles Lettres* there, than they would do in the Colleges of the Province: And that the Jews, who had far other lights into the bottom of Religion, ^{Spond.} than the Catholicks, Lutherans, or Sacramentarians, might thereby perfectly instruct them in the mysteries of their Belief.

Blandrat's design in this advice was only to put the Youth into a ^{Spond.} way of blaspheming against one GOD in three persons, the Divinity of JESUS CHRIST, and the mysteries of the Christian Religion, and of maintaining their blasphemies and impieties when they should be more advanced in years. His advice had many followers, and those children came up to his expectations.

The Reformed, alarmed at such progresses, tried new ways of accommodating matters. They demanded a fresh Conference in presence of the Prince, which was granted, and held at Alba Julia, the 18th of March 1568, and lasted ten days. Blandrat, Francis Davidis, Basil, a Minister of Clausenburg, Demetrius Hunniades, Paul Julius, John Sinning, Morosini, Martin Albani, Benedict Ouart, Gregory Vagnerus, all of them having some title in the Reformed ^{B.A. p. 32.} Churches, assisted at it. Blandrat therein disputed against the TRINITY, the Divinity of JESUS CHRIST, the two natures in CHRIST, and maintained his Theses with so much warmth against the Reformed, that the Prince and the Great men gave him great applauses, and he had the same success in another Conference, held at Alba Julia in 1570, by consent of the Prince.

After these happy successes, the face of affairs was near a change, in regard to the Sect in 1571. Sigismund, who grew uneasy at paying the annual tribute to Selim, Emperor of the Turks, and had a ^{Spond.} mind to marry a Princess of the House of Austria, sent Embassadors ^{1571.} to Maximilian to demand his Friendship, Protection, and the Princess: Which were all granted, on condition he did not take the title of King of Hungary (a title which the Turk had left him, and he had always inserted among his titles) but only that of Most Serene Prince of Transilvania. ^{Hist. Hung. l. 24.}

These Conventions being agreed upon, that Prince had not the happiness of enjoying them: For he died the 16th of March 1571, ^{N. 11. p.} aged 31 years. Blandrat, as his chief Physician, and some others ^{11.} of the Unitarians, so closely beset him during his indisposition, which:

is reported to have been extremely violent, that it was impossible for the Catholicks, or Reformed, to get at him. As he died an Arian, he was buried in their way, in the Temple, under a Marble Tomb. He left no Children, but a Will, whereby he declared the Emperor Maximilian, Heir to his Estates.

This was a conjuncture which had like to have thrown Transilvania into fresh confusions and wars. On Maximilian's side, in order to come at his patrimony, and have the Will of the deceased executed; on Selim's, to preserve his yearly tribute; and on that of the Transilvanians, Catholicks, Lutherans, Calvinists, Arians, and Anabaptists. The first being for a Catholick Prince, and the rest for one of their own Religion, or at least not so powerful as Maximilian; which shall be the subject of the following Chapter.

C H A P. XV.

SOCINIANISM in Transilvania during the Reign of the Batoris.

UPON Sigismund's death, the Barons of Transilvania assembled to oppose the execution of the Will, and agree upon the election of a Prince. Among all the Competitors, at the recommendation of the Emperor Selim, they elected Stephen Batori, in exclusion of Jasper Bekesse an Arian. Stephen was a good Catholick, first Baron of Transilvania, and the most accomplished of any who were then in a condition of governing the Principality. He wanted neither zeal for the Roman Catholick Religion, nor bravery to make head against his enemies, nor policy to gain the friendship of foreign Princes, nor prudence to unite all his people in the interest of their Country, however divided they were in point of Religion.

As soon as he was elected and recognized, he sent Embassadors to Constantinople and Vienna, in order to notify his Election. Selim confirm'd it, upon condition of his paying to the Port the annual tribute his predecessor had paid, and of making no alliances with any Christian Prince without giving him notice of it. Maximilian likewise confirmed it, upon condition of his taking only the Title of Most Serene Prince of Transilvania, and of his commanding there only as a Prince who was a Vassal to the Empire.

Having taken these measures in order to keep out of foreign Wars, he applied himself to gain the friendship and confidence of all the Innovators of his Principality, and which certainly was the predominant party in regard to the Catholicks: Wherein he succeeded by the means of Blandrat his Confident, his Counsellor, and his Physician; but however, without any way prejudicing what he owed to his own Religion: On the contrary, he seems to have gone so far, only to unite them all to the Catholick Religion, wherein the Jesuits were very serviceable, whom he settled at Clauserberg (a town in which the Unitarian party prevailed) with power to instruct the youth, to preach, and perform all the other Functions of their Ministry, which they did: And one of the first things to which they applied themselves, was a translation of the Bible into the vulgar tongue, wherein they behaved with all the fidelity requisite in such a work, and whereby they plainly made appear, to all who had the curiosity or piety to read it, how much that of the Unitarians was defective, unfaithful, and corrupted: And whilst some were labouring at so painful a work, the others preached, and disputed in the cities, and in the country, and brought back to the Faith many of all conditions, who had swerved from it, either thro' force, surprize, or licentiousness; which drew upon them what the Saviour of the World had foretold, cruel persecutions, and in the end banishment.

Whilst Batori was employed in these glorious actions, in order to re-establish the Roman Faith in his Principality, the Poles elected him for their King; and Christopher Batori succeeded him in the Principality of Transilvania. This new Prince, in the beginning, gave fresh proofs of his zeal for the Catholick Religion, and of his respect for the Jesuits. Far from confining his care to the education of Youth only, as the Lutherans, Calvinists, and Unitarians had desired of him at a meeting of the States at Torda (not to raise, as they said, new troubles in the country, in matters of Religion) he obliged them with a second establishment at Alba Julia, and another at great Waradin, with full power to teach and preach there. Whilst those Fathers were answering their Prince's expectations, and successfully maintaining the esteem the Catholicks had of their Zeal for the Salvation of Souls, Blandrat turned himself into a great many shapes, and gave himself a great deal of trouble: These are some of them.

Hist. Ref.
Eccl. Pol.

Francis Davidis did not confine himself within those paradoxes which Blandrat had inspired him with upon the Divinity of JESUS CHRIST. He went so far into Philosophy, as not only to deny a TRINITY in GOD, and a Divinity in JESUS CHRIST, but to maintain, that we neither ought nor could call upon JESUS CHRIST, nor pay him any religious worship. These novelties raised great contests amongst the Trinitarians, which made way for a Synod held at Torda in 1578, where three hundred and twenty-two Unitarian Ministers met. F. Davidis, as Minister of Clausenburg, with all possible boldness, capacity, and obstinacy, maintained his impiety, and absolutely denied any invocation upon JESUS, or that mankind could call upon him; the necessity of Infant-Baptism was likewise therein opposed. Blandrat spared nothing to bring F. Davidis back to his first opinion; but he was too opiniative to be confined within the limits of a disciple, in regard to Blandrat, and was resolved to be his master in this matter, and hereby became such. Blandrat, after finding that all his arguments, and even those of Faustus Socinus, whom he had called in to his assistance against F. Davidis, had not been able to undeceive him, quitted his own sentiments, and espoused those of F. Davidis as clearer, better connected, and less confused than his own. And by this step, from Chief of the Unitarians in Transylvania, he fell to a member of them only; and of a real Tritheist, became a Samosatian. He looked upon JESUS CHRIST not as an excellent man, whose prerogatives raised him above the rest of mankind, and gained him a particular respect, but as a man upon the foot of others, to whom nothing more was owing than that which is due to all mankind: And this opinion found Followers and Ministers to support it.

During these squabbles which divided the Churches of the Unitarians, the Jesuits gained fresh successes over Heresy, which engaged the Innovators, who were met at the States of Clausenburg in 1582, to complain of them to Christopher Batori, and they took the liberty of writing to him, to press him to turn the Jesuits out of Alba Julia. They alledged, as their reason, that there were so few Catholics, that it was neither necessary nor convenient to disturb the State, under pretence of giving them Pastors. The Prince gave no heed to these letters; and in order to shew them his contempt, and at the same time his regard for the Jesuits, sent them his son Sigismund Batori, to be brought up in the Catholick piety and learning, wherein

wherein they succeeded so well, and particularly Father Lelesius, that Sigismund had scarce succeeded his Father, when following the maxims that Jesuit had instilled into him, he broke the alliance with the Turk, and made a new one with the Emperor Rodolphus, determined to defend himself against Amurath, Selim's successor.

This proceeding alarmed the Innovators; they saw plainly this rupture with the Port, this alliance with the house of Austria, the great power the Jesuits had with the young Prince, and the ardour Sigismund shewed for the Roman Church, could not but turn to their destruction. To ward against this blow, at the instigation of Demetrius, Superintendant of the Unitarian Churches, and who never ceased exclaiming against the Jesuits, as introducing Idolatry into the Province, and pretending to set up the Kingdom of Antichrist or the Pope, they assembled in a tumultuous manner in 1588, at Megiez, near Clausenburg. There they were the strongest, and under the unjust pretence of representing the States, made a decree, banishing all the Jesuits out of the State. Sigismund did not fail to complain of this Encroachment upon his Authority, but was neglected. The Catholicks endeavoured to oppose it, but the great number of the Innovators made their opposition ineffectual. The Jesuits attempted to answer the Complaints made against them, and the injustice of driving them out of the Province; they insisted on their innocence, their settlement under the Prince's Letters Patents, and the Edict of Toleration for the Catholick Religion, as well as for Lutheranism, Calvinism, and the new Arianism: But they were answered, they must obey; they did so, and all they could obtain, was that Father Alphonso Carillus might remain with Sigismund, in compliance with that Prince's request.

These actions of the Innovators had strange consequences. The Unitarians grew uppermost in Alba Julia, in Clausenburg, in Torda, and many places: They formed and kept up more than two hundred Churches in the Province, and the rest of the Innovators enjoyed the benefit of the Edict, which allowed them liberty of Conscience. But soon after things took a new turn, which we shall see when we come to mention the decline of the Sect in Transylvania: But we must now cast an eye upon the progress it made, or attempted to make in other Provinces.

C H A P. XVI.

The too great Complaisance of the House of Austria for Hereticks, put them upon attempts to introduce SOCINIANISM into Austria, and other Territories belonging to them.

The Author of a small treatise of the motives of the War with Germany.

TO give light into what I here advance, it must be taken for granted, with a modern Writer, that all the world knows, that it was easy for the Emperor Charles the Fifth to have stifled Luther's Heresy in its birth, and that he would not do so, in hopes that this difference in Religion, would spread itself amongst the Princes and States of Germany, and engage them in a civil war, which might facilitate to him and his successors, the means of changing the form of the Empire, and arriving at universal Monarchy. But as great alterations proceed but by degrees, he contented himself with settling the liberty of the Protestants, by that religious peace which caused so much joy to all the party, and gave them room to hope, and to say, that the Emperor was on their side by inclination.

Ferdinand his brother, and successor in the Empire, had still more complaisance for the Hereticks in his dominions. John Crato his Physician, tells us, that he not only favoured them openly, but boasted of it, and before his death thanked God for the toleration he had granted them.

Some will have it that not only matters went so far as to a toleration, but that he adhered to some of their erroneous opinions. Some of his letters on this subject to the Elector of Saxony are to be seen, wherein it appears, they were pretty well agreed upon points of Religion. And the instances he made by his Embassador at the Council of Trent, for the marriage of Priests, the Communion under both kinds, &c. shew plain enough what his sentiments were as to the Reformation: And indeed, his sollicitations gave the Pope more pain than all the other business of the Council.

N. 11. p. 11.

One Writer informs us, that Ferdinand being then only King of the Romans, fearing a general revolt in Moravia, from the Anabaptists or Hutterites, disciples of the famous Hutter, allowed them the exercise of their Religion, and consented to their establishment in that Province, after obliging them to do nothing contrary to good manners, the tranquillity of the State, and the Christian Religion. Notwithstanding

withstanding which those Hutterites laid the Foundations of Socinianism ; they minded not in the least the mysteries of the TRINITY, nor of the incarnation of the Word, nor gave JESUS CHRIST any other name than that of LORD of Hosts, and tolerated the practices of all the Sects of Anabaptism amongst them, in which (Sects) there are some not to be thought of without blushing.

Maximilian II. who not content with the Archduchy of Austria, the Kingdom of Bohemia, the Roman Empire, and all the advantages inseparable from them, had a mind for those of Hungary and Poland ; in order to support his pretensions, made it a duty and necessity to hold correspondences with the Innovators, as well those of his own, as of the neighbouring States. It is even said they were the prevailing party in his Court, that all that was wanting was his open profession of Lutheranism, and that all Germany never doubted of his belief in this point. It was he who adjusted that Constitution in 1577, so favourable to the Protestants, therein disposing with a high hand, of all the Effects of the Clergy in favour of those who had embraced Lutheranism, notwithstanding the Clergy's opposition.

This correspondence with the Hereticks had begun from the time of his being King of Bohemia, and before he was Emperor: For Father Paul says, that from that time he held intelligence with the Electors and other Protestant Princes, which had made Pope Paul IV. suspect him so far, as that he could not help saying of him in a private audience, he gave to Martin Gusman, that the Emperor's Son was a favourer of heresy. The same suspicion continuing after Paul's death, Pope Pius IV. in 1560, ordered the Count d'Arcos to tell him, that if he did not persevere in the Catholick Faith, far from confirming him King of the Romans, he would deprive him of all his Dominions. All these resentments, which indeed it did not belong to the Pope to shew, did not hinder that Prince from afterwards choosing for his Preacher, a man who had introduced the Communion under both kinds into several Churches ; and went so far as to say, he could not receive it otherwise, tho' he did not venture to put it in execution. Doubtless it was upon account of this complaisance in Maximilian II. for the Protestants, that John Leti, a stanch Lutheran, gives him the Character of a prudent, pious, pacifick Prince ; and says, he preserved peace in Religion, and that he often used to say, that it was impious to condemn, or constrain men's consciences.

Spond. ad ann. 1588. The Innovators of Austria, upon so great a complaisance in their Sovereign for the Reformation, ventured so far as to demand liberty of conscience, as an acknowledgment for the great Services they had done him during his wars in Hungary, and for the Sums of money which the Protestant States had furnished him with for the payment of the debts he had contracted in those wars. The Emperor promised it, upon condition that two Elders for his Majesty, two for the States, and two for the Confession of Ausburg, should agree upon the articles of Faith, the allowance of which was required.

This project was not so secretly managed but the Pope had intimation of it, and to put a stop to it sent Cardinal Commendon to the Emperor, to tell him from him, not to grant that liberty of conscience; and if it was already granted, to revoke it; and if he did not, that he would excommunicate him, and deprive him of the Empire. He did not stop there, he sent an express to the King of Spain, to exhort this King to press his Cousin, not to grant to Hereticks a thing so hurtful to Religion. These steps of the Pope had their effect, the Emperor came to no determination upon the demand of liberty of conscience; but on the other side his complaisance for the Sectaries gave them the liberty of exercising their Religion without any opposition.

Amongst those Sectaries who insisted upon liberty of conscience, there was one Sect of Libertins (it is thus the Annalist calls them) who believed as an article of faith, that JESUS CHRIST had nothing above other Saints; that he was a meer Man; that he neither could nor ought to have given him the title of LORD; and that our prayers to GOD ought to be concluded, not in these terms, which the Catholicks use; *Through our LORD JESUS CHRIST thy SON,* but thus; *Thro' JESUS CHRIST thy true and faithful Servant.*

These Arianisers or Samosatians, took the freedom of reducing their profession of Faith into writing, presented it to the Emperor, and requested the liberty of publishing it; but in vain. For before any conclusion, it was put into Doctor Hizingrin's hands, who refuted it with great solidity, and made so much noise at the Court of Vienna upon the complaisance, or rather easiness shewn those impious wretches, who were introducing Mahometanism into Austria, and thereby giving the Turk an opportunity of conquering them without blows, that the Emperor treated them very ill.

I find but three German Writers who declared for the Sect during the Reigns of Ferdinand, and Maximilian II. who are Wicerius, Neumerus, and Silvanus.

C H A P. XVII.

Peter Richer's design of introducing the new ARIANISM into America, under protection of Governor Villegagnon.

I Should not enter into the particulars of this project, it having been very unsuccessful, had I not promised a full account of whatever has come to my knowledge upon the subject of Socinianism.

Nicolas Durand de Villegagnon, Knight of Malthe, and considerable for several military employments both by sea and land, in the time of Calvin himself, declared for the Reformation; and to avoid the Severities with which Henry II. punished the followers of new doctrines, put himself under the Admiral Coligni's protection, who ^{*spond. ad*} was a staunch Calvinist in his heart, and gave him to understand it ^{*ann. 1555*} would be proper to settle a Colony in South America, as well for the ^{*N. 16, 17,*} ^{*18.*} Kingdom's advantage and glory, as that the Reformed might have a sure retreat under the Persecutions carrying on against them in France. The Admiral approved the design, and mentioned it to the King. The King, whom care was taken to persuade, that in this project their only aim was his glory, the humiliation of his enemies, and the good of his people, consented to it, ordered a Fleet to be fitted out at his own charge, and gave the command of it to the Chevalier Villegagnon. These Vessels being freighted, and manned with Catholick and Calvinist Soldiers, happily arrived in the River Janeiro, on the coasts of Brazil, towards the end of November 1555. Villegagnon disembarked his Men on an Island, which some say was Florida, made himself master of it, built a Fort there, which he named Coligni, sent back two Vessels laden with rich Cargoes to France, and by the same way demanded fresh succours from the Admiral, as well to defend himself against the Islanders, as the Portuguese, who were masters of almost all the coast, and desired him to send him some able Calvinist Ministers, in order to be in a condition

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of executing their first design, namely, of establishing the Reformation in his Colony.

Coligny, pleased with the Success of the first voyage, laboured to send him all he required; and before he suffered the supply of Ships and Men to fail, addressed himself to Calvin himself, to send him ministers of his recommendation; Calvin sent him two noted ones, William Chartier, and Peter Richer.

P. Richer. Richer had been a Carmelite, and under that habit had acquired a reputation by his preaching. He made some figure at Annonai, a small city of the Vivarés, and gained friends, credit, and followers. Having thus got a name, he first privately, and afterwards publicly preached up the heresies then in fashion, particularly those against Consubstantiality. The Magistrate of the town, a good Catholick, would have prosecuted him for it; but to avoid that he went to Geneva; where Calvin received him kindly, for the happy talent he had at preaching, and to forward his advancement made a present of him to Coligni.

These Ministers embarked on three Vessels belonging to the King, together with a great number of Calvinists, and arrived in 1557 at the Island, where Villegagnon was waiting for them. Upon their arrival they celebrated the Eucharist after the Calvinist manner, and the Ministers set themselves to instruct the people, but could not agree in their principles. Chartier maintained the Doctrines of Calvin, but Richer added Arianism, and some other antient heresies to it. Which motly opinions of the latter, with which he had perplexed and confounded Calvin's Doctrine, raised great commotions in the new Colony: And Villegagnon sent Chartier into France, to make a report of them to Calvin, and ask his advice. However, he came to a resolution without waiting for his return: He had good sense, judgment, wit, and capacity, which he has shewn in several printed works of his, and of which du Verdier and de Vauprivas give us a Catalogue in their Bibliotheca. He considered the different Sentiments of those two ministers, and the confusions Richer still went on to create; from thence he concluded there was nothing fixed or constant in Calvin's Reformation, and quitted it for the Roman Church, which he had renounced either out of lightness or worldly considerations. Some of the Sectaries followed his example, and with these new Converts he drove Richer and the rest of the Calvinists out of the Island. Thus Richer's design failed. Calvin was
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so offended at Villegagnon for recanting, as to write several scandalous libels against him, one of which is entitled, *Le suffisance de Maitre Colas Durand*; and another, *Epouffettes de ses Armoiries, & autres.*

C H A P. XVIII

Several Provinces of the upper and lower Rhine infected with the new ARIANISM by the Anabaptists, wherein are seen the Errors, Authors, and Attempts of these Hereticks: And how they have maintained themselves in the free Exercise of their Sect by the Edicts for Toleration, which Holland has granted to the Mennonites.

TH E Socinians of Holland, or the seven united Provinces have joined Communion with the Mennonites and other Anabaptists, who live under the Authority of the States of Holland; it will not therefore be impertinent to the clearing up of my history, to give the Reader an account of the Anabaptists, their Tenets, Writers, Attempts, the prosecutions against them, the variety of their Sects, and in short how they have maintained themselves by the Toleration that has been granted them. I am here undertaking a matter that will surprise not only by the oddness of the errors to be met with in it, but for the monstrous designs of the first Anabaptists, tending to no less than the dethroning of Kings, and erecting a new temporal Kingdom, where, as they gave out, the Elect were to live in all manner of plenty. But as this is a matter already fully handled by several Writers, I shall endeavour to say nothing but what strictly affects my subject.

By the name of Anabaptists is generally understood a Sect who make it a fundamental point not to baptize children till they are grown up, and instructed in matters of religion, and till they believe them; and to rebaptize all such as have been baptized in their Infancy, under pretence, that they had not faith; that their baptism has been of no service to them, and even that they have acted, or been forced to act against the precept of JESUS CHRIST, which says, that to be saved we must believe, and be baptized. And from this practice they are called Anabaptists, or Rebaptizers.

Their Opinions.

To this error which the Anabaptists all receive to a man, and which is common to them with many of the new Arianisers (as we have seen in the Chapters concerning the Synods of Poland) they added others which the Socinians have adopted, or which have served as a foundation for their new Paradoxes. Such as these.

That the SON of GOD did not take upon him the flesh in the womb of the Virgin Mary. That there is no TRINITY of persons in GOD. That JESUS CHRIST was the SON of GOD by Grace and adoption only. By the consequences of their principles they have introduced three Gods. Some of them denied original Sin; and such as have acknowledged it, said, that Adam's fault was repaired by the SAVIOUR of the World, and that he has restored them to their primitive state of original innocence. It is in consequence of this opinion, that in order to imitate the nakedness of the first man in original justice, they remain naked in their Temples, which they called Paradises. They have pretended that a Christian could not bear arms in his own defence, nor exercise any civil office, nor make, nor require Oaths in any Judicial proceedings. That the Salvation of man was in his strength. That the torments of the Devils, and of the damned, would have an end, and the apostate Angels be reinstated in their first condition at the creation. All these Paradoxes, except that of nakedness, are in common to them with the modern Arians and Socinians. There are others particular to them. That the Souls of men were created before their bodies, and had committed Sin in heaven. That the Sun, Moon, Stars, and Waters above the Firmament are endued with Souls; and that at the resurrection, bodies shall assume a round Shape. They imagined themselves incapable of sinning after baptism, because, according to them, it is the flesh only that sins; and indeed they called themselves men deified, and who were really the children of Israel, come to exterminate the Canaanites. They generally preached the last judgment, that it was at hand, and that men were to prepare for it by eating and drinking. They established Polygamy, called marriages contracted between brother and sister spiritual, made all their women common to each other, condemned lawful marriages, and insisted that a woman was obliged to yield to the passion of the first man who should sollicit her. They threw off the yoke of Magistrates and Sovereigns; they called themselves the only body of the true Church. They condemned the use of several Meats. They rejected prayer, upon pre-
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tence of an imaginary liberty, and maintained it was not necessary to confess JESUS CHRIST, or suffer martyrdom for him. They said that the word of GOD written in the old and new Testament was not to be believed, but that it ought to be accommodated to the Faith within us, and not the Faith to it. They pretended there would be a new reign of JESUS CHRIST upon earth, and they alone should set it up, after rooting out all the Temporal powers. They called themselves prophets, and made their extravagancies pass for divine revelations. Some of them boasted they were Elias, the true Messiah, the third David, the Grandson of GOD, and even the SON of the Most high.

These Errors, and they who first broached them, have procured them different names, which it would be to no purpose to mention here.

All are not agreed who was, or were the first who laid the foundations of this Sect. Some are of opinion it took it's rise from the Vaudois, or Albigeois; but this is going too high. Others pretend it began in 1503, among the Bohemians, because these rebaptized all such as came in to them; in order to separate them from the Catholics, as themselves were, the Catholics being, as they say, plunged in Idolatry, and Impiety, because, upon their supposition that the Church of Rome erred in the points essential to Salvation, they believed, with the Bishops of Africa, that the repetition of Baptism was necessary for such as left that Church to go over to their communion; and likewise because they debated among themselves, whether a Christian was allowed to exercise any office of magistrature, make use of the sword, or take, or exact oaths. *Their Authors.*

If the Bohemians or Hussites have ever held these opinions, it is not likely they have held all the rest we have related: Since Luther about the Year 1521, writ to them for their Confession of Faith, and to exhort them to an union with his new Reformation. They sent it to him, and he examined it; and having condemned their opinion upon the Sacrament, which was, that it ought not to be adored, he owned to them, that it was better that children were not baptized, than to be without faith, and approved the rest of their Confession. This is what has given many room to say, that he was the first Architect of that Sect of Anabaptists that appeared in Germany. I fancy this is attributing too much to him, and making him the Author of infinite disorders which he never thought of: Yet may we

be persuaded that it was out of his School that proceeded those who first infected Germany with these Errors, namely, Nicolas Storek, and Thomas Muntzer.

N. Storck. Storck, called also Pelergus, was a native of the borough of Cig-nea in Silesia, or as others say, of Zwickau upon the Mulda, capital of the Country of Voitland, in the Marquisate of Misnia, part of Saxony, and in the circle of the upper Saxony: Some say he had not the least tincture of learning, and others with more probability, that he had wit, capacity, and still more ambition.

An. 1521. He grew out of conceit with Luther's opinions, would not confine himself to his first principles, and flattered himself with being able to make himself Head of a Party, as well as his Master. And he became so during the nine months which Luther continued hidden in the Castle of Werpurg in Turinge. He set up for a Prophet, broached his counterfeit Predictions, and played his Game so well, as to debauch Melancthon, Carlostrat, Dedimus, Veritemburg, Thomas Muntzer, and some other Doctors of Wittenberg, from the doctrine of their common master, as too remiss.

Luther, upon his return to Wittenberg in 1522, strenuously opposed those Innovators who were for troubling his new Reformation, and who had already made a great progress. He went about it with lenity, and succeeded with some of them, who returned to his sentiments: But Storck and Muntzer remained obstinate, so that he drove them out of Wittenberg.

Storck, banished from Wittenberg, went all over the German Provinces, and stopt at Turinge, where by an appearance of piety he gained over a troop of peasants, whom he persuaded to renounce all sorts of doctrine, and even that of Luther, more troublesome and tyrannical than that of the Pope, and adhere wholly to his, with which, as he said, he had been inspired by the Archangel Michael.

Muntzer. His trusty companion was Thomas Muntzer, a native of Stolberg, formerly a Catholick Priest, and turned Lutheran, learned in the School of Wittenberg, and a Preacher at Alsat and Turinge. This man was of a very violent temper, held the same sentiments as Storck, every where preached up sedition, and to authorize it, said that the Angel Michael inspired him with whatever he preached; that God had allotted him to found a new Kingdom to JESUS CHRIST with the Sword of Gideon, and played the Enthusiast so well, that he has always been looked upon as the Head of Enthusiasts. As soon as he

was

was gone from Wittenberg, he writ against Luther with great rancour, and called him impostor, and inconsiderate.

Zwickaw was the first town where he resolved to shew his Fanaticism: He was driven out thence, and retired to Alstat, a free town of Turinge, though it acknowledges the Elector of Saxony as Sovereign. He there preached that men ought to be as much upon their guard against the Lutherans, as the Roman Catholicks, who had equally run into contrary extremes, and that the true faith consisted in a medium. His sermons made an impression, his partisans grew numerous, and the whole tended to nothing but a general revolt, in order to drive the Catholicks and Lutherans out of the City; when the Elector of Saxony had him turned out of Alstad in the beginning of the year 1523. Whilst he was at Alstad, he sent out his Emissaries into all the different parts of Germany, whose instructions were to prepare the peasants for a revolt, and to take arms against their Sovereigns, and they succeeded.

Hist. of the Anabapt. printed in 1700, at Amsterdam.

Munster, banished from Alstad, travelled over Swisserland, Suabia, and the greatest part of upper Germany, and gained Profelytes everywhere. He stayed sometime at Nuremberg, and had not the Magistrate been firm, he had made the common people rise. However he printed a seditious Book, copies of which he dispersed every where, which caused great commotions in several places.

From Nuremberg he took refuge at Mulhausen, where he had gained a great number of Partisans during the time he resided at Alstad. There he so much encreased his party, that he thought himself in a condition of making any attempt to forward the success of his design of universal Monarchy, upon the ruins of all the Powers. He then declared boldly by his letters, and speeches, that God would no longer bear the oppressions of the Princes then reigning, and the acts of injustice of the Magistrates: That the time was come when the great God had commanded him to cut them off, to set up men of probity in their places; and to succeed in his project, he gained over a prodigious number of peasants, and profligate people, out of which he formed an army, that struck a terror into Germany, and committed horrible ravages.

The Peasants war.

All who entred into this revolt were not animated by the same motive, nor had the same sentiments. There were in it some Anabaptists, who only proposed to themselves the new Kingdom of JESUS CHRIST, with which Muntzer flattered them. There were some libertines

libertines without any Religion, who were against all Law, and Magistrates; there were some too who only wanted to be freed from all charges and taxes, without desiring to have the Magistrates laid aside; but all in general made the Gospel freedom their pretence.

Borland.
Chron. of
Braban.
c. 182.
Coddus
Act. Luth.

Things were carried to such a height on their side, that in 1525, they drew up a Memorial consisting of twelve Articles, wherein they demanded freedom of electing or turning out the Ministers of the Church: That the tithes of Wheat only should be given for the Ministers, the poor, and the publick; that they should be so free, as to be subject only to the commands of GOD; that the inhabitants should be treated according to GOD's ordinances, and not oppressed by taxes, and other heavy charges; that every one should have the liberty of hunting and fishing; that the woods and forests should be in common: That punishments should be inflicted according to antient ordinances; that certain unjust and vexatious customs which were against the divine laws, should be abolished.

This writing was handed about all over Germany, and approved by crouds of people. They presented it to Luther, whom they had taken for their Judge in this matter. Luther caused it to be made publick, with an addition of his own, wherein he reproaches the Princes and Bishops, with giving occasion for that commotion, by refusing to come into his Reformation, and wherein he in some things approved the Memorial, and condemned it in others, but still exhorting the peasants not to take up arms, and the sovereigns not to take revenge, and threatned them with damnation if they died in the fight.

The Peasants presented their Memorial to the Powers, with an assurance which plainly shewed, that if their demands were not granted, they would not want methods to obtain them. And to make appear that their menaces would have their full effect, they took the field, accompanied by a great number of profligate people, and formed an army of about 40,000 men, which marched over the Danube, Suabia, Franconia, Lorrain, the Lake of Constance, and other places, put all to fire and sword, plundered the Monastries, Churches, Castles, and spared neither Priests, Monks, Barons, Earls, nor Princes.

Muntzer did not remain idle upon the noise of this insurrection: He writ letters to the Rebels, exhorting them to fight bravely, to destroy the Infidels, and to set up the new Kingdom of JESUS CHRIST, and at the bottom subscribed *Thomas Muntzer, servant of God against the wicked.*

Not

Not satisfied with writing to them, and besides informed they were making terms with their Princes, he went and put himself at their head, with one named Pfiffer, an Apostate Monk, of the Order of the Canons of St Norbert; and, as an encouragement to continue the war, assured them, that not one of them should be wounded, but that himself alone would receive all the Musket-balls in his Sleeves.

It was then that Germany saw herself upon the brink of ruin. To prevent it, Philip, Landgrave of Hesse, and Henry, Duke of Saxo-^{*Hist. of*}ny, joined their troops, marched against the Revolters, carried Ful-^{*Anabapt.*}da, which they had made themselves masters of, and beat them: Many remained dead upon the spot, the rest were taken prisoners, and three hundred were starved to death in places under ground, where they had hid themselves.

This defeat, very far from humbling them, served only to encrease their insolence: their number, instead of falling off, grew stronger; and flattered by the delusive promises of Muntzer, they haughtily rejected the conditions of peace and amnesty offered them by the Princes; which made those Princes continue the war. They joined their forces to those of the Duke of Brunswick and of Count Mansfeld, and with that reinforcement, came to that famous and bloody battle of Frankusa the 15th of May 1525, in which the victory, after remaining doubtful for some time, at last declared on the side of the Princes; and 7423 of the rebels died in it. Such as escaped to Frankusa were taken prisoners. All the other Anabaptists were confounded, they were every where defeated where they ventured at a battle, and the number of those that thus perished, is reckoned to amount to above 100,000 men.

Amongst the prisoners taken at Frankusa, Muntzer is reckoned, found in bed, and pretending himself sick, and likewise Pfiffer. They were condemned to be beheaded, and the sentence was executed at Mulhausen towards the end of the same year. Pfiffer died obstinate in his Anabaptism, without the least sign of repentance; but Munt-^{*Spond.*}zer, according to the relation of several Writers, abjured his errors, confessed, received the Holy Sacrament under one kind, gave signs of a sincere Repentance, and advised the Princes to use more clemency towards the poor Peasants. In order to excite them to it, he told them they might read the books of the Kings of Juda, and those of Solomon, and follow their example. Nicolas Storck did not long survive them; having had the address to retreat out of the battle of Frankusa, he wandered over all Glogovia and Moravia, where he raised

raised commotions against the Clergy and Magistracy, and at last died in an hospital in Bavaria, without making himself known to any body.

N. 1. p. 12. During these troubles which laid all Germany waste, the Swiss Cantons were not without uneasiness. The Anabaptists multiplied so fast, and grew so strong there, particularly at Zurich, that they had like to have established their Sect upon the ruins of the Reformation, which it had embraced.

They who had the conducting that affair, wanted neither wit, boldness, nor obstinacy. The most famous were Balthasar Hubmeier, Felix Manzius, Conrade Grebelius, George Blawrok, and some others, and Hubmeier was at their head.

B. Hubmeier.

Hist. of the Anabapt. Spond.

He was of Frideberg, a town of the country of Hesse, and Doctor of Divinity. Spond, says he, excelled in learning and piety. He for some time exercised the Ministry at Waldshut, a town in Suabia, and there preached the purity of the Gospel, and carried on a correspondence with Zuinglius by letters, whose friendship he had acquired. In 1524, he changed his opinions. Muntzer, who was come from Bale to Waldshut, found the secret of insinuating into him the paradoxes of his Anabaptism; and after he had approved and filled his head with them, he preached them to the people of Waldshut with as much violence and obstinacy as Muntzer, or the most bigotted Anabaptists had done. His Sermons were generally against the necessity of Infant-Baptism, and the authority of the Magistrates; and he carried his point so well, that in a little time the greatest part of the Inhabitants of Waldshut declared in favour of Anabaptism. As they grew stronger, they drove out the Catholicks, and seized upon their effects: And these shortly after served them the same turn. During all these commotions, Hubmeier writ a treatise in maintenance of his opinions, but without any success, at least in Switzerland: For Zuinglius immediately answered it.

These Anabaptists of Waldshut, turned out of their houses, and deprived of their effects, took refuge where they could, and every where gained over profelytes. Hubmeier, who had made an acquaintance with an Anabaptist Widow at Zurich, and was beloved by her, retired to her. The Magistrate being informed of it, had him secured; and soon after carried him to the Town-house, sent for Zuinglius, and some other Divines thither, and told them, that while his prisoner was at Waldshut, he had written to him, desiring the liberty of

of disputing with Zuinglius against Infant-Baptism, and that since they were then present, he desired them to give him that satisfaction, in order to endeavour to undeceive this poor misled man. They complied. The dispute lasted a long time; Zuinglius played his part so well, that Dr. Hubmeier was confounded, so as not to be able to answer the arguments brought against him; confessed he was in an error, and voluntarily promised, to make a publick recantation.

Whilst they were waiting for that day, the Emperor, who had information that Hubmeier was secured, sent and demanded him, that he might himself do justice upon him, and sentence him to death. The Magistrate refused, and alledged a law, which ordains, that whoever is imprisoned for any one crime of which he is accused, is held guilty of that crime only.

He drew up his recantation according as he thought best, and read it in the Temple of the Abbey: After which Zuinglius preached, and Hubmeier, having heard him (upon I know not what whim) disavowed what he had just read, spoke in strong terms against Infant-Baptism, and maintained some other Tenets of his Anabaptism. He was carried back to prison, and then, being shut up between four walls, he changed his tone, asked pardon of God and the Magistrate, and confessed, that if he had said any thing against his recantation, he must have been urged to it by the devil. The Magistrate, too indulgent, demanded a recantation, pardoned him, and turned him out of the Canton. Zuinglius, who thought that was dangerous for the prisoner, because the Emperor's officers, who were thereabouts, would infallibly have carried him off, made interest with the Magistrate for him, and obtained leave for his stay at Zurich, till means could be found to convey him away, without exposing him to the Emperor's officers: They found an opportunity, and laid hold on it. From Zurich he went to Constance in Suabia, and was no sooner arrived, than he began to display his Anabaptism, ran out against the Magistrate of Zurich, and boasted of holding conferences with Zuinglius and his Divines, and confounding them.

He left Constance despised by all the world, and reduced to an extreme poverty, even to the begging his bread: And having long wandered about, retired to Moravia, where he seduced *Hubler*, another Anabaptist Chief, and was at last seized by the Emperor's order, and condemned to die, both he and his Wife. She was drowned, and he burnt in 1527, but according to Spond in 1528.

Zurich and its Canton were not the quieter for this. The other Anabaptists who had stayed behind, were perpetually making confusions. The Magistrate, in order either to quiet, or undeceive them, engaged Zuinglius, and the rest of the Divines, to dispute against *Grebelius, Manzius, and Blawrok.*

The dispute lasted some time, and only served to exasperate, and fix the Anabaptists more obstinately in their opinions. This determined the Magistrate, in order to prevent the seditions, with which the Canton was threatened, to make severe ordinances against them, and to have them put in execution against such as should break them; of the number of which were our three Chiefs. After much disturbance they left Zurich, and retired to a village, from whence the Magistrate drove them: From thence they went and cantoned themselves in Groningen, where they were still fomenting their seditions. The Magistrate prosecuted Manzius, and had him drowned the 5th of January 1527, not only for his doctrine, but likewise for other enormous crimes, of which he was convicted. The same day he caused Blawrok to be whipped by the publick Executioner, banished him, and would have had him swear he would never return into the territories of the Canton. But he refused to swear, and was sent back to prison. At last he swore what they would have had him, went away, and retired to the County of Tirol, where he died miserably.

The number of people seduced in 1525, by these heads of the Anabaptist party, cannot be too much exaggerated. Zurich, Bale, Saint Gal, Schaffhousen, and several other places were crowded with Anabaptists; but at length they got rid of them by the severity of their ordinances, and by their zeal in putting them in execution. Great numbers of those people quitted the Cantons, to avoid the punishments in them, and most of these banished people, from the year 1525, spread themselves all over the lower Germany, especially in Westphalia, Friseland, Holland, and the neighbouring Provinces; as will appear in the following Chapter.

C H A P. XIX.

Continuation of the same subject. The Provinces of the lower Rhine infected with the new ARIANISM by the Anabaptists, Mennonites.

I Say that the Anabaptists driven out of the upper Germany, fell into the low Countries, and infected the greatest part of those Provinces with their Errors. At that time, says an Author whom I here make use of, nothing was to be heard but visions and revelations, each man set up for a Prophet, and dealt out his ravings to the people as so many great evangelical Truths: And those people who could scarce read, believed them as men sent from GOD. When the Orthodox alledged to them the holy Scriptures, to convince them of their error, they had recourse to their dreams, and insisted it was the Spirit of GOD which inspired them. *Hist. of the Anabapt. 1700.*

Their party being strengthened by a great number of persons of all conditions, they published a Book entitled, *The Work of the Re-establishment*, wherein they laid down as certain, that before the day of Judgment there would be a temporal Kingdom of JESUS CHRIST upon Earth, wherein the Saints, that is, their own Sect, should reign after having exterminated the Powers, and the impious; with several Arian and other Doctrines, full of impiety and extravagance. This Book the Landgrave of Hesse refuted in 1534.

But before this refutation, that book, together with the discourses of those pretended Prophets, made such strong impressions upon the party, that at length they undertook to put in execution the design they had of setting up a new Kingdom. To that end, they held private assemblies, appointed a Bishop in every city where the Sect was numerous, created officers, distributed charges and employments, constituted tribunals in the houses of particular persons; and went so far as to sentence and execute such of their sect as they found guilty. In such places where they were the strongest, they plundered the Churches, and thought they did a meritorious action, because formerly the people of Israel, by GOD's command, plundered the Egyptians, when Moses led them out of Egypt. They thought it criminal for them to go into the Churches, or be present at the Assemblies of those who had not been rebaptized, and looked on them

as impious. To debauch a man's wife was meritorious; and what we call adultery, they called a spiritual marriage. Such was the behaviour of the Anabaptists of the Low Countries.

These attempts, supported by the most detestable doctrine that was ever heard amongst Christians turned hereticks, forced the Magistrates upon the severest methods, to stop the course of them. Amsterdam was the most crouded with Anabaptists, so that the severest searches were made in this great city, and all the Anabaptists that could be found were executed. I should be tedious were I to enter into particulars of the pursuits and enterprizes of the Anabaptists, in order to get several cities into their hands, but without success, as will appear by a detail of the actions of their leading men.

These were *David George, Melchior Hoffman, John Matthew, John Becold, John de Geelen, and Jacob de Campen.*

Whilst these people were striking terror into the Magistrates and all the Powers of Germany and the Low Countries, two brothers, the one named Ubbo, and the other Theodore-Philip, natives of Friseland, sons of a Pastor of Leuwarde, and Bishops amongst the Anabaptists of Hoffman's party, gave a new turn to their Sect, and made the followers of it less odious. They retrenched that turbulent Tenet, which tended to nothing but the ruin of all Powers temporal and ecclesiastical, in order to establish an imaginary kingdom, to which they gave the name of the kingdom of CHRIST, and his Saints; and refused to admit the Enthusiasms of those fanatick Prophets. *Simonis Menno* assisted them with all his Industry and Skill in this design, and had so great a share in it, that such as have taken up this new Reform have called themselves Mennonites.

*Simonis
Menno.*

Simonis Menno, or Mennon, was born in 1496, in a village of Friseland, and was educated in the Roman Religion. When arrived at an age of choosing for himself, he entred into a Monastery, took orders, and was Curate of Witsmarts, near Bohvers in Friseland. The doctrine of Luther, which then began to make a noise on the lower Rhine, as well as upper Germany, was to his taste. Having often argued upon the principles of the Wittenberg Reformation, he, after the example of several others, gave into the fanaticism of Hoffman's party, but without quitting his Gown, or Curacy. Ubbo and Philip, who thought him a man for their purpose, gained his confidence, and about the year 1535 they all laid the design of giving a new turn to their Sect. The better to succeed, they persuaded him
of

of the necessity of his leaving his Gown and his Curacy, and in return declared him Bishop of the Sect.

Menno, a Lutheran, and now Bishop of the Anabaptists, employed all his talents in reforming what was most exorbitant in the opinions of Hoffman : He succeeded in it, and gave so beautiful an outside to the new Reform, that many of Westphalia, Geldres, Brabant, Holland, and other Provinces, embraced it, and came over to him : Indeed not without great alarms from the Magistrates of the Provinces, and great contradictions from the rest of the Anabaptists.

These Contradictions obliged the most zealous Partisans of all those Sects to assemble in 1538, at a village in Westphalia, there to deliberate upon the means of their all joining in the same sentiments : But this Assembly only contributed to irritate the minds of those who were present at it, and to divide them more than they were before.

In the mean while, Menno endeavoured to make advantage of them : And he did so upon certain points which they had determined, and sent a good many of his adherents to Lamgou, Munster, Osna-brug, and other places, to encourage the Anabaptists there, and to inform them that every thing passed in the assembly to the advantage of his doctrine ; but those missionaries had no great success, at least it was interrupted in 1540.

On the 20th of September this year, the Emperor published at Brussels, and in other places, a severe Edict against the Protestants and Anabaptists, whom the Roman Catholics confounded with the Lutherans, and to whom they gave the same name. By this Edict it was forbidden, under pain of death, for anyone to hold any Assembly, either publick or private, or to publish any book containing the points of their Religion, or their Confession of Faith. Menno's Emissaries fell into the hands of Justice, and passed through the Executioners hands, in order to be made examples of.

Menno was not at all the more alarmed at it ; on the contrary, this pretended Martyrdom which his Emissaries suffered, only increased the itch he had to see his Sect prosper. In 1541 and 1542, he sent new Preachers all about the country, and conferred on some of them the title of Bishops to govern the flocks of Friseland, and the neighbouring places, and they had success enough to give uneasiness to the Magistrates of Holland, who being always under apprehensions lest these new Anabaptists should play them the same trick they had so often done already, published new Edicts against the
Men-

Mennonites in 1543, which were executed more strictly than the former, though to very little purpose. This Severity did not hinder their number from growing every day, especially at Embden, and all thereabouts. To put some stop to it, they altered their way of proceeding, and took that of mildness, and of Conferences.

John de Cusco, or de Lask, a Polish Gentleman, of whom we have spoken, opposed Menno at Embden in 1544 and 1545, and attacked him smartly as well by his writings as speeches. But John de Lask's disputes and Menno's explanations produc'd no good: On the contrary, the Confusions and Misfortunes of the Low Countries grew to a greater heighth, as well from the difference of sentiments, and abominable and over licentious doctrine of David George's Sect, then spreading into many places, as the Emperor's prosecutions of the Protestants. This diversity of sentiments at that time multiplied, but afterwards so prodigiously, that people of the same Sect were entirely divided, and opposite on divers points of their doctrine. Those whom Menno had sent to preach up his Tenets, and take care of them who had already embraced them, differed both with their master, and amongst themselves, so that several parties were formed among the Mennonites, which kept, and to this day still keep them very much divided.

After several Broils and Disputes with Micronius and others, and several times changing his opinions upon the point of excommunication, whether married persons ought to separate on excommunication of one of the parties, Menno died in 1561, aged 61 years, in a small town between Lubeck and Hamburg. All Historians do him the honour of stiling him the Head of the Anabaptists who now reside in the Low Countries, who upon account of the variations of their master as to excommunication, are divided into two bodies, which bear the name of the antient and the modern, or the rigid and the moderate Mennonites. And these two bodies are again divided into several other bodies, for very slight causes, and the System of their belief may be reduced to the believing Menno's paradoxes, except ex-

*Opinions of
the present
Menno-
nites.
Hist. of the
Anabapt.*

P. 9.

communication, to which they have added the Preheminence of the Eternal FATHER over the SON and HOLY GHOST, and toleration in Religion, wherein they are stanch Arians, Unitarians, and Socinians.

They who hold for the Preheminence of the FATHER, are in Holland called *Collegians*, because they meet in private, and each man

has

has a liberty of speaking, explaining the Scripture, praying, and singing, in the Assembly. They never receive the communion in their College; but assemble twice a year from all parts of Holland at *Rhynsburg*, a village two leagues from Leiden, where they receive it. The first comer, who sits down at the table, may give it to the rest. All Sects are received at it, and they believe they ought not to turn any away from their Assemblies, who live piously, and acknowledge the Scripture for the word of GOD. It is upon this principle that the Socinians are well received amongst them.

C H A P. XX.

Continuation of the same subject. The Toleration granted to the Mennonites in the Low Countries.

TO take the thing from its first rise, I am to tell my Reader, ^{Hist. of the Anabapt.} that in 1572, William I. Prince of Orange, and Commander of the Forces in the Low Countries against the King of Spain, finding himself short of money to support his Undertakings, and supply the vast expences of the wars against the Spaniards, addressed himself to the Mennonites in Holland and the other Provinces to furnish him. They, who only wanted an opportunity of seeing the end of the persecutions they suffered, and to have it in their power to live at ease under the protection of some powerful man, who might free them from the yoke of the Spaniard, who gave them no rest, did not fail sending him a sum of money by Theodore Jankz, Cortenbosch, and Peter Willemz Bogaert, all stanch Mennonites. William, pleased with the money, gave them a security, and asked them wherein he could be serviceable to them. *We desire nothing,* answered Bogaert, *unless that when Your Highness shall have one day received from God the Government of the Low Countries, you will be so good as to treat us with lenity and clemency.* The Prince replied that he took up arms for no other end but to rescue the people from oppression, and to set them at liberty, and that his design was to procure the same blessing for the Anabaptists, who were as much persecuted and oppressed as the rest. This was the persecution of the Spaniards, which was then beginning in Flanders, as well against the Anabaptists, as all the Protestants.

John

John Earl of Friseland did something more in their favour; in 1578, he allowed them to hold publick Conferences at Embden, and in those conferences which were held without any opposition, they disapproved the conduct of the other Anabaptists, that is, of those extravagant Anabaptists who were for setting up a temporal Kingdom upon the ruin of Magistrates, and rebaptized such of their Sect who had already received baptism by those of upper Germany.

Prince Maurice of Nassau was willing to confirm the promises his Father had made to the Mennonites, who had lent him money. In 1588, he writ to the Magistrate of Zeland in favour of those who were in that Province, and desired him not to put them upon the discharge of any office which might be against their consciences, and in 1593, continued his complaisance for that sort of people: He writ to the Magistrate of Middleburg, who at that time would not tolerate the Anabaptists, telling him, *That although the declaration of the Lords the States, and of the late Prince our Father of immortal memory, concerning the Anabaptists, might suffice to regulate his conduct in regard to that people, yet we have thought proper to write to you thereupon, because that it is of consequence, not only to the town of Middleburg, but also to all the united Provinces, that according to their ordinances you leave the Anabaptists in liberty and repose, until the Lords the States shall have otherwise ordered.* This is a manifest proof of the Toleration granted them by the States.

It was a little interrupted in 1598. An Edict was published in Friseland against the Anabaptists and their Bishops, to put a stop to their frequent Assemblies, and even to forbid them: And the year following, the Churches of the united Provinces thought fit to publish a Book of controversy upon the doctrine of the Anabaptists; and it was Arminius, Minister of Amsterdam, who undertook the work; but having finished a part, he gave it over, upon pretence, that being called to Leiden, he could not go through with it. But it was really because he had no mind to discover the sentiments he then was of on the points of religion, which were widely different from those of strict Calvinists.

These attempts against them had no effect. In 1615, the States of Flanders assembled at Ardenburg, ordered, that in pursuance of the general Constitution, the Anabaptists should be allowed the free exercise of their worship, without molestation, and that therein they should enjoy the same liberty as the other Provinces.

It was doubtless in consequence of that resolution, that they held a Synod at Amsterdam, where they laboured to bring about an union amongst them, and declared, that as to the salvation and damnation of men, it was of no importance to know how CHRIST came in the flesh. In 1632, they assembled at Dort on the same subject of uniting, and succeeded therein by a Treaty of peace signed by one hundred and fifty one Mennonites. They enjoyed the same liberty in 1637. Those of Holland and Friseland held a general Assembly at Groninghen, on account of Ukowalles, a new Schismatick, and powerful among them; and indeed he presided at this Assembly, and advanced such paradoxes as till then had been unheard of amongst them, viz. That all they who had a hand in the Death of JESUS CHRIST were saved, as they fulfilled the eternal Decree of GOD: That the two Thieves had obtained pardon, having suffered in this world: And that all sinners from the beginning of the world, who had received the reward of their crimes according to law, were saved in JESUS CHRIST.

This Ukowalles lived at Noor-Hroek, and was cunning, sharp, adroit, well versed in the Scriptures, and Head of a Mennonite party, called from his name Ukowallists. *Jurian Toemas*, another Anabaptist Head, opposed him in his blasphemies, and having declared him excommunicated at the breaking up of the Synod, went and accused him to the Magistrate. He appeared, and loudly denied he had spoken any such blasphemy. The Magistrate who saw his cunning, ordered him to be seized, and search to be made for his papers, which was done, and he thereby convicted of his blasphemy, owned it, and would have defended it. The Magistrate banished him, and published an Edict, forbidding all his followers, or any who approved such abominable doctrine, to hold any Assembly publick or private, under pain of fine, and corporal punishment. This Edict, which forbid the Assemblies of the Ukowallists, authorized those of the other Mennonites.

It is thus, that after so many attempts, crosses, and prosecutions, the Anabaptists, under the name of Mennonites, have maintained themselves in the seven Provinces of the Low Countries, under the laws of Toleration, the authority of the State's Edicts, and the protection of their High and Mightinesses. What has induced the powers to allow them the free exercise of their opinions, is their frequent declarations that they had no designs against Magistrates or the tem-

poral Powers, that they renounced Polygamy, and all the other excesses of the old Anabaptists, and of those of the upper Germany.

Such was the beginning and progress of Socinianism; and it is prodigious, as we may see by the Quality of the Cities, Provinces and Kingdoms, where it has established itself, as well as by the number, dignity, eloquence, capacity, boldness, and impiety of those who first embraced, defended, preached, and spread it.

But still all this is nothing, or very little in regard to the condition it is arrived at in Holland, England, and particularly in Poland, from the death of Sigismund Augustus, to the Reign of Uladisslaus: Which allows me to fix the Epocha of its elevation during the Reigns of Stephen Batori, and of Sigismund III. that is, from 1570 to 1632. We will therefore take a view of the State of Poland, during the Reigns of Batori and Sigismund III.

C H A P. XXI.

State of POLAND during the Reign of Henry of Valois.

WE have already seen that King Sigismund Augustus had all imaginable complaisance for the new Sectaries, and even for the Pinczowians, yet without making any law to countenance their belief, and that those Sectaries never dared to ask of him liberty of conscience by any publick act; but at his death affairs took a new turn. As he left no other heir than one Sister, the Government fell into the hands of two men of very different Characters, *viz.* *James Vehanius* Archbishop of Gnesna, Primate of the Kingdom, a weak man, and of very little resolution, and *Firlai* Palatin of Cracow, Grand Marshal of the Crown, an ambitious, enterprizing man, who had fallen in with the Innovators, made advantage of the Primate's weakness, and endeavoured to make himself master of the interregnum, and of the Election of the future King. From men of such a different genius, the Catholicks could promise themselves nothing but disagreeable resolutions in the first Diets to be held for choosing a King.

But **G O D** raised up two men, one from the bosom of his Church, and the other from the midst of the Kingdom, to dissipate all faction, and preserve his Religion. These were the Cardinal Commendon, the

the Pope's Legate, a man above all praise, and Karnkovius, Bishop of Uladislav, the most accomplished Prelate then in Poland. The former had the address to gain over Andrew Sborouski, the only Catholic of his family, and by that means brought off all the Sborouski from Firlai's party; and Karnkovius had the prudence and good fortune to unite a good part of the Sectaries to the French faction, which thereby became so strong, as to elect Henry de Valois Duke of Anjou, King of Poland, but still not till they had had the precaution to enter into a *Pacta Conventa*, in order to force the new King to allow liberty of Conscience to all the Sectaries throughout the Kingdom. The Convention was signed by Monluc Bishop of Valence, and Embassador for the King of France to the Diet of Poland, and which, Henry also signed in the Parliament of Paris, after a circumstance which plain enough shewed the Resolution of the Sectaries to preserve their liberty in Religion. For Monluc blushing, before so august an Assembly as that of the Parliament of Paris, at having engaged a Catholic King to protect those Sectaries, warmly maintained to the Polish Embassadors, most of which were of that kind, that the King was not obliged to swear to preserve the Article of liberty of Conscience, since it was not authorised by any law of the Realm. John Sborouski, no less warm than Monluc, maintained the contrary against him. The King, who perceived they were disputing, asked them the occasion of it. Whereupon Sborouski said, Sire, I was saying to your Majesty's Embassador, that had he not engaged that your Majesty should approve the Article for our liberty as to Religion, you would never have been elected King of Poland in spite of us, and that if you do not now approve it, you shall never be so. The King astonished at so bold an Answer, yet without being out of countenance, told him he was in the right.

The Palatin Firlai revived the same contests when the King was to be crowned. He put himself at the head of such as opposed the King's election, and cried out aloud, that all those preparations were needless if the King did not consent to maintain all the Articles of the *Pacta Conventa*; and that if he did not then upon the spot, give some legal instrument to that effect, he and his colleagues opposed the coronation, and explained himself upon that matter, in such a way as to let people know that he and all the Sectaries of his party would immediately fall upon all the Catholics that were at the King's Coronation. However, his protest and menaces had no ill consequences

by the prudence and constancy of Pibrac, who having asked the King leave to speak, bid the Primate go on with the ceremony, which he did, without any of the Malecontents daring to speak.

But that was not all: The Arians who did not care to trust to the Goodness of their cause, and feared that the hatred of the Calvinists and Lutherans, as well as of the Catholics, might exclude them the *Pacta Conventa*, and particularly the article for securing the liberty of conscience, took the freedom of waiting on the King, of presenting their confession of Faith to him, of assuring him, by producing some books, that their doctrine was conformable to that of the primitive Church, of telling him that their religion was the purest and most perfect of any in his Kingdom, and lastly, of beseeching him to honour them with his protection, to cause them to enjoy the liberty he had sworn to them, and to maintain them in the peace he had promised them by those words which he had pronounced with an oath: *Inter dissidentes in Religione pacem manu tenebimus.* The King resolved to keep within the bounds of his oath, granted them their request; which ceremonies and requests the new Arians and Socinians have never failed renewing at the coronations of the Kings since that time.

So that by Virtue of those *Pacta Conventa*, and of the Oath the King took to observe them, the Poles are allowed to be Hussites, Lutherans, Sacramentarians, Calvinists, Anabaptists, Arians, Pinczowians, Unitarians, Antitrinitarians, Tritheists, and Socinians.

C H A P. XXII.

The State of POLAND, in regard to SOCINIANISM, during the Reign of Stephen Batori.

HENRY's Abdication of the Crown of Poland for that of France, which of right belonged to him, did not remedy any of the Evils wherein Poland saw it self plunged. On the contrary, things still grew worse: Which will easily be comprehended, if we in the least consider the number of Sects wherewith Poland was infected, the fresh intrigues to be formed for the election of a new King, and the quality of the Candidates or Pretenders to the Crown.

Maximilian II. aspired to it, either for himself, or Ernest his Son, and to this end M. de Rosemberg, and Andrew Duditz, his Collegue in the Embassy, set the family of the Sborouski, and all the Engines which ambition, politicks, and heresy could inspire them with to work.

Stephen Batori Prince of Transilvania aspired to it, and in order to succeed, sent his Physician George Blandrat into Poland, and this man, of whom we have already said so much, having so great an interest with the Grandees who had embraced Arianism, boded no good to the Catholick Religion.

John de Kostka Palatin of Sandomir, a bigot to the new Sects, likewise aspired to it, supported and invited by a great party of the Nobility.

Count Andrew Tenesinius, Palatin of Bresk, resolved not to yield to Kostka, supported as he was by a strong party.

John, King of Sweden on one side, and John Basilius, Grand Duke of Muscovy, on the other, made still a greater noise than the others for the Crown, and threatened no less than to set the Kingdom in a flame, if it was refused them.

Lastly, Alphonso II. Duke of Ferrara, found himself invited to it by the greatest part of the Catholicks, who had Karnkovius Bishop of Uladislaw at their head, a great and pressing motive to have hopes of the Crown.

It is not to be doubted but all these factions created great disorders in the Kingdom, and countenanced the progress of the new Sects; but at length it being impossible for them all to succeed in their designs, the several factions fell into that of the Emperor, and of Stephen Batori. That for the Emperor, resolved to carry things with a high hand, and in a tumultuous manner proclaimed Maximilian II. Proclamation being made, they who were the authors of it went to the Church where the Princess Anne, Sigismund Augustus's Sister was, in order to sing the *Te Deum*, and so much the more boldly, as they found themselves countenanced by Christopher Sborouski the Palatin of Cracow, by the Primate, and by Karnkovius.

Batori's faction, who saw a King proclaimed against the laws of their liberty, and without the Concurrence of the Nobility, protested against Maximilian's being proclaimed, and at the same time proclaimed the Princess Anne as Queen of Poland, and Stephen Batori as her husband, King with her. This Step being taken, they sent persons

persons of distinction to assure her of the fidelity of all the Nobility, and to tell her that from that moment their lives and fortunes were devoted to the maintaining her, and her intended Consort on the Throne.

During these motions and messages to and fro, meetings were held on each side; the Batoris held one at Andrecovia, and Philippovius: One of those who had been sent in Embassy to Batori, brought back word, that that Prince consented to his Election, that he had signed the *Pacta Conventa*, or conditions on which he had been chosen; that he promised an entire liberty of conscience; and that he would immediately set out for Poland with a body of Hungarians. Upon this message, his election was confirmed, the Protestation against Maximilian's election renewed, and an Embassy dispatched to him to give him advice of it, that he might undertake nothing against the Republick.

At the same time the Archbishop Vehanius appointed another meeting, wherein such measures as were proper for the conjuncture were to be taken. Karnkovius, always intent upon the good of the Republick, and the Interest of Religion, appeared at it, and moved for sending Solikovius, a man of the greatest address of his time in the management of an affair, to the Prince of Transilvania, who was advancing by long journies towards Poland, in order to be sure of him as to his Religion, fully resolved to exclude him from the Crown, in case he was not a Catholick.

*Character
of Stephen
Batori.*

There was reason to suspect Batori's Catholicity. Indeed he was possessed of all the great and shining qualities requisite in a King. He loved war, managed in it with all the experience of a great Captain, and was ever successful: He was easy, liberal, brave, intrepid, eloquent; but neither did he shew any signs of being a Catholick. He made no publick profession or practice of the Catholick Religion, affected shewing himself a firm friend and protector to the Sectaries of Hungary and Transilvania, and suffered himself to be managed by Blandrat's advice, having made him his first Physician, his Favourite, and one of his Privy Counsellors. He entertained constant and intimate correspondences and friendships at the Ottoman Port, and favoured that Court at the Emperor's expence. They even say, that to oblige Amurath, he had caused the Embassadors which the Emperor was sending to the Sophi of Persia, in order to engage him to make a diversion against the Port, to be seized and put to death, a proceeding highly unworthy of a Catholick Prince.

There

There is no doubt but it was this proceeding, so contrary to the Catholick Religion, which engaged the Sectaries of Poland to give him their votes (for hardly any other concurred in his election) and which made Karnkovius send Solikovius to him to sound him as to his Faith.

He came up with him just as he was entring Podolia, and found it difficult enough to get at the speech of him. The Polish Ambassadors who accompanied him, and were almost all Unitarians, Calvinists, and Lutherans, were afraid that Solikovius might by his remonstrances turn him from those favourable Sentiments he might entertain for them: So that they watched him so narrowly, that it was not easy for a Catholick and an Imperialist to get at him.

However, Solikovius spoke to him, even in publick, and had address enough to let him know, that it was for his interest to grant him a private audience, which he did, and it was in this private conference, held very late at night, that Solikovius was convinced of this Prince's Catholicity. It will be proper to give an account of what passed in that Conference, since it was what began to break the measures of all the Sectaries.

After Solikovius had given a short description of the then State of the Republick, he with a liberty worthy of a noble Pole, laid before him the Counsels he was to follow, what he was to avoid, and what resolution to take; by what Spirit he ought to conduct himself; for what religion he ought to declare; with what management he must govern the Poles, extremely jealous of their liberties and privileges, what intelligence he must have with the Prelates, his affection for the Clergy, and distrust of the Hereticks; and added, that if he would be happy, and make his subjects so, he must resolve upon publicly professing the Roman Catholick Religion, hear Mass every day, follow the maxims of the old Kings his predecessors, honour the Prelates as his Fathers, acknowledge the Pope as JESUS CHRIST'S Vicar upon earth, and preserve the privileges of the Clergy: That he ought to put his confidence in the Nobility, love the Senate, suspect the advice of the Hereticks, and consider that his election was not yet sure: That he had a powerful Competitor for his neighbour; that the Lithuanians were not yet come to a determination; that the Prussians still held many Forts and Castles for the house of Austria; but on the other hand, that he need be under no fears upon any of those disadvantages, if he approved the advice he took the liberty

liberty to give him; and that he assured him on the part of the Princess Anne, of Karnkovius, the Prelates, the Great Officers of the Crown, and the Palatin of Cracow, that they were all devoted to his service.

These things, pronounced with Solikovius's good grace and eloquence, brought tears into the new King's eyes, and gave him an opportunity of explaining himself as to his Religion, and the good designs his heart was then full of.

Having dried up his tears, he told him he had been always a Catholic, and never professed any other religion; that indeed he had never ventured to bear up against the Hereticks, and openly profess the Roman Faith, being always surrounded by Innovators, in a State where the Sectaries were the prevailing party, and having succeeded a Prince, who by his ill example had as it were extinguished the Faith among his subjects, and suffered Heresy to triumph; but that neither could they be ignorant of the Affection and Confidence he had always shewed the Jesuits; that he had often frequented the Sacraments of Penance and the Eucharist; that to that end, under pretence of hunting, he went to Alba Julia to a devout Monk, who confessed him in private, and gave him the Communion; that he owned that he was not very learned in matters of religion, and that he knew no more of it than a Prince destined to war could know; but that he was ready to be instructed in it, to take the most proper measures for the good of the State, and to pursue every part of the advice he had given him. He added, as a proof of his Catholicity, that he would hear Mass that very day, if he could facilitate the means of doing it. Solikovius did so, having with him a Priest, Clerks, and proper Ornaments for it. The same day Mass was celebrated before the King, and the Priest, Clerks, and Ornaments left with him, in order to celebrate it during the rest of the Voyage. This disconcerted the Heretick Lords who were with him, and encouraged Karnkovius and all the Catholics, who transported to hear this good news at Solikovius's return, had neither heart nor mouth but to wish for the new King, and talk in his praise.

At last he arrived at Cracow, about Easter 1576, and was there crowned by Karnkovius, Bishop of Ladislau, which gained him the Primacy upon the Primate's death, who refused to assist at the Ceremony from his attachment to the house of Austria. The Hereticks who only wanted an opportunity of making some confusion, were

very clamorous upon that circumstance, upon pretence that the right of the Primate might thereby be prejudiced, or the King's oath want some circumstance necessary to the solemnity of it. To satisfy them, in the Coronation Act this Clause was inserted ; *Saving the Right of all Parties*. These Precautions being taken, the King swore to the *Pacta Conventa*, confirmed the liberty of Conscience ; and the new Arians did not omit doing the same thing at this Coronation, as they had done at that of Henry of Valois ; so that the King granted them the liberty of exercising their Religion.

This Toleration granted upon necessity, together with the wars the King undertook against the Muscovites, the broils he had with the Sborouski (for he beheaded Samuel, and banished the Palatin of Cracow) and his too great complaisance for some of the Innovators, occasioned the new Arians to encrease every day ; to continue their Assemblies : To Faustus Socinus to be welcome in Poland : That great numbers of noblemen and men of distinction declared for, professed and protected the new Arianism : But things went still farther after Stephen Batori's death, which happened on the 12th of December 1586, by the ignorance or malice of Nicolas Bucelle his Physician, who was infected with Arianism.

C H A P. XXIII.

The State of POLAND, as to the SOCINIANS, during the Reign of Sigismund III. The divisions among them, and Socinus's manner of uniting them all under his System.

THE death of Stephen Batori threw the Republick into fresh troubles. Many of the Palatins, Officers of the Crown, and other Noblemen divided, and even without any appearance of uniting again. The Lithuanians and Prussians were not at all, or ill-disposed towards the Election.

Yet notwithstanding all these divisions, there was a necessity of coming to an Election. To this end Karnkovius, now Primate, appointed the preliminary Diet at Warsaw in 1587. The Lithuanians thought time too short to get thither, and refused to be at it. The Prussians, Sandomir, the Nobility, the Grand Marshal, and the Chancellor followed their example, plainly foreseeing, that the Sborouski would make the prevailing party.

And indeed Andrew Sborouski, Marshal of the Crown, despised the Decree of banishment made against him, went boldly into the Senate, complained of the pretended injustice and vexations against himself and all his family, demanded to be heard in his own defence, took his usual seat, received his Marshal's Staff from one of his Servants, and taking advantage of the cowardice and coolness of the Prelates and Senators that appeared there, and of the Chancellor's absence, himself, his family, and party, proposed to the Senate a Convention, which Authors call *Recessus*, wherein they required, that the Chancellor's Authority might be limited; that Religion might be free, and that they should labour to make a solid peace between the divided parties. They only proposed these conditions, because it supposed others, namely, that they should do what they pleased, or whatever they could against such as opposed them; that nothing might be required of them, and even that it might be allowed them to share such effects of the Crown amongst them as should be to their liking, and gratify those with them as should be agreeable to them, which they did.

However violent such a proceeding might be, the Temporal Peers, unwilling to draw upon themselves the Resentment of the Sborouski, who were perpetually crying out against such as opposed their designs, as men who embroiled the State, were enemies to peace, and of Batori's faction, whose memory they endeavoured to blast, did not once dare to oppose them.

Such Senators as were Ecclesiasticks, for example, the Bishops of Plok, of Prenistria, and Uladislau, having shewed their horror at the attempts of the Sborouski, retired, and in excuse said they were not free, that the laws of their country were encroached upon, that Religion was injured, and that matters, very foreign from such for which they were called together, were treated of at the Diet.

The Secular Senators complained of this retreat, and protested to Solikovius, now become Archbishop of Leopold, and to Goslieki, Bishop of Caminieck, that if they deserted them in this extremity, they looked upon them as guilty, both before God and man, of all the Evils that were inseparable from the rupture of the Diet, and that from that moment they would retire if they did not sign the *Recessus*.

The Archbishop, one of the most accomplished gentlemen of his age, was not at all surprized at these threats; he first complained of the conduct of the Ecclesiastical Senators, who by retiring left the
Catho-

Catholicks in danger of being oppressed by the Sectaries. After these complaints, with his natural eloquence, and engaging air, he bid them take away his Archbishoprick, and even his life, rather than sign the *Recessus*; that it was a trick, which violated Religion, the publick good, and the antient laws of the Republick. At the same time he said this, he took off his Camail, and opened his breast, to let them see by that action that he was prepared to die rather than do any thing against his conscience, his honour, and his Duty.

The Bishop of Caminieck, inspired by this action, did the same, which so confounded the Sborouski and the Sectaries, that they did not think fit any more to threaten the Prelates; on the contrary, they endeavoured to soften them by fair words, and drew up a fresh Memorial.

The Bishop of Caminieck did not long continue so steady. The new memorial or convention of the Sborouski was conceived in ambiguous terms, encroaching upon the purity of the law. Solikovius, who foresaw he should never break this Confederacy which the Hereticks had formed, and carried on to the destruction of the Catholick Religion, and who besides knew, that if neither he, nor the Bishop of Caminieck signed the new Convention, it would not have the force of a law; in order to find a pretence for not signing, required time to examine it. Goslieki's and another Bishop's conduct were different. They went out of the Diet, being persuaded this Step was less prejudicial to the State, and to Religion, than their signing, which they could never have refused those mad men.

The Sborouski, who thereby saw all their measures broken, resolved to summon the Archbishop to appear again amongst them; but one of the company having represented to them that it would be to no purpose, and that Solikovius was not a man to be prevailed upon to change Sentiments, they let him alone, and sent to Goslieki, to desire him to return, to have pity on his Country, not to let the Diet be without one Prelate, the Primate being dead, or incapable of coming, or concluding any thing in it, and added, that he should have reason to be satisfied with them. Goslieki, moved with these remonstrances, returned to the Diet; they saluted him with the title of Father of his Country, and during these acclamations, presented the *Recessus* to him, which he signed indeed with regret, after adding this ridiculous clause, *propter bonum pacis*; for the sake of peace; a clause which he boasted of, but for which the factious made a jest of him: From that time they

took all manner of liberty, declared every thing done against the Sborouski void, and forbad the Chancellor to have any troops.

These ill consequences drew upon Goslieki very smart reproaches from the Primate, and the rest of the Prelates; none but Solikovius, who was a witness of the uneasiness that had been given to Goslieki, excused him: But the Pope was not so indulgent, he refused him the Bulls for changing his Bishoprick for a more profitable one.

Such was the end of the Preliminary Diet, which gave room for great commotions in the Diet for the Election. Samofiski irritated at the Sborouski's behaviour to himself, and without regarding (as indeed he had no reason) his forbidding him to have any troops, appeared at the Diet with an army not to be despised, and which he drew up in battle array two miles from Warsaw. The Sborouski appeared at it too, and Christopher banished as he was, appeared accompanied with 500 Men, French, Germans, Bohemians, Italians, and Poles; and Gorska joined him with ten thousand men. Thus Warsaw saw it self as it were besieged by two hostile armies.

The Senate affrighted at this disposition of affairs, endeavoured to form a third party, in order to bring the other two to an union, or to oppose such who should shew themselves averse to peace. The Sborouski, who declared all such as did not declare for them, enemies to their Country, despised the Senate, and gave their party the name of the *black Assembly*, and assumed the name of the general Assembly; declared Samofiski an Enemy to his Country, and as such deprived him of all his effects.

The Primate, who foresaw that these dissensions would never be quieted but by the speedy choice of a King, entered upon measures for it until then unknown in the Kingdom. By the means of the Grand Marshal he assembled a Council at Samofiski's house, and they there agreed to pitch upon a Man who should alone elect the King. Scarce was this design divulged in the Camp of the Sborouski, when they protested against it, and appointed an Assembly in the plains of Roholz, that they might there have the liberty of speaking their Sentiments. These measures being taken, Gorska, the Sborouski, and all their whole Army besieged the Senate almost in the same manner as if they were endeavouring to take the strongest place in Europe, or fight an Army of an hundred thousand Tartars; which struck such a terror into the Senators, that they thought of nothing but retiring. Samofiski remained not motionless at such a sight, he
 2 marched

marched out of his lines, drew his army up in order of battle, and only waited for orders to charge the troops of Goska. The Primate very much perplexed to know how to dispose of himself, and what measures he should take, ran first to one side, then to the other, begged, sighed, and posted his troops so as to be a check upon either party. Upon this, the Sborouski lose all respect, fire upon the other side, and retire in disorder, after protesting against whatever they should do. In this rash and brutal action there was but one killed, but a man too considerable not to be regretted; it was M. Brzezinius, Canon of Uladislaw, and Chancellor to the Bishop.

Their protesting was to no purpose; the Primate entered Samofiski's Camp, followed by most of the Nobility, Officers of the Crown, Senate, and Clergy, and caused the Mass of the HOLY GHOST to be sung. When the Mass was over, they proceeded to the Election, which fell upon Sigismund, Son of John, King of Sweden, and Nephew to Sigismund Augustus by his mother, who was Daughter to Sigismund I. King of Poland.

The Sborouski and all their party, exasperated at such an Election, assembled in a tumultuous manner, and on their side elected as King of Poland, Maximilian, Arch Duke of Austria, Brother to the Emperor Rodolf. These two elections put all Poland under arms; but Samofiski played his part so well as to open a sure way for Sigismund III. even as far as Silesia: He there found Maximilian his Competitor, at the head of an army, attacked, defeated, took him prisoner, and shut him up in the Castle of Crasnatozia in Russia; and thereby secured the Crown to Sigismund, and restored peace to the Kingdom.

This Samofiski makes too glorious a figure here, to suffer us to go any farther without drawing his Character.

John Samofiski, Zamoyeski, or Zamoiski, in latin Joannes Samofiscus. The Name of *Sarius* was given him from the Dutchy of Zharaz, which belonged to the Family of the Zamofiski, a Dutchy which now bears the title of a Principality. This John was the Son of Stanislaus Zamofiski, Senatour and Lord of Chelm. Having began his Studies at Crasnoflaw, he went to France to finish them. Turnebus and Lambin taught him School Learning, and Carpentier Philosophy. From France he went to Padua; Sigonius pleased him, and he preferred him to all the other Professors: Sigonius on his part had so great an affection for him, as to publish a

Samofiski.
Baillet Ju-
gem. des
Savans.
To. 12. p.
172.

treatise

treatise in two books under his name, which he had written upon the Roman Senate.

Upon his return into Poland, he had very considerable Employments given him. In the time of Sigismund Augustus he was Secretary of State, Vice-chancellor, and held some Governments, as that of Belz, and Zamochia. He was sent from the States to France in 1573, in the quality of Ambassador, to request Henry of Valois to accept the Crown of Poland. Henry, upon his arrival in Poland, gave him the Government of Gesna. After the departure of Henry, he sided with Stephen Batori, and endeavoured to get him elected; and indeed he was well rewarded. Batori then King, made him his Confidant, his Counsel, and his Nephew, by the marriage he made for him with his Niece, daughter of Christopher Batori, Prince of Transilvania; and soon after High Chancellor, and Great General of the Kingdom. It was under these two titles he shewed himself a man of a fine head, learned in the belles lettres, and still more in the arts of War, of Council, and of State; brave, intrepid, wise, always above the menaces and intrigues of his enemies, and not unworthy of the Employments that he had been entrusted with, nor of the reputation he had gained, viz. of being one of the greatest Politicians and Captains of his age.

His passion for learning engaged him, in 1594, to set up an University in the City of Zamoiski, and he spared nothing in order to cause Arts and Learning to flourish. At last he grew tired with the disorders of the Court and Army, and resolved to retire, in order to apply himself wholly to his Studies and his Salvation: He died suddenly in his retirement in 1605, his climacteric year, and was found dead of an Apoplexy sitting in his easy chair, his servants thinking him employed on serious meditations.

But I must return to my subject. The Sectaries did not omit getting their privileges confirmed, as to the free exercise of their Religion, as well in the *Pacta Conventa*, as at the King's Coronation. And indeed the Socinians, the Pinczowians, and new Arians, take great care to inform us in their *Vindiciæ Unitariorum*, that their liberty was authorized by publick Acts.

B. A. p.
271.

Sigismund was not satisfied with making good the Articles of his oath, he added condescensions for the Socinians and other Sectaries, which his predecessors had never shewed to them. He gave many Posts in his Court, in the Law, and in his Armies, and several Governments

vernments to Socinians. The Socinians, countenanced by these Constitutions, Oaths, and Condescensions, pushed themselves as forward as they could, and if they were not the prevailing party in Poland, at least they had put themselves into a condition of giving jealousy, not only to the rest of the Sectaries, but to the Roman Catholics themselves, as well by the many persons of quality and learning amongst them, as by the multitude of Colleges and Churches they had erected.

It is not to be doubted but all this contributed much to the support of their Sect; it is even asserted, that it was then at a pitch of glory, it never saw since that time, and from which it fell by little and little, as those men, who by their quality and learning were the supports of it, fell off.

But notwithstanding the multitude of Churches they had erected, they were not uniform in their Belief. In 1579, the time of Faustus Socinus's arrival in Poland, we are told, that all those Churches of the Pinczowians, Unitarians, and Arians, were horribly divided by the diversity of opinions therein maintained, and of the new Sects grown up amongst them. There were reckoned thirty, or thirty two different opinions, all which however agreed in this point of denying JESUS CHRIST to be the true and only GOD. And whilst they were tearing each other to pieces by a principle of Religion, Socinus arrived in Poland.

The first thing he did was thoroughly to inform himself of the causes of their division, and thus instructed, in 1580, he in the Synod of Racovia, demanded to be admitted into the Church of such who acknowledged only the great and one GOD as the eternal FATHER. They who were in the direction of it, being advertised that F. Socinus was of a stirring, restless, domineering temper, always in readiness to write against, or oppose such as did not think in his way, and that he was of a contrary opinion to them, upon the attonement for Sins made by JESUS CHRIST, upon Justification, good Works, Predestination, Baptism, Free-will, &c. would not hear talk of it, and refused him the Communion. This proceeding was matter of great confusion to him, and accordingly he highly resented it.

But being an Italian, and having been instructed at the Court of Florence, that one must dissemble when one cannot take revenge, he shewed no dissatisfaction outwardly, but altered his design. He refused joining with any of the Communions then in Poland, and affected

fectcd being the good friend of them all, more to bring them to an union in his notions, than for the fake of any temporal Advantage. Very different from his friend Blandrat, he had nothing less at heart than Interest.

Being in this confidence with all the Sectaries, he often told them, that indeed Luther and Calvin had done considerable service to Religion, and taken tolerable measures for overturning the Temple of the Antichrist of Rome, and dissipating the errors he there taught; but that it must be agreed, that neither they, nor any of those who confined themselves to their Systems, had done any thing towards rebuilding the true Temple of GOD, upon the ruins of that of Rome, and paying unto GOD the true worship due unto him: That if they would follow his measures, he would draw them up a Plan of Religion worthy of their hopes, which would unite them all, and repair the injury for so many ages done to the true GOD.

He did so, and to that end, like Servetus, was for allowing but one person in GOD. Like Gentilis, he maintained, that that person was the sole FATHER, and only GOD. Like Arius, he insisted, that the SON had not been from all Eternity, nor even before all time. Like Paul of Samosata, Cerinthus, Budneus, F. Davidis, &c. he maintained that JESUS CHRIST had not begun to exist till the moment of his conception: And with several others taught, that the Word and the HOLY GHOST were no more than the Wisdom and Power of GOD: That that GOD had no SON by nature, but only by adoption: That JESUS CHRIST was the SON of GOD only by Grace, and the Prerogatives granted to him by GOD: That he was but a man as we are, who by the gifts conferred on him from heaven, was our Mediator, Pontif, Hero, and Priest. That we ought to worship but one GOD without distinction of persons, not to perplex ourselves with explaining what the Word was, how he proceeded from the FATHER before all ages, nor in what manner he was made man: And that we ought to look upon the real presence of the humanity and divinity of JESUS CHRIST in the Eucharist, the efficacy of Baptism to blot out original Sin, &c. as the fables and forgeries of man's imagination.

These and many other paradoxes gained him a particular veneration among such as did not believe the supreme Divinity of JESUS CHRIST. As there was nothing in them but what might agree with every man's errors, nothing but what was agreeable to sense; as by
such

Such a system they were freed from the perplexity of the antient Arians, when they came to explain the mystery of the Incarnation: And as it was capable of uniting all such as were divided upon the same subject; every one caressed him, and the Unitarians, who were the strongest party amongst the enemies of the Divinity of JESUS CHRIST, received him into their Church, followed his opinions, and several other Churches imitated them.

Faustus thus grown the head of the Sectaries, gave them quite another lustre than they had appeared in before, by his agreeable manner, frequent disputes, and treatises. But the Reformed, in order to ruin him, laid crimes against the State to his charge, which for some time put a stop to the success of his disputes, but without lessening the number of his disciples. But having suffered some other persecutions, affairs turned to his advantage. He retired to Leucavia, to Abraham Blanski, a man of quality and wit: There he took so much pains by his books, letters, and disputes, that he gained the friendship of his greatest enemies; after which he had the melancholy consolation he had so much sought after, viz. of being the head of a sect: He saw all the Churches of Poland and Lithuania, so different in their practices, morals, and doctrines, and which only agreed in the single opinion of denying CHRIST to be the supreme GOD consubstantial with the Eternal FATHER, united into one only Church, to which was, and is still given to this day the name of Socinian, from having embraced Socinus's system; and this name has so far prevailed, that the Arians, Samosatians, Photinians, Pinczowians, Racovians, Unitarians, Antitrinitarians, Tritheists, are now no more talked of, but only the Socinians.

This Sect, far from dying, or being weakened by the death of its Author, exceedingly multiplied by the great number of persons of Quality, and learned Ministers who supported it, and still increased in Poland till the year 1658; but yet not without frequent oppositions: Which shall be the subject of the following Chapters.

C H A P. XXIV.

The beginning of the decay of SOCINIANISM in Poland and Lithuania, during the Reigns of Uladisläus and Casimir.

THE same thing almost happened at the Elections of Uladisläus and Casimir his brother, who succeeded him in the Crown of Poland, as at the Elections of the other Kings we have already spoken of: All the Sectaries took the freedom of getting their Laws confirmed which gave them liberty of Conscience; and it may be said that there was no opposition made to it, in the Diets assembled for those Elections, and so much the more as they were composed of a great number of Innovators, and even of Socinians.

However, notwithstanding those laws so many times confirmed by the necessities of the times, and those persons of distinction, who gave so publick and bare-faced a protection to the Sect, it has had strange and terrible Shocks, which have ended in their utter ruin in Poland; of which I shall give the reader some particulars.

John Tiscovicius, a rich Citizen of Biesk in Podolia, whom the Socinians say the Catholicks envied for his great riches, having exercised the Charge of Questor or Syndic of his town, was called upon at the end of the year to make up his accompts. His adversaries refused to believe him upon his bare word, and did him the honour to require his oath, intending to stand by it. He submitted to give it, upon condition he should only swear by Almighty GOD. This form of an oath appeared new to them, they thought it suspicious, and resolved to constrain him to swear by a GOD in three persons, and JESUS CHRIST crucified, and at the same time presented a Crucifix to him. He, transported with passion, either upon his fidelity being distrusted, or because of their design thereby to sound his religion, or that they intended him some trick, snatched the Crucifix, trod it under his feet, and pronounced some blasphemies against a GOD in three persons, saying he knew of no such GOD, nor whether he was male or female. These impieties revived the Religion of the Magistrates and Citizens: They loaded him with reproaches and blows; after which they decreed he should be taken up. To avoid the prosecutions and punishments ordained against the impious, and blasphemers, he appealed to the Sovereign Tribunal, where he hoped

to find more favourable Judges: And indeed he found such as absolved him, and fined the Magistrate; but the Magistrate being a man of another sort than to suffer himself to be unjustly oppressed, appealed from the Sentence of the Sovereign Tribunal to the Queen herself, as his natural Judge, of whom the Prefecture of Bieck held. The Queen received his Appeal, set aside the Sentence of the Sovereign Tribunal, sent back the criminal to the first judge, and laboured so effectually with the King, as to obtain a Decree, that Tiscovicius should have his tongue bored through for blaspheming against the TRINITY; his head cut off for contumacy and rebellion against his natural Judge, having appealed from the Queen to the Sovereign Tribunal; his hands and feet cut off for throwing down and trampling upon the Crucifix; and lastly be burnt as a Heretick.

This Sentence was shortly after executed. The unhappy man went to Warsaw, in hopes of finding some protection from the Sovereign Tribunal; but scarce was he arrived, when he was arrested, and his Sentence signified to him, and on the 16th of November 1611, that Sentence was executed in all points.

But the Socinians still held several Synods at Lublin till the year 1627, when they were driven thence on the following occasion. In the year 1618, during the time that the Marshal Sborouski was holding the grand Sessions, the Socinians and Evangelists assembled at Lublin for the interests of their Sect; one of them preached against the mystery of a God in three persons, and at the same time the thunder fell on a ball upon the top of the Church belonging to the Castle, dedicated to the Holy TRINITY. The Church being all in a flame, caused a general alarm in the city which was full of Catholics, come thither to obtain the indulgences granted upon the dedication of it. Upon this the Sectaries insulted them, telling them that Heaven itself declared for them, and would itself destroy even the very places that bore the name of the TRINITY. The Catholics, provoked at these blasphemies, resolved to drive them out of the town, and began by destroying their Temples and Places of Worship, and obtained a Decree from the Sovereign Tribunal, forbidding all the Sectaries ever to meet at Lublin for their annual Synods, and ordering their Church and College there to be shut up, with an injunction never more to allow of any of their exercises in them.

The Socinians, notwithstanding these prohibitions, still continued to hold frequent Assemblies, Conferences, and publick Disputes; which

which together with an intercepted Letter written from Stoński, a Socinian, then sick at Leuclavia, to young Christopher Lubienieski, wherein he tells him, that speedy relief was promised to Christopher Batori, Prince of Transilvania, against the Emperor and Catholics; engaged the latter to demand justice against him, and all the Socinians, as incendiaries, and enemies of the State; but the Socinians had the address to make it appear that the Letter was counterfeit, and thus the accusation had no effect.

All these blows were only preludes to what befel them in 1638. Some Scholars of Racovia had beat down a wooden cross, by throwing Stones at it, and broken the Crucifix to pieces with such scandalous circumstances, that the Catholics talked loudly of it, and complained to some of the Courts of Justice. The Parents of those Scholars, to prevent the consequences of that fact, chastized their children, and thought that enough: But the Catholics went on with their prosecution, and brought all the Socinians who were leading men in the Church and College of Racovia, to a formal trial, as authors of the outrage of the Scholars to the Crucifix. They began with Sieninski, and accused him of no less a crime than treason against God and man; after which they summoned the Ministers of the Church, and Regents of the College, and charged them with conspiring, commanding, and authorizing the proceeding of their Scholars.

The accused endeavoured to justify themselves, and did not fail laying a great stress upon Sieninski's merit, his great age (for he was above seventy) the rank he held in the City, the services he had done the State, the riches he had lavished in favour of his Country, the praises the Diets had bestowed upon him, having often stiled him the Father of his Country, and the oath he was ready to make that he had no hand in the fact in question; but all this was in vain. However, the affair was in 1638, laid before the general Diet. A great number of all persuasions, as well Catholics as Hereticks, interested themselves in this affair, and loudly condemned the Catholics as endeavouring to ruin the Socinians, for a fact committed by children and disapproved, and protested against any condemnation of them in the Diet. But notwithstanding, the Diet decreed, that all the Churches of the Socinians in Racovia should be shut up, their College rased to the ground, their Printing-house seized, their Ministers, Preachers, and Regents, have a mark of infamy set upon them,
and

and proscribed; all which was executed with all imaginable diligence.

Cocceius tells us, this punishment was inflicted, not only for the outrage of the Scholars, but upon account of a scandalous book against the TRINITY, entitled, *Tormentum throno Trinitatem deturbans*, found actually working off at their Printing-house. But Lubienieski asserts this to be false.

Though the Socinians complained loudly against this proceeding, as an infringement upon their privileges, the Catholicks still went on in their designs against them, and began a prosecution against George Czaplicius, Patron of the Socinian Church at Kisselin, before the Sovereign Tribunal at Lublin, and accused him with harbouring the proscribed Ministers and Regents, and thereby bringing Arians and blasphemers in upon his estate. Czaplicius said in his own Justification, that those people had performed none of the Functions of their religion upon his estate; but his reasons were not regarded, and he was fined a thousand crowns in gold, and ordered to be ready to deliver those Ministers and Regents into the hands of justice; but they, upon private information given them, retired elsewhere, and Czaplicius was condemned to pay a thousand Florins more. Nor was this all, the Judges sentenced the Socinian Churches of Kisselin and Beresa to be shut up, and no religious duties to be performed in them. They went still farther, they pursued the dead, after prosecuting the living.

Twardoblebius, who had exercised the ministry for thirty years in the Church of Kisselin, was called to account, as well as his doctrine, though he had been dead some years. People were found who accused him of teaching Arianism, and he was thereupon declared infamous.

Rupnovius, dead also some time, and who had exercised the ministry in the Church of Beresa, had the same fate; and the Judges, who could not fine the dead, fined their Churches. It cost Czaplicius, the Proprietor of it, at least twenty thousand florins, and Andrew and Alexander Czaplicius, were forbidden to allow the exercise of Socinianism upon their Estates.

But these crosses were nothing to what the whole party suffered by the wars the Cossacks and Peasants of Poland made upon them, which were not ended till towards the year 1655. To hear them talk, one would believe the Catholicks blew up those wars against them, and that there was no sort of extortions, plunderings, persecutions, banishments,

nishments, and murthers, which they did not suffer ; and indeed they were extremely harrassed by Chmielnieski.

Chmielni-
eski Hist.
of the Diets
of Poland.

Chmielnieski was originally of Lithuania ; both he and his father were made Captives in Tartary, from whence his mother delivered him, leaving her husband in it ; and was Secretary to a Polish Regiment at the time he was taken by the Tartars. He was brave, resolute, adroit, a dissembler, revengeful, capable of commanding Rebels, and something more. He spoke the Turkish, Tartarian, Cofack, Polish, and Latin tongues. The Cofacks made him one of their Deputies to the Diet in 1638, and thereby furnished him with an opportunity of learning both the strength and weakness of the Court of Poland, which was very useful, in the Revolt of which this was the motive.

Upon his return from Slavery, seeing all Ukrania desolate and deserted by the incursions of the Turks and Tartars, he seized on a small estate which his father had formerly enjoyed near the town of Czehrin in Ukrania, and several other estates that suited him, but kept them but a very little while. Czaphliuski the King's Lieutenant at Czehrin, took those estates from him : A suit was thereupon commenced, and King Uladislaus, in favour of his Lieutenant, adjudged to him all the lands of that Palatinate that suited him, and ordered Chmielnieski fifty florins, a small sum to satisfy a man that was covetous and ambitious, who suffered considerably, by losing not only his paternal estate, but the rest which he looked upon as his right ; so that he was loud in his complaints, nor kept any measures in them. The King's Lieutenant had him taken up and beaten in the publick street as an inconsiderable fellow. This affront, together with the injustice he thought was done him, made him resolve to retire to the Zaporovian Cofacks, who disgusted with the King and Republick, had taken arms. They received him with open arms upon learning that he was a man of abilities, and a Malecontent : They made him their General, and under his command ravaged Podolia, Volhinia, Russia, and other Provinces, and brought the Kingdom to the brink of ruin, as well by their Victories over the army of the Republick, as by the destruction of most of the Nobility, of whom they who escaped death or captivity, were forced to lead a wretched vagabond life, being plundered of their effects. Duke Jeremy Wismowski alone, of the antient family of the Jagelons, who was descended in a right line from Karybuth, Uncle of the antient Uladislaus Jagelon,

Jagelon, and who came to the crown after Casimir: This single Duke, I say, lost above six hundred thousand livres a year.

These Rebels exercised unheard of cruelties upon the Socinians; for they hated them in a signal manner; not content with plundering, they killed them wherever they met with them, without sparing age, sex, or condition.

The war in 1655, was not of less prejudice to them. Three or four thousand peasants ran to arms at the solicitations of the Catholics, took the town of Sandrecia by assault, and upon the Socinians therein refusing to abjure their heresy, put most of them to the sword, without any resistance. Such as escaped, passed the Vistula, retired to Cracow, to the number of about thirty families, where they formed a Church under the protection of the Swedish Governor, but all their effects were lost, and with such cruel circumstances, that it is with horror that they mention them. But all this was but the preparation for that great blow given them in 1658, which we shall relate in the following Chapter.

C H A P. XXV.

The destruction of SOCINIANISM in Poland, by the Edict of 1658, confirmed by others to the year 1660.

THE Polish Catholics, in order to rid themselves of the Socinians, as of a plague that had occasioned all the misfortunes the Republick had been afflicted with, and who by their blasphemies against the divinity of JESUS CHRIST, would not fail drawing down upon them the curses of GOD, coloured over their design with this pretence, that the Socinians were declared enemies to the State. In order to persuade the Diet held at Warsaw in 1658, that they were so, they accused them not only of putting themselves under the protection of Gustavus King of Sweden, whilst he was invading the kingdom, but that they had assisted him with money, and that by a more flagrant crime they had held private intelligence with Ragotski Prince of Transilvania, whilst he, making advantage of the wars that laid Poland waste, had attacked it with his troops. Upon these accusations, several persons of distinction, and good Catholics, with great warmth required the Diet to drive the Arians and

Anabaptists

Anabaptists (so they called the Socinians) out of the Kingdom. The Lutheran, Sacramentarian, and Calvinist Deputies, not so strong in number as the Catholicks, and fearing the resolutions to be taken against the Socinians might fall upon them, did all they could to ward off any resolution that might be prejudicial to the Socinians. The Catholicks guessing at the motives which those Deputies might have to oppose the execution of their design, agreed to allow them that liberty of conscience they had so long enjoyed. The Convention being agreed, the whole Diet concluded upon extinguishing the Sect; and by the decree therein made, they were obliged to leave the Kingdom, or to renounce their heresies, or to fall into the Communions which were tolerated; and to allow them time for considering upon it, it was resolved the execution of the Decree should not take effect till three years after.

This Decree was confirmed in three following Diets, and the whole tenor of it, except some few points, executed. But the clause, allowing the Socinians three years time to consider, was broke through, and upon this occasion.

The time granted by the law drew near; such Socinians as were noble, had employments, great Estates, a numerous family, good friends, and were lovers of their country, with difficulty thought of losing them, to lead a wretched vagabond life. To find some remedy to these inconveniencies, they desired that there might be a Conference held between their ministers and the Catholicks and Reformed, to explain themselves in a manner that might be agreeable to both parties, or to find some way of accomodating matters, which was granted. The Socinian ministers did not think fit to appear at it, either fearing some Vexations, or foreseeing the disputes would have no good issue, seeing the Decree of banishment had been published and confirmed. Andrew Wiffowats alone, who was resolved it should never be said he was ashamed of openly maintaining what he believed, and who apprehended that if none of the party appeared in support of the common interest, those of his sect, whom interest or conscience began to stagger, might fall off from the party into the tolerated communions, thought it his duty and honour to appear at it with some few of his friends. Wicłopoloski, Captain of Voinia, Satrape of Versovia, and Palatin of Cracow, received him with marks of honour, and made him dine every day with him during the conference.

It was opened the 11th of March 1660, and lasted till the 16th. Wiffowatz therein signalized himself by his capacity, eloquence, and genteel way of talking: It may even be said that his adversaries did not gain all the glory which their cause deserved. He proposed to them an argument drawn from the viiith Chapter of 1 Cor. to prove against them that the Eternal FATHER was the supreme and only GOD, and carried it so far, according to the words of his Historian, that the Catholicks, who probably were not so well practised in matters of controversy as himself, answered it so weakly that Wiclopolski did not sleep the whole night after, and father Cichovius, as expert as he was in the dispute with that sort of people, was as unsuccessful as the rest. Wiffowatz, to prove that JESUS CHRIST was not the supreme GOD, said, that according to his own Confession, he knew neither the day nor hour of the last Judgment. All the answer Cichovius could make to it was, that the proof was not conclusive, and that JESUS CHRIST would still be the supreme and only GOD, tho' he were even ignorant of the day of Judgment, and of other things. This gave Wiffowatz occasion to cry out against JESUS CHRIST, that he was for no GOD who knew not the hour of the last Judgment. They add, that the Warden of the Convent of Cordeliers, advancing forward, as if going to say something new, Wiclopolski asked him what he thought of the dispute? What I think, answered he, why? that if all the Devils in Hell were here to maintain it, they would not have done it so well as this Minister. How then would it have been, replied he, if all the Socinians had been at the Conference? For I assure you there are many as formidable as Wiffowatz. If it be so, concluded the Cordelier, I do not see how any defence can be made against these people.

These are the advantages the Catholick Divines sometimes reap from conferences they condescend to grant to Hereticks before Magistrates, and other Laymen, who generally understand affairs of War, Court-intrigues, and Politicks, better than matters of Faith and Piety. It is always dangerous, for the Grandees who are thereby staggered, for the Catholick Divines who are thereby sometimes confounded, at least in regard to their adversaries; and for the Hereticks who therein find occasions of encreasing their pride, and growing to a greater obstinacy in their errors, and for the simple and well-meaning who are scandalized at them. All these inconveniencies resulted from the Conference we have been speaking of, which served to no end but still more to the

exasperating the Catholics against the Socinians. The latter prevailed and made the most of their disputes, and the former, to humble them effectually, made fresh instances that the Decree might have its full effect, and that even before the time appointed: They succeeded, and an Order of Council was granted them, dated the 20th of July 1660, purporting that it was now no longer a time for trifling, and that the new Arians must either resolve to enter into some of the tolerated Communions, or retire out of the Territories depending upon the Crown of Poland, and that if they did not come to one of these two resolutions, the people was allowed to fall upon them, massacre, or prosecute them, in order to their being put to an infamous death. Some, to avoid these severities, went over to the Roman Church; some to the Reformed, at which the Catholics clamoured exceedingly: But most of the wives of such as abjured, continued firm to the Sect; to bring them over, their husbands were condemned in large Fines. Such as refused going over to any of the tolerated Communions, left their country; the number was great, and they went to find out their brethren in Transilvania, Hungary, the Ducal Prussia, Moravia, Silesia, and the Marches of Brandenburg; some passed on to the Palatinate, Holland, England, and other Provinces where they were willing to receive them.

Thus was Poland delivered from this Sect, after having born with it more than an hundred years; but was the occasion too of its strange encrease in the States, infected with Luther's and Calvin's heresies, if not openly, and so as to become the predominating, at least imperceptibly; and there are none who observe what passes in the learned world, who do not perceive that this Sect grows every day more numerous, as will appear by the sequel.

C H A P. XXVI.

The State of SOCINIANISM in Transilvania during the Reigns of young Sigismund Batori, of his Cousin the Cardinal, of Moses Szekeli, of Stephen Botkai, of Sigismund Ragotski, of Gabriel Batori, and of Bethlehem Gabor.

AFTER the death of Christopher Batori Prince of Transilvania, Socinianism underwent several revolutions in this Province, by the weakness of young Sigismund his Son, by the death of Cardinal Batori his cousin, by the wars there, as well on the side of the Emperor, as of the Transilvanians, of Michael Vaivod of Walachia, and of some others, as from the heat and capacity of some Ministers.

I shall here repeat what is to be found in almost all the Historians who have spoken of the troubles in Hungary and Transilvania towards the end of the sixteenth, and beginning of the seventeenth Century; but only so far as may give some light into my History.

John Sigismund Batori began to signalize his reign by the contempt he shewed for the resolutions taken in the States of Magiéz, whereof we have spoken, and by his rigorous punishing all such as had conspired against him after the assembly of Magiéz. He would not pardon even his Cousin german Balthasar Batori, whom the Sectaries had chosen Head of their Conspiracy. After this, he with consummate prudence and signal courage supported a cruel war which the Grand Signor had raised and fomented against him, for courting the Emperor's friendship in contempt of his, and concluded it successfully by the victory he gained over Sinan Bacha, at the head of a hundred thousand Turks, in which that General fell. In 1588 Sigismund reversed the Decree made against the Jesuits, which banished them the Principality, and in 1595 recalled them by a new Decree, which gave them entire liberty to preach, instruct, and do that for which they are members of the Roman Church.

After such glorious beginnings he married Mary Christina, daughter of the Arch Duke Charles, Uncle of the Emperor Rodolf, the fatal Source of all his misfortunes, and of innumerable calamities

and disquiets which never ended till his death. Too weak to bear up against them, and the different wars which ravaged his Territories, he surrendered his Principality into the Emperor's hands for a Dukedom in Silesia, but soon repented it : For scarce had he seen his new Dukedom, when hearing that Rodolf was drawing near to Transilvania, in order to take possession of it, he returned back ; and his antient Subjects, who had already taken their oath of fidelity to the Emperor, acknowledged him for their Sovereign. But being fully persuaded of his own incapacity to govern, he recalled his Cousin Cardinal Andrew Batori from Poland, and proposed him as his Successor to the States, who approved of him. Upon their accepting him, Sigismund retired to Poland to his brother in law Sancofiski ; but upon the news that the Cardinal had lost a battle against Michael Vaivod of Walachia, and Basta General of the Imperial troops, and that he had been massacred by the Shepherds, or according to the opinion of some, by Assassins hired by the House of Austria, he returned into Transilvania, and again resumed the reins of Government. But he was as unsuccessful as before, notwithstanding the assistance of Moses Szekeli Prince of the Siculi, a people of Transilvania. His misfortunes, and the disquiets they gave him, made him at last determine to quit his Principality, never more to return to it : He retired to the Emperor, who gave him the Castle of Zobecovia in Bohemia, where he lived as a private Man till the Year 1613, when he retired to Prague, and there died of an Apoplexy.

The different revolutions this Prince went through, gave the Unitarians a fine opportunity of fortifying and multiplying themselves in Transilvania. Nothing opposed their designs ; and being masters of the art of fishing in troubled waters, they made use of all these circumstances to spread themselves. This will appear more manifestly in what follows.

Moses Szekeli did not act like Sigismund ; he supported the party against Michael and Basta. In order to succeed therein, he implored aid of the Turks, who did not refuse it. With this assistance he laid siege to Clausenburg, which was surrendered to him by the Magistrates, who were strong Unitarians, upon condition he would suffer them to treat the Jesuits as they should judge proper, which he granted them with pleasure, and they exercised all manner of cruelties upon them.

But this progress of the Unitarians did not last. Basta attacked Szekeli, defeated him, and drove him out of the places he had seized upon; and Moses, yet unwilling to ~~abandon~~ on the party, raised all the Grandees of the Principality against the Emperor; but to his own misfortune and theirs. Basta beat his army, killed him, and most of those Chiefs; retook Clausenburg, caused the Arian who had surrendered the City to Moses, and who had made the Treaty, stipulating the ruin of the Jesuits, to be hanged, and settled affairs upon the same foot as they had been before, and obliged the inhabitants to give the Jesuits a House, a College, and a Church, to make up the loss of theirs; and the next year, 1604, treated all the Sectaries of Transilvania so ill, and caused those in Hungary to be so ill treated by the Count de Beljoieuse, that at last, in order to redeem themselves from those vexations, just or unjust, they made a fresh war upon the Emperor, and chose Stephen Bostkay, one of the principal Hungarian Lords, and Uncle to Sigismund Batori for their General.

This new Chief, in order to his Success against the Imperial forces, made a friendship with Gabriel Bethlehem, a Zuinglian, one of Moses Szekeli's generals, and implored the Turks assistance, which was granted him, and with this relief had such success against the Imperial Army, that in 1605 he made himself master of a good part of Transilvania. After these successes he called an assembly of the States, and all the Chief men who came to it conferred the Sovereignty of the Province upon him; and the Grand Signor, in order to give him certain signs that he approved the election, and to win him over to his interest, conferred on him the title of King of Hungary, and sent him the Crown and royal Vestments of Uladislaus, antient King of Hungary.

These instances of complaisance in the Turk did not last long, Bostkay broke with Achmet, and Achmet made a cruel war upon him, always beat him, and mortified him all ways; which forced him upon courting the Emperor Rodolf's friendship, which was granted him, upon condition that Bostkay and his male children should enjoy Transilvania, and that part of the Kingdom of Hungary which Sigismund had enjoyed; and that the whole should revert to the Emperor after Bostkay's death, in case he died without male heirs; a condition which was never executed: For upon Bostkay's death without male heirs, the Transilvanians met, and chose for their Sovereign Sigismund

mund Ragotski, one of the principal Noblemen of the Country, and a Calvinist.

This Prince preferred his repose to Empire, and therefore renounced the Sovereignty in 1608, and *Gabriel Batori*, who a great while had longed for so delicious a morsel, quitted the Roman Faith to gain it: But Bethlehem Gabor, a Calvinist, and favourer of the Greek Schism, supported by the Protection of the Port, and at the head of a large body of Ottoman troops, caused so great a revolt in the Principality, as to be in a condition to give Gabriel Batori battle, which he won by his death, and thereby gained the Sovereignty of Transilvania.

By this time it is easy to imagine, that this Principality still sinking from one degree of misfortune to another, and being governed by none but Arian or Calvinist Princes, the Catholicks and Jesuits had much to suffer: But neither did the Arians find themselves in a better case, and especially after it was seen that they made but one Church and Communion with the Socinians of Poland. They were content to tolerate them, after several Edicts to support the liberty of conscience of the Catholicks, Calvinist, and Protestant Evangelists.

It was under these Edicts for Toleration that the Polish exiles took refuge in Transilvania, to the number of above 500 persons, flattering themselves that they might live there securely, and enjoy liberty of conscience under the toleration granted by the Laws, and safe from the Wars there made upon the Emperor; but it was not without difficulty, and suffering many unlucky accidents. Scarce were they got within the County of Moramorasia, when they saw themselves surrounded and attacked by a body of Soldiers of the Imperial army, to whom some zealous Poles had given notice of their march. They came to blows, and that they might escape with their lives, they were forced to surrender to the Germans their money, cloaths, goods, and the provisions they had with them; an unfortunate situation for such as had no habitation. However they pursued their journey, and there were some of them who signalized themselves in a manner sufficient to qualify themselves for a place in Sandius's Bibliotheca of Socinian Authors.

C H A P. XXVII.

SOCINIANISM in England, and how it established itself there, notwithstanding the oppositions made against it.

WHATEVER precautions have been taken in England to prevent the growth of modern Arianism, it must nevertheless be owned, that since a liberty of disputing on matters of religion, according to every man's fancy, has been introduced, Socinianism has crept in with too much success.

One may say, that what introduced it here, was an excessive complaisance shewn in 1535, to some Dutch Anabaptists who took refuge there, after the death of John Geelen, and the ruin of the Anabaptist party of Amsterdam. Scarce were these refugees arrived when they spread themselves into different Counties of the Kingdom, and took care to publish their pernicious doctrine, which in the general was like that of the Anabaptists of Germany.

They encreased enough to make a considerable party, and to venture at forming pernicious designs against the Government, upon the maxims of the Anabaptists of the upper and lower Rhine, and which they would have executed upon the first opportunity.

It was about this time, that is, about 1547, that Bernardin Okinus came over to England, and preached up a refined Arianism, which awakened the curiosity of such as were fond of novelty, and who were very numerous. There were some bold enough to make publick profession of it, and indeed were prosecuted for so doing.

Sandius tells us, that in 1551, a German of the country of Cleve ^{Nucleus} was burnt at London, for professing Arianism, having taught it at ^{Hist. Eccl.} Wittenburg, and there denied the Eternity of the HOLY GHOST. Probably he was that George condemned to the Stake by Archbishop Cranmer.

The 29th of August 1555, Patrick Patingham suffered the same ^{Ibid.} kind of death at Uxbridge, being accused of Arianism.

In the reign of Queen Mary, Christopher Viret distinguished him-^{Christoph.} self at London by his Arianism, and in so conspicuous a manner, as ^{Viret} to have deserved to be placed in the number of illustrious men by the Ministers of Transylvania and Poland.

Henry

Henry Nicholas, Author of the family of love.

Henry Nicholas, head of the Sectaries of the family of love, joined in with him. This Nicholas was of Munster, but settled at Amsterdam, and there broached his new paradoxes, though an ignorant fellow, and without any tincture of learning: But he was cunning, designing, and full of hypocrisy. He boasted of revelations from the Angel Gabriel, and set himself above Moses and JESUS CHRIST, saying they had only entered into the holy place, but that he himself had penetrated into the most holy place. Having preached his Doctrine sometime in Holland, he crossed into England about the year 1556, where he seduced many of the common people. He writ several Letters and Treatises, to which he gave pompous titles, such as, *The Gospel of the Kingdom of God, the Exhortation, the Correction, &c.*

Pagittus.

However, all this was but a spark to the flame that afterwards broke out in Queen Elizabeth's reign with so much violence, as to put the Queen upon apprehensions and complaints, to those who might and ought to have put some stop to it: Which she did herself in 1560; for she, by Proclamation, banished all the Anabaptists the Kingdom, strictly forbidding her subjects to admit any more of them, who were then flocking in great numbers. In 1580, she issued a Proclamation against Libertines and Enthusiasts, that is, against the Anabaptists and other Arians, upon account of the encrease of the Sect of Brownists, of which Robert Baltanus was the Head. This Robert had separated from the Church of England, and formed an Assembly apart: He was prosecuted, convicted of error, and forced to make a publick recantation: But being troubled in conscience, and ashamed of the affront, hanged himself. Robert Brown, who succeeded him, in 1530, went with his flock to Middleburg in Zealand: But there being a division grown amongst them, part of them joined with the Anabaptists, and Brown came back into England, abjured his errors, and obtained a Benefice from some of the Bishops; but being afterwards convicted of enormous crimes, was seized, and remained a long while in prison.

Hist. of the Anabapt. p. 238.

R. Baltanus.

Rob. Brown.

R Ritter. Toward the year 1575, Raphaël Ritter, born at London, published a treatise, wherein he endeavoured to prove to a demonstration, that JESUS CHRIST was not the supreme GOD. This treatise was answered by Wigand, Bishop of Pomerania, who shews, by the 51st and 52d pages of that treatise, that Ritter thought, spoke, and reasoned upon the matter in question, in the same manner as Faustus Socinus.

King

King James I. who succeeded Queen Elizabeth, went still farther than she had done. He thought it his duty to shew his horror of them, and had a great number of them executed, and did not spare even persons of quality. *Bartbolomew*, who had been an Ambassador abroad, *Edward Wightman* and *Paul Casaubon* were of that number. *Hist. Ref. Eccl. Pol.*

But still the Sectaries did not yet make a separate body by themselves. They did not begin till Cromwel's tyranny, by the excessive liberty which the misfortunes of the times gave them. During which, a Catechism was printed at London, wherein were inserted all the erroneous sentiments of Faustus Socinus. It was composed by *John Biddel*. *Biddel.*

This man was an Englishman, and a Master of Arts in the University of Oxford. His Attachment to Socinus, and some odd opinions of his own, raised him to the honour of being a leading man, and he had his followers, called *Biddellians*. But Cromwell, notwithstanding the toleration he had granted those people, had him thrown into prison, where he died.

Stuckey, his disciple, born in 1649, took care of his Church after Nath. his death, and translated two Catechisms of his master into Latin, *Stuckey.* being then but fifteen years old; to which he added a short discourse on the death and passion of JESUS CHRIST, and Jeremy Felbingerus's letters to Biddel.

It is upon the impression of these two Catechisms, that the Minister Demarets complains of the toleration Cromwel had granted to Hereticks, and bewails with tears of blood (those are his words) the confusions in England, then become the Metropolis of the Socinians by the impression of those two Catechisms. Mr. Baillet likewise says enough of them, to let us know England is full of bad Christians, and that the Socinians enjoy complete liberty of conscience. He tells us, that not only those people are countenanced and protected by the Laws, *Jugem. des Savans. l. 10. p. 239.* but likewise the Independants, the Familists, the Anabaptists of a new kind, the Quakers, the Sabbatarians, the Antisabbatarians, the Hetheringtonians, the Brownists, the Separatists, the Nonconformists, the Robinsonians, the Barowists, the Fanaticks, the Seekers and Waiters, the Erastians; to which we may add the Arminians, the Tolerants, the Hobbists, the Spinofists, &c.

But this will still farther appear by the liberty allowed, or at least winked at, of writing against the mysteries of Religion; and I shall begin with Bury's Book.

Bury.

Bury, a Doctor of Divinity, and Head of Exeter College at Oxford, recommended himself to the Socinians by a Book entitled, *The naked Gospel*, published in 1690, to facilitate the design which the Prince of Orange, at his coming to the crown of England had formed, of uniting all the Sects in the Kingdom.

Bibl. Uni-
vers.
Tom. 19.
p. 391.

The design of this Book is to shew, 1. What the Gospel was at the time of CHRIST and his Apostles preaching it. 2. What additions or alterations have been made in it in succeeding ages. 3. What advantages or disadvantages have arisen from the changes made in it. 4. That it is not clear from the lights of the Scripture, which of the two have most corrupted the Gospel, the Mahometans, or Christian Doctors; and that it is certain the latter have given the former a handle of seducing nations in the manner they have done.

The Arian and Socinian notions almost throughout every page of this Book, sufficiently demonstrate Bury to be a favourer of those Sects, and he thereby gained many Partisans and Admirers, as well in Holland as England. But the University of Oxford thought in a different way; they were so offended with the Book, as to make a Decree the 19th of August 1690, condemning it as containing capital Heresies against the holy Scripture, the Council of Nice, Creed of St. Athanasius, &c. forbidding all the Scholars to read it, and sentencing it to be burnt by the hangman, exhorting those, to whom the education of Youth was committed, sincerely to believe those Doctrines which Bury had attacked.

Both before and since that Book several others have appeared, and been in vogue in England, and which are not less favourable to the Socinians.

As a Treatise of Mr. *Whiston*, who to authorize Socinianism, backs it with the Authority of Novatian, who was the farthest in the world from an Arian.

A Philosophical and Theological Treatise upon the word *Trinity* by *Clendon* a Lawyer, who was in 1710 prosecuted for it by the Parliament.

A Treatise entitled *the Rights of the Christian Church*.

A Book of *Toland's*, which bears the title of *Adeisidaimon*, and *Origo Judaica*. This Book seems designed to overturn all Christian Communions, and admit no other GOD but Nature, and to prove that the only Religion to be followed, is the Law of Nature.

I know very well the Socinians do not go far, but it is not to be doubted, but this Book countenances them extremely in some of their tenets. To conclude, this Book, as well as that of *The Rights of the Christian Church*, proves there is great liberty allowed in England to write against the first principles of the Christian Religion, and that all manner of Beliefs, however monstrous, are well received there.

C H A P. XXVIII.

SOCINIANISM in Holland, and the efforts of the united Provinces to hinder its Introduction amongst them.

WE have already mentioned the Attempts of the Anabaptists, and even of some Socinians, to gain admittance into Holland, and the other United Provinces, who thereby left the seeds of their errors behind them; which multiplied so well, that it has been impossible for the States General to extirpate them, whatever Edicts they have made to that purpose.

In the year 1585, they began to make war upon the Socinians, upon account of *Erasmus Jobn*, Rector of the College of Antwerp. Scarce had he published a work to which he did not put his name, entitled, *Antitbesis doctrinæ Christi, & Antichristi de uno vero Deo*, when he was forced to leave the country: The year following Zanchius confuted it.

Their second proceeding against the Socinians, was that of the Magistrates of Utrecht against *Cornelius Daems*, a Lawyer of Mecklin. They had no sooner heard that this man was come from Targou, the place of his residence, in order to disperse some Manuscript Treatises of F. Socinus in their City, but they resolved to have him seized, and they had done so had he not made off, leaving his papers behind, which were restored to him by the Complaisance of the new Magistrates.

The third was that of the Magistrates of Amsterdam, who being informed that *Ostorode* and *Vaidove*, were in 1598 come thither from Poland, with several manuscript and printed Socinian books, which they began to translate into Flemish, seized them all, sent them to

Extr. from
Gisb. Disp.
T. 3. p.
811.

the Academy of Leiden, and from thence to the States General. The Academy sharply censured the two Socinians, and ordered them to retire. The States General went farther; upon the judgment given by the Divines of Leiden, that those writings did not in the least differ from Mahometanism, and contained blasphemies at no rate to be tolerated amongst Christians, without extreme impiety. The States, I say, ordered that all those writings should be burnt in the presence of Ostorode and Vaidove, and that they both should retire out of the United Provinces in ten days.

Hoorn-
burk Ap-
parat. ad
Tra. So-

cin. p. 98.

Voët. Pol.

Eccl. T. 1.

l. 4 p. 553.

The fourth proceeding was that of 1627, in regard to *Adolphus Venator*, Minister of Almaer; he was banished to an island for composing a work which smelt strong of the Socinian, *Quod portenta Sarmatica saperet*.

Voëtius.

The fifth procedure against the Socinians in Holland, may be said to be that of the Synods of the seven Provinces. In 1628, they presented a petition to the Estates of the Province of Holland, wherein they urged them by many reasons not to tolerate them, and amongst other things laid before them, that the tolerating them made the Republick odious to all Christendom. This Remonstrance was printed and confuted, and as to that particular reason urged, it was answered, that Poland then must have been extremely odious, since she granted the Socinians liberty in Religion. Voëtius answered the refutation, and denied that Poland ever granted such a liberty, but shewed the contrary, by her ill treatment of them.

Hoornb.

All these precautions did not hinder the Evil from growing to an excessive height, as appears by a letter, which the Prince of Transilvania intercepted in 1638, wherein *John Sartorius*, a Socinian of Amsterdam, tells *Adam Francus*, Minister of Clausenburg, that there was a great number of their party in Holland. *Magnam in his terris Socinianorum messem esse.*

It was with design to put a stop to this licence, that the Magistrate of Amsterdam in 1642, condemned some of *Volkelius's* writings to be burnt.

The Synods renewed their Zeal in 1653, and resolved to make use of other remedies against the Socinians than they had hitherto done. They sent their Deputies to the States of Holland to lay before them, 1. That the followers of Socinus, a people who overturned all Christianity, the resurrection of the dead, the hopes of eternal life, &c. had been so bold as to come into the United Provinces, and particularly into Holland, there to pervert the Faithful, and tear the Church

in pieces. That the Zeal which the Ragotski's had shewn against them in Transilvania was well known ; what had been decreed against them in Poland in 1638 and 1647. 2. That they had been driven out of Poland, and their Temple, Library, and Printing-house destroyed, for printing a scandalous Treatise against the TRINITY, entitled, *Tormentum Throno Trinitatem deturbans*: Of this affair I have already spoken. 3. That the States General proceeded vigorously against them in 1598. 4. That in 1639, by the suggestion of the English Ambassador, all the Provinces were advertised of the arrival of some Socinians, and exhorted in good earnest to prevent the Evil by their Decrees. 5. That in 1640, the States of Holland had notified to the Synod of Amsterdam their resolution, purporting, that as to proscribing the Socinians and their books, they would issue out necessary orders as soon as they should be more exactly informed of the state of the matter. 6. That the States General had on the 17th of July 1651, in pursuance of the information of the States of the Province of Holland, given them on the 12th of April preceding, ordered that the influence of the Sectaries should be effectually repressed, and Edicts published against the Books of the Socinians.

The Deputies added, that it was manifest that these Hereticks went up and down the country, using all their endeavours to gain followers, and dispersed several Books of ill principles ; that they were the most dangerous enemies the Church could have, because besides their cunning and pretended devotion, they taught a doctrine which went not beyond the reach of reason. They concluded with beseeching the States early to put a stop to the Evil, to proceed against the Socinians, and to prohibit their Conventicles and Books, and that *Præla & Typographiæ isto stercore non contaminentur, & officinæ tam damno- sâ merce vacuentur.* Cocceius.

The States of Holland communicated this petition of the Synod to the Divines of Leiden, and desired their opinion upon it. Their answer was, that there could be nothing more horrid or abominable than the Sect of the Socinians, that it differed very little from Paganism, that it was certain it was gaining ground in the Country, and that they ought to pray to GOD that he would inspire them with a steadfast and holy resolution to remove all those blasphemies, and destroy such wicked books.

There needed no more to engage the States to issue out an Edict, forbidding all persons of what condition or degree soever, to introduce

duce any of the Socinian Heresies into the country, or to communicate them to others, or to hold any Assembly to that end; declaring that all Delinquents should for the first offence be banished, as Blasphemers of the Name of God, and disturbers of the publick peace; and for any second offence, should be punished as should be thought proper: Forbidding likewise, under heavy pains, the printing or selling any Socinian Books. This Decree bears date the 19th of September 1653. In 1655, the Senate of Utrecht did the same. But these Edicts were to no purpose, Socinianism held its course, and is grown powerful in Holland for reasons which shall be the subject of the following Chapter.

C H A P. XXIX.

The United Provinces infected with SOCINIANISM, and why?

ALL those Edicts were judicious, salutary, and worthy the Prudence of the States General, of the Magistrates who govern the Cities of the seven Provinces, and of the Universities to whom the States have entrusted so precious a deposit as that of their Faith; but the point was how to put them in execution, and not to depart from them. This they did not do, either because the Socinians replied to whatever had been said or done against them, or because God, whose judgments are just and unfathomable, resolved that a Republick which had abolished his Religion in order to admit all other that were contrary to it, and often only for that very reason, because they were contrary to it, should be infected with one, which was, and even appeared to her as the most dangerous and abominable; or because she had already by her Laws authorized certain Assemblies and Communion whose Tenets and Maxims did not much differ from the sentiments of the Socinians; or in short, because the Evil was already grown to too great a head by the perverseness and corruption of many of the Ministers and learned men.

1. I say those Edicts took no effect, because the Socinians replied to what the University of Leiden, the Deputies of the Synods, and the Magistrates had written, said, or done against them. The Chevalier Jonas Slichtingius, one of their best Pens, in 1654 composed an Apology for his brethren in CHRIST, addressed to their High
Mighti-

Mightinesses the States of Holland and Westfriesland, under this Title, *Apologia pro Veritate accusata ad illustrissimos & potentissimos Hollandiae & Westfrisiae Ordines ab Equite Polono.*

This piece is well enough written; all the delicacy and cunning of the Art are observed in it, there reigns throughout a great air of moderation, with an artful assurance in denying the accusations against them. The Author makes use of the same general reasons as Tertullian has employed in his Apology, and Calvin in the Epistle Dedicatory to his Institutions.

There was a great number of facts in the Deputies Remonstrance that were not certain; and then the Chevalier does not suffer to go unanswered. He therein insists that the Ragotski's had never persecuted the Socinians, but had even always supported them in the free exercise of their Religion, and still continued to do so; that no advantage ought to be taken from the vexations the Socinians were exposed to in Poland, nor the ruin of their Temple at Racovia, since the Evangelists suffered the same misfortunes there; and that about two years afterwards they received the like treatment, and upon the same account, at Vilna; that it was not true that what they had suffered at Racovia was grounded upon the impression of a Work whose title abused the TRINITY, which he proves by the very Decree of the Diet, which does not so much as mention that book, and which would not have omitted it, had it been one of their reasons for punishing the Socinians. He adds, that John Leti is the only one who mentions that fact, neither had he said that it was the cause of the ruin of their School and Printing-House.

The Chevalier did not stop at the refutation of these facts: As his brethren had been accused of destroying the resurrection of the dead, and the hope of eternal life, and the denying that the Soul lived when separated from the body, he affirmed, that as to these points they had not justice done them, and even that they were calumniated.

This confession was a great disappointment to the Deputies of the Synods. Cocceius, who in 1656 thought fit to answer this Apology, passes over the two first facts which the Pole denies; as to the third, he says no more than that at the time of their being driven out of Racovia, the report ran, that the Socinians were printing the book in question, and says nothing of the Confession the Socinian made as to the resurrection of the dead, &c. So that this Apology remaining without a good answer, it is probable it made impression enough

on such minds as were fond of novelties in Religion, and which were then numerous in Holland, to prevent the censures from Leyden, the remonstrances of the Synods, and the Edicts of the Magistrates having a proper effect.

And indeed, we may well be persuaded, yet without endeavouring to fathom the judgments of G O D, that this heresy has not spread and strengthened it self in Holland, for any other reason, than to punish it for having given into all sorts of novelties, even to the banishing the Roman Religion preferably to all others.

That this may be understood, I must here tell my Reader that in 1571, when that form of Religion received at Geneva, in the Palatinate, and in the reformed Churches of France, was established as the only publick Religion, with this difference, that in Geneva, and the Cantons where the Calvinists prevail, no other is allowed, nor even such as profess any other to dwell within their territories; and that the united Provinces not only allowed the exercise of all sorts of Religions, but also rejected, as tyrannical, all laws requiring uniformity of sentiments therein, and called them by the name of Inquisition, a name so odious among them.

This liberty of conscience was maintained by the Prince of Orange, and the peace of Ghent, in 1576, by the publick and private agreement made on that subject with Matthias Archduke of Austria, and by the Union of Utrecht in 1579, when the States assembled formed a new Union, which has given them the name of the United Provinces, the 13th Article of which says expressly, that, as to the point of Religion, those of Holland and Zealand shall therein act as they shall judge proper, and that as to the other Provinces included in that union, they may therein govern themselves according to the Placart of the Archduke Matthias, Governor General of the low Countries, issued by advice of the Council of State, and of the States General, touching liberty in Religion; or else they may, whether all together, or separately, make such orders and regulations therein as they shall see convenient for their own tranquillity, as well as that of the towns, and particular members, as well of the Clergy as Laity, and for the preservation of their estates, rights, and other prerogatives, without interruption, or disturbance from any other Province therein, every one remaining free as to his Religion, according to the pacification of Ghent; all which has been maintained by several Treaties since made with different Cities of the low Countries to 1583.

The liberty of Conscience granted to the Catholicks by the peace of Utrecht in 1579, appeared so much the more reasonable and well grounded, as it was an Union made between the Catholick Provinces and those who had declared for Calvin's Reformation. However, notwithstanding that declaration, tho' confirmed by the peace of Ghent, and established upon publick Faith, of which the States so much boast, it was resolved in 1583, that the Catholick Religion should be banished out of the united Provinces, and the Reformed only allowed, which was unanimously agreed upon by those who composed the Assembly of the States General.

All these Ordinances as well as that of 1583, have had no visible effect, unless in regard to the Roman Catholick Religion, the publick exercise of which has been absolutely forbidden ever since that time: For as to the other different Religions of the Reformation of Calvin, the only prevailing one in the united Provinces, they have always subsisted with entire liberty to profess their opinions whatever they may be; since all the followers of them are welcome there, and are allowed to hold their assemblies; as Jews, Turks, Persians, Lutherans, Brownists, Independants, Arminians, Anabaptists, Menonites, Enthusiasts, Quakers, Botreists, Muscovites, Arminians, or Remonstrants, Arians, Socinians, Libertins, or Spinofists, &c.

It is upon this account that M. Stouppe tells us that the States General charitably received all those Socinians that were banished Poland, and were willing to retire into Holland. That it is since that time they have encreased exceedingly in Holland, and that the complaisance of the States themselves has been so great, that by a particular kindness, as well as scrupulousness of conscience altogether extraordinary, as well to oblige them as to favour such as had a mind to become Socinians, as to allow them to print the Works of the four Doctors who have the most signalized themselves among the Sect at Amsterdam, viz. Faustus Socinus, John Crellius, Jonas Slichtingius, and Lewis Wolzogenius. So that we now a-days have for an hundred franks, and even less, an entire collection of the Works of the Polish Brethren in eight Volumes in Folio, the half of which could not be bought before this Edition for two thousand livres; those books, tho' printed, being grown extremely scarce, because very few copies of them had been printed, and in places at a very great distance.

I know very well that M. le Brun, Minister at Nimeguen, and since at Groninghen, in a Book he writ against M. Stouppe's Letters, entitled, *The true Religion of the Dutch, with an Apology for the Religion of the States General of the United Provinces, &c.* does not agree that the Library of the Polish brethren was printed by authority of the States, because they do not concern themselves at all in the Government of Amsterdam, but even says that it was secretly printed. But this is a disputed fact, and not easily believed. To conclude, tho' that were granted, it is certain that the States General, and the Magistrates of Amsterdam, cannot be ignorant, that this Collection has been, and still is openly sold, and that they never have had so much Zeal as to suppress the Edition; and they must be less ignorant still, that the Socinians live amongst them with entire liberty of conscience, under the protection of the same laws which countenance the Anabaptists, the Mennonites, the Arminians, &c. Which we will now take a View of.

C H A P. XXX.

The publick and private Assemblies which the SOCINIANS hold in the United Provinces.

THE Socinians authorized by the affected silence of the Magistrates of the United Provinces, and the complaisance which they shew to all Sectaries who are enemies to the Roman Catholick Religion; and besides, flattering themselves that they have a great deal of Religion in them, do not fail to appear on certain days in the Assemblies to perform their exercises of devotion; of which there are two sorts, the one publick, the other private.

Let. III. At the private assemblies none but Socinians appear. M. Stouppe, who had a pretty exact information of them, says, they there make very fervent prayers, accompanying them with sighs and tears; that every one present has the liberty of speaking; that one of them begins a chapter of Scripture; that when he has read a few verses so as to make a compleat Sense, he that has been reading, or any other, gives his sentiments upon the sense of them; that tho' most of them are Merchants, Artisans, persons without study or learning, yet it seems that they have all a particular talent for understanding and expounding

pounding the Scripture. He adds, that their conversations are holy, and irréproachable, as far as may be judged by the outside; that they are formed wholly upon the precepts of JESUS CHRIST, that they little regard the things of this world, that they apply themselves chiefly to works of piety, charity, the salvation of Souls, and the reading of the holy Scripture, wherein they are so conversant, that it may be said that most of such as can read, have it by heart: That they often complain, that they, living and behaving thus, should be odious to most Christians; that they have no other interest in maintaining the doctrines they profess, than being persuaded they are in the right, and the zeal of preserving to the supreme GOD, the FATHER of JESUS CHRIST, the glory of his Divinity; that they are confirmed in their belief by the reading of the word of GOD, and of the books written against them; and they beg of the great GOD, if they are in error, to discover it to them, that they may renounce it, and give glory unto truth.

I know not what reasons M. Stouppe may have to speak so advantageously of the piety of the Socinians, without it is that he was a Calvinist, or that he had not at heart the interests of CHRIST's divinity. We have seen the University of Leyden, and the Synods of the United Provinces speaking of the Socinians, their morality, and doctrines, as the most impious and abominable; as not in the least differing from Mahometanism, or even Paganism; as hypocrites and devout only in appearance; as not to be allowed to talk in their manner without extreme impiety: This is talking very differently from M. Stouppe.

The other Assemblies in which the Socinians meet for the exercises of Religion, are those of the Sects tolerated in the United Provinces, such as those of the Anabaptists, the Mennonites, the Arminians, or Remonstrants. We have seen in the foregoing Chapter, that in 1572, the exercise of all sorts of Religions was allowed, and all Laws, for uniformity of sentiments therein, rejected as tyrannical. That this liberty was maintained by the Prince of Orange, by the peace of Ghent in 1576, by the Conventions made with the Archduke Matthias, and by the Union of Utrecht in 1579. We have besides seen the condescensions in those Provinces in regard to the Anabaptists, and Mennonites, after their lending a sum of money to William Prince of Orange. We may add, that it is under the protection of those laws that these Sectaries enjoy a perfect liberty to

hold their religious Assemblies, and that as they agree in many circumstances with the Socinians, they receive them into their Assemblies and to their Communion, as their brethren, whenever they think fit to be there. This is certain by the testimony of such as have any knowledge of the State of Holland.

However, it is not these Assemblies the Socinians appear in with the most satisfaction, it is in those of the Arminians or Remonstrants. For these make it a point of conscience to consider as their brethren in CHRIST, all such as agree with them in certain Articles of doctrine, which they reduce into a very narrow compass; and as the Socinians agree with them as to those Articles, so likewise do the Arminians look upon them as brethren, and receive them with joy into their religious Assemblies. To give light into this point of History, we must settle the Doctrine of the Arminians.

C H A P. XXXI.

The SOCINIANS received into the Assemblies of the Arminians, wherein is given an Abstract of the History of the Synod of Dort, of the sentiments of the Arminians, and of the Judgments made by the Catholics and Reformed upon them.

THE Arminianism, now a-days professed, is very different from that which caused such confusions and disturbance from the year 1609 to the year 1618, in the Reformed Churches of the Low Countries. The antient Arminianism consisted chiefly only in a few propositions, relating to conditional Predestination, Universal Grace, &c. and of that Jacob Hermans was Promulgator.

Arminius. Jacob Hermans, so well known under the name of *Arminius*, was born in 1560, at Oldwater upon the Issell, endowed with all the happy talents which nature could bestow upon a child afterwards designed for a man of letters. They who had the care of his education, spared no cost to have him instructed in the Sciences. At first they sent him to the University of Utrecht; he went from thence to that of Marpurg, from thence to Geneva, to study under Theodore Beza. He left Geneva to continue his studies at Bale; from thence he went to Padua, and heard the Philosopher James Zaba-

Zabarella, who at that time made a great noise by his way of teaching. Having finished his studies, he returned to Holland, and was made Minister of Amsterdam, where he laid the foundations of a new sect amongst the Calvinists, by a treatise he writ upon conditional Predestination against Perkins, entitled, *Examen Prædestinationis Perkinsianæ*, or, *Examen Libelli Gulielmi Perkinfi de Prædestinationis modo, & ordine. Analysis cap. 9. ad Romanos. Dissertatio de vero sensu cap. 7. ad Romanos.*

This Book gave the opportunity of having a conference on that subject with the Professor Junius, which he published under the title of *Amica Collatio*. These two Books acquired him so much reputation as to engage the Curators of the University of Leiden to make choice of him to fill the place of Divinity Professor, vacant in that University by the death of the Professor Junius.

The Calvinist and Simmist Ministers and Divines who maintained absolute Predestination and Reprobation, with all the consequences of those doctrines, in order to hinder him from the Professorship, accused him of being a Pelagian, a Socinian, and of want of faith touching the procession of the SON of GOD, Providence, Grace, ^{Spand.} and free Will. Arminius, in order to clear himself of those here- ^{1609. n. 9.} lies, went to the Hague, and shewed such authentick testimonies to the States, of the purity of his morality and doctrine, which the Church of Amsterdam gave concerning him, that thereupon he was absolved of those crimes of heresy, with which his enemies endeavoured to blacken him, and confirmed in his office, which he exercised without molestation till the 22d of October 1609, at which time he died, being forty years old.

But the disputes did not die with him, on the contrary they grew warmer. The disciples of Arminius fearing to be overpowered by the number of their enemies in 1610, presented a petition to the States for obtaining their protection; therein setting forth the antiquity and innocence of the doctrines they maintained. The opposite party answered it by a Counter petition, and this circumstance was the occasion of naming the former *Remonstrants*, and the latter *Antiremonstrants*.

The next year an Assembly was held at the Hague before the States of the Province, composed of six of the Remonstrant Divines, amongst which were Episcopius, and of six of the Antiremonstrant Divines. The Remonstrants reduced their disputes to five Articles, which they thus explained.

I. That

I. That GOD by an eternal and immutable Decree, has resolved before the foundation of the world, in JESUS CHRIST, for JESUS CHRIST, and through JESUS CHRIST, to save such of the corrupted mass of mankind, who by his grace and spirit believe in his SON, and persevere in that faith to the end.

II. That in consequence of such Decree, JESUS CHRIST died for all and every one of mankind; and obtained the remission of sins for all, but upon this condition, that it should be applied to true believers only.

III. That man hath no saving faith of himself, or by the powers of his free Will; because in the state of sin, he by himself can neither think, will, nor do any action truly good, such as Faith is. So that it was necessary for GOD to regenerate him in JESUS CHRIST, and for the HOLY GHOST to renew his understanding, his will, and all the faculties of his Soul, to the end that he might understand, will, and act that which is good:

IV. That it is the Grace of GOD that gives beginning, progress, and perfection to all good actions; and that it is so necessary, that the Regenerate themselves without this grace, which prevents, excites, follows, and accompanies all the motions of piety, cannot think, will, nor do that which is good, nor resist sin and temptation. So that all good works, without any exception, are to be attributed to the Grace of GOD, though the manner whereby it operates be not irresistible.

V. That such as are incorporated into JESUS CHRIST, and partake of his vivifying spirit, have strength sufficient to combat Satan, Sin, the World, and the Flesh, and gain the Victory over them by the continual assistance of the Grace of the HOLY GHOST. Farther, JESUS CHRIST assists them, lends them his hand, and supports them under all temptations, provided they keep themselves in a readiness for the fight, and implore his assistance; so that the wiles of the Devil cannot seduce them, nor his violence force them out of the hands of JESUS CHRIST. But to be resolved, whether such as have begun to be sanctified in JESUS CHRIST may not fall from that state by neglect, plunge themselves again into the pleasures of the world, and swerve from that holy doctrine that has been sent unto them, renounce a good conscience, and contemn the inspirations of Grace; to be resolved in those points, the holy Scripture must be more exactly examined into, before it is possible to determine in the affirmative with entire certainty.

The

The Antiremonstrants, who were not agreed as to these Articles, and plainly saw they had to do with people whom it was not easy to reclaim by disputing, took other methods, and in several places made use of Consistories to force the Remonstrants to silence. This conduct obliged the Remonstrants to have recourse to the Sovereign Power for protection. Upon which, the States of Holland in 1614, made a Decree, ordering both parties to treat those controversies with a spirit of moderation, and to use each other with lenity, charity and toleration.

Rogerman, Sibrand, Lubbertz, and some other Antiremonstrant Ministers, writ against this Edict, to prove that Magistrates had no authority to make any such on Ecclesiastical Affairs. Hugo Grotius confuted them, and defended the States by a treatise entitled, *Pietas* ^{Opera} *Ordinum Hollandiæ*. It seemed that these conjunctures, so favour-^{Theol. Tom.} able to the Remonstrants, who only desired to be tolerated, must have strengthened their party, but it proved quite the contrary.

The application they had made to the States, and the respect they had shewed their orders, together with the displeasure and uneasiness they had given Prince Maurice of Nassau, Governor of Holland, and Captain General of the united Provinces, engaged the Prince to declare loudly against them, and some other persons of distinction who had declared for them; which created great disturbance in the Provinces, whom James, King of Great-Britain, endeavoured to appease by his Letters and Embassadors, but in vain. The Prince caused *John Barneveldt*, Advocate for Holland, by whom the States had reaped great Advantages, *Romulus*, Syndic of Amsterdam, *Hugo Grotius*, Syndic of Leyden, and some other Ministers to be arrested, upon pretence of a sedition raised at Leyden against that Prince and the States, of which they would have it those Gentlemen were guilty, as having themselves been the cause of it. But that was not all.

Maurice, now Prince of Orange in 1618, by the death of his brother Philip, put himself at the head of his army, went through all the towns of Holland, changing all the Officers and Magistrates whom he suspected to be Remonstrants; and to make sure of the Clergy, he put all the Antiremonstrants he could into the Chairs of the Academies.

All these instances of violence or precaution could not quiet the apprehensions of the Antiremonstrants; they thought that entirely to humble the Remonstrant Party, it was necessary that an Ecclesiastical

cal Authority should interpose. To this end they solicited their High Mightinesses for a national Synod, and the States granted the Prince of Orange, that one should be held the 13th of November 1618, at Dort.

Synod of
Dort.

Spond.

This resolution being taken, and in order to put it in execution, a great number of the Ministers and Professors of the united Provinces, met at the place appointed, and several of the Reformed Churches sent thither their Deputies. But those of Poland, Transilvania, Brandenburg, and Silesia, sent none, no more than those of France, according to the prohibition of Henry IV. to the Ministers of his Kingdom, not to be present at the Assemblies of Foreigners, nor to admit any Foreigner into their own. The States sent thither Martin Gregory as political President.

From the very beginning of the Synod, there were hot debates upon some points, not at all to the purpose for which they were assembled. The first point debated, was to which of the two sentiments, either that of the Supralapsarians, or that of the Infralapsarians, the preference was to be given; the majority inclined to establish the latter, which favoured the Remonstrants. Gomarus, Professor of Groninghen, and Maccovius, Professor at Francker, were for the former. The Deputies of South Holland, to put an end to the dispute, which was of no use, said, that it was of little consequence which of the two were chosen, provided the decrees of election and reprobation were fully settled.

Another dispute arose not so easy to be put an end to; viz. *Whether God loved the Elect, but through Jesus Christ; or in other words, Whether Jesus Christ was the cause and foundation of Election, or whether he was only the Head of the Elect*; Martinus, Professor of Breme, maintained the first proposition, and insisted, that CHRIST was not simply the executor of Election, but was likewise the author, and efficient cause. Scarce had this Divine done speaking, when Gomarus, a man of a hasty violent temper, and head of the Antiremonstrant party, threw his glove upon the table, challenged Martinus to dispute, desired the Assembly to allow the single Combat, and promised to silence his Adversary. Martinus was not more lucky in another Proposition he endeavoured to maintain against Librand Lubbert, and which they would not spare him in; viz. *Whether God be the natural cause of Conversion*. He called on a Philosopher there present for his second, who by many fine arguments drawn from Averroës,

Letters of
Mr. Hales
of Eaton
to my Lord
Dudley
Carleton,
Embassa-
dor of King
James, da-
ted Jan.
21, 1616.

Averroës, Themistius, and Alexander of Aphrodisæa, undertook to prove the truth of this hypothesis. The Minister of Franker answered them smartly, and the President, who judged such Disputes were not to be carried too far, very prudently reconciled them.

Some days after, Martinius and Crotius, Divines of Brenc, had rougher attacks to bear from Gomarus and the other Ministers of the united Provinces. Martinius had said, that there were difficulties upon the fourth Article, which neither Calvin, nor any other Divine had as yet perfectly cleared up: For example, by what right God can require Faith, which is the work of an infinite Being, from man, whose faculties are limited: To whom Gomarus answered, that such as talk in that manner were not worthy to untie the shoestrings of Calvin, and that it was an objection which their Children could resolve. He went on to desire the Synod to be upon their guard against certain people who harboured monsters in their breasts, and intended to introduce into the Reformed Churches the language of the Jesuits in speaking of *Determination*, or *the indifference of the Will*. This accusation related to Crotius, who did not dare open his mouth: Gomarus stopt here, and the President thanked him.

*Letters of
the same
Balcan-
quelle to
my Lord
Carleton.*

The Bishop of Landast said to Rogerman, that the end of the Enquiry for which the Senate was assembled, was to edify and improve the people, and not to give them offence, which however was done by handling those controversies in a passionate manner, which dissolved the bonds of unity, if the ill effects of it were not prevented. This Prelate named no body; but Gomarus, believing that piece of advice glanced at him, immediately replied, addressing himself to the Bishop, that in the Synod the authority of persons gave no weight to their reasons, that the being allowed to speak in his turn was his indisputable right. The President added, that Gomarus had done nothing that deserved reprehension, seeing he had not spoken against persons, but their sentiments.

Thisius's turn came next, and he pronounced his opinion with great moderation, and added, that he was sorry Martinius had been so treated, for an opinion, which according to the explanation he had given of it, was very orthodox. Whilst this Professor was speaking thus, Gomarus and Sibbrand pulled him by the Sleeve, and before the whole Assembly shewed their displeasure at him by their gestures and words, but Thisius went on with his discourse.

These were the Preludes only of this Synod. And from thence it may be judged what violent springs were put in motion by Gomarus and his party to bear down and oppress the Remonstrants.

From the very next day to that on which the Assembly was appointed, that is, the 14th of November 1618, the chusing an Ecclesiastical President had been proposed from amongst those Provinces wherein these controversies had not been started, and to join some Remonstrants to the number of the Assessors and Secretaries. This proposal was reasonable, and took away all grounds of complaint from the Remonstrants; but they regarded them not, and were resolved to oppress them; Wherefore the strongest party rejected this advice, and chose Rogerman, Minister of Leuwarde, President.

The same day after dinner, the Credentials of the Deputies of the Province of Utrecht were read, and it was a surprize to find that they had only a power to accommodate differences, but none to make Canons, and that their power extended no farther than to the five Articles.

The motive of this surprize does not appear, the Synod being held only for that purpose; and besides, such Canons as should be there formed, could be of no use towards fixing points of faith, or obliging men to believe and submit to them, since all they who made up this Synod, did not acknowledge the Canons of the antient general Councils as an infallible rule, to which all men in general and in particular are obliged to submit; though those Councils are more venerable for the piety of those Prelates who composed them, than a disorderly Assembly of Ministers and Regents of Universities, who had their interests to preserve with Prince Maurice, in order to continue in their Posts.

In the following Session, thirteen Remonstrants were summoned to appear before the Synod in fifteen days. The learned *Episcopus*, Professor at Leyden, was one of them, though named as a Deputy, and member of the Synod by the States of Holland.

They appeared on the 7th and 8th of December. *Episcopus* made a Speech to the Synod, and a Paper of the Remonstrants was read, wherein they declared. 1. That they could not acknowledge the Synod as their lawful judge, because most of the members of that Assembly were their accusers. The Ministers of the Provinces were the Authors of the Schism, and even they who turned them out of the Churches, as Prophanes and Atheists. 2. They proposed twelve conditions,

ditions, upon which it was to be hoped, that disputes might be terminated, which they said were very equitable, and the same as the Protestants had proposed to the Roman Catholick Divines at the Council of Trent, and the Calvinists had required from the Lutherans, and of which Paerus in his *Irenicon* had shewed the equity and necessity.

On the 11th and 12th of the same month, they backed their paper with a protest against the Synod, saying they were ready, pursuant to the tenor of the letters of citation, freely to propose their sentiments upon the five Articles, and to explain and defend them as far as they should judge necessary: Whereupon the Synod ordered that the Dispute should be carried on in writing, to which the Remonstrants agreed. The 13th and 14th they put their Reasons into writing, and presented them to the Assembly: And it was taken amiss, that not satisfied with maintaining their own Hypothesis, they besides amused themselves with refuting that of the Antiremonstrants, and continually fell upon the subject of Reprobation.

From the 17th to the 27th, the persons cited were enjoined to give in their considerations upon the Confession of Faith, and Catechism of Heidelberg, which they did: And thereto annexed a paper, shewing they had reason to treat of Reprobation.

The Ecclesiastical President insisted, that the liberty granted them by the letters of citation, was only to defend their own doctrine, and not to attack that of the Synod. Upon this pretension, a decree was made and read to the Remonstrants, purporting, that they were first to treat of Election, and then of Reprobation, as far as the Synod should think convenient. They were likewise ordered to give precise answers to all the questions that should be put to them. The Remonstrants answered, that it was an unheard of thing that people accused should have the manner of their defence prescribed to them, and that no opinion could be proved without confuting that which was contrary to it. However, they consented that Election should be treated of before Reprobation: But persisted in requiring an equal liberty, to explain their own doctrine, and confute that of their Adversaries; and declared, that after that, they were ready by word of mouth, or by writing, to answer all the demands of the President.

The 2d of January 1619, the Synod gave an account of the state of affairs to the States General, who by their answer, shewed their approbation of the Assembly's conduct, threatened the Remonstrants

with proceeding against them, as despising the publick Authority, in case they continued obstinate in disobeying the Synod, and at the same time ordered them to be judged upon their writings. After reading this letter, the President asked the cited persons, if they still acknowledged the five Articles of the Conference at the Hague for their real sentiments? The Remonstrants persisted in their former answers, by a writing, wherein they endeavoured to prove how unjust it was for one side to prescribe bounds of disputing to the other, and not to allow them to attack the contrary opinion farther than they should judge proper.

At last, on the 11th of January, a full and entire liberty to explain and confute was promised to the accused; only they were required to answer such things as should be required of them, and reproached with seeking all opportunities of wrangling, by forming contests upon the manner of disputing. Episcopius immediately answered, that in order no longer to have any disputes about the manner, they might give in their questions in writing, and they would answer them. Upon this it was imagined, that the happy moment of a peaceable conference was come.

On the 14th of January, the politick Deputies agreed in private with the persons cited, that they should have the questions given them in writing, that they should answer in the same manner, and at the same time explain their doctrine. All this gave hopes that the debates would soon end, and the Remonstrants be favourably treated; but that hope was vain, the Remonstrants were sent away, and condemned upon their books. The divisions which perplexed and disturbed most of the Ministers and Professors, made them come to no determination upon Predestination: And it may be said, that all the success of the Synod, after condemning the Remonstrants, tended only to two circumstances. The first, the occasioning John Barneveldt to die upon a Scaffold, a man so valuable to Holland, by the great services he had done them. He was beheaded at the Hague the 13th of May 1619, at 73 years of age, upon an accusation of being the Author of the Arminian Sedition.

Spond. an.
1619.

The second, was the still raising the divisions of the seven Provinces into a greater ferment, by the different Sects that endeavoured to make a body by themselves, the most considerable of which were the Calvinopapists, the Puritans, the Brownists, the Brochtrinitists, the Gomarrists, or Antiremonstrants, and the Arminians or Remonstrants: And these

these last have been so industrious, notwithstanding persecutions, banishments, and imprisonment, the death of their Chief, and of most of their Ministers, as to have obtained the free exercise of their Religion in several Provinces, and particularly all over Holland, except Leyden and Harlem.

Lewis de Castro *de div. Rel.* Malderus *in antiq. Syn.* Spond, *Bibl. Univ.* Meursius, Thuldenus, have spoken of this matter, and particularly ^{To. 4. P. 323.} an Englishman, named Peter Heylin, Chaplain to King Charles I. in an English book translated by his Son Gerard Brandt, entitled, *History of the five Articles wherein consists that which is called Arminianism.*

C H A P. XXXII.

Continuation of the same Subject, wherein are contained some of the opinions at this time followed by the Remonstrants, and particularly that of Toleration, which makes them look upon the SOCINIANS as brethren in CHRIST.

SINCE the Remonstrants have maintained themselves in England, Holland, and other Provinces, notwithstanding the opposition made against them, it may be said that they have very much changed opinions. They have not adhered to the five Articles so much contested, but have added others, which are of quite another consequence as to the different sects that divide the Christian world. The Chief is that of Toleration, in which they pride themselves; and on which they set the highest value in their Writings, and in consequence thereof think themselves obliged in conscience to look upon as brethren all Christians who are not Idolaters, whose morals are not vitious, who tyrannize over no body, and who believe the fundamental Articles of the Christian Religion, upon condition however that none attempt to tyrannize over them. To countenance so new a paradox unknown among the Catholics, and Reformed, they pretend, that since disputes have banished peace from amongst the Churches, there is no way to bring her back but a *mutual Toleration, whereby we bear with moderation those who are not of our sentiments in things of less importance.* They call it mutual, because every party thinking themselves to have the truth on their side, are obliged

obliged to have the same deference for the opinions of their adversaries, as they require of them for their own.

They pretend that the Scripture recommends this virtue, when it forbids us to judge our neighbour, Matth. c. vii. 1, 2, &c. 1 Cor. c. iv. 5. Rom. c. xiv. 4. when JESUS CHRIST forbids the pulling up of the Tare. Matt. c. xiii. That St. Paul orders us to bear with the infirmities of the weak. Rom. c. xv. 1, 2. That GOD forbids us to curse those whom he hath not cursed. Num. c. xxiii. 8. and that he commands us to bless such as are blessed with the faithful Abraham. Now all such (it is their own conclusion) as believe in JESUS CHRIST, who acknowledge his mysteries, and apply themselves to him as their only SAVIOUR, are true Sons of Abraham, which appears throughout all the New Testament. They add the example of our SAVIOUR, and his Apostles, who bore with many errors in their disciples. Luke, c. ix. 45. John, c. xx. 9. Act. c. xviii. 25, and c. xxi. 20. There is no reason, continue they, for believing that the mind is better purified than the body, or that our sanctification is more perfect than our knowledge; and as GOD and his Church bear with the weakness of their Children, nor cut the Faithful off from Communion with them, for an ordinary sin, it is absurd to excommunicate them for errors which do not destroy the essence of piety.

This Toleration, according to them, consists not only in suffering such as differ from them in points not essential to the Christian Religion to frequent their Churches, but also to allow them the *liberty of prophesying*. And this liberty, according to Voëtius, consists in being able, either by word of mouth, or by writing, either in the Academies, or in the Pulpit, either by the explanation of any particular Text of Scripture, or by expounding the Catechism, to be able, I say, to propound, explain, or defend our opinion, and confute that of our Adversaries, with the same liberty as they have against whom we dispute.

This liberty, say they, is necessary. 1. Upon account of the uncertainty of our opinions, and for fear, lest under pretence of driving away error, we should shut the door against truth. 2. Because it is impossible to distinguish Truth from Falshood, so long as we refuse to hear the reasons of others. 3. Because the imposing silence upon people who believe they maintain the truth, who are willing and ready to give the reasons they have for it, and to receive

any lights we can give them therein, is to make them act against their conscience, which in consequence of such a conduct must accuse them of cowardice and perfidy. 4. To this they add, that if one side be enjoined silence, before they have been convinced of error, they are obliged to defend their writings, a thing which scandalizes mankind, and renders useless the talents those people so erring might have as to other things. 5. That such a rigorous severity is contrary to the practice of the whole Church, which in all ages has invited the learned to give their opinions freely upon matters of difficulty. That it is fit for no other thing than to introduce tyranny and create Schisms, as it appears by that which has happened between the Lutherans and Calvinists, because of the former's refusing to make any peace with the latter, except the Reformed would hold their tongues, and suffer the Lutherans to enjoy all manner of freedom in publishing their sentiments.

It is under the shade of this new Tenet so firmly established among the Remonstrants, that the Socinians are welcome in their Churches, and are looked upon there as true children of Abraham, who maintain no opinion contrary to the fundamental points of the Christian Religion.

These fundamental Articles (another invention of the Arminians to countenance their Toleration, and which they distinguish from the other which are not necessary to salvation, and, by way of distinction from the others, call non-fundamental or accessory, or at best) these articles, I say, are reduced to so few things, that there is no Christian sect, whatever heresy it may follow, that is at so great a distance from them, as not to have a right of associating with the Arminians.

Philip Limborch, a Professor of Divinity amongst the Remonstrants, who has given us a compleat idea enough of the entire Theology of his sect, in a work entitled: *Theologia Christiana, ad praxim pietatis, ac promotionem pacis Christianæ unice directâ*, fixes two rules for distinguishing such articles as are fundamental, from such as are not so, viz. Faith and Sanctification, two things which God indispensably requires of us. From thence, says he, it follows first, that whatever is necessary in order to believe in JESUS CHRIST, is absolutely necessary in order to obtain Salvation. Secondly, That all such Tenets, without the belief of which we cannot be sanctified, in the manner required of us by the GOSPEL, are fundamental. Thirdly,

Thirdly, That whatever is not contained in the Scripture is not necessary to Salvation, no more than what is endeavoured to be collected from it by subtil and distant consequences ; or what is in truth clearly contained in it, but which however the same Scripture assures us is not necessarily connected with the true faith, the not knowing which does not prevent our truly believing in GOD, and obeying his commandments. Fourthly, That all opinions purely speculative are to be struck out of the number of fundamental Articles, and such as do not at all influence either our Faith or Manners. Fifthly, All such Tenets, which though they may contribute to piety, yet are not so absolutely necessary to it, but that we may be sincerely pious without them. Sixthly, All such Doctrines, which though very strictly and intimately united to each other, and to the observation of JESUS CHRIST's Precepts, yet do not appear in that light to those who reject them ; provided, that without believing in them, they sincerely attach themselves to a pious life. Seventhly, and lastly, and it is his own conclusion, that as we ought to look upon all such as real unbelievers who reject any fundamental Article, so ought we to consider such as true Christians, who receive all the fundamental points, and live conformably to the Precepts which JESUS CHRIST has given us, though otherwise they may be mistaken in many things.

Limborch does his best in Chap. xxii. l. 7. to prove these maxims, and to shew, that they between whom there is no fundamental controversy, ought mutually to bear with each other ; that they, whose conduct is different, usurp upon the the prerogatives of GOD, who alone can impose on us the necessity of believing and performing certain things, in order to obtain salvation, so long as they condemn such, whom GOD himself condemns not, and exclude such from their Communion, whom he will receive into heaven : That they are guilty of a breach of Charity by their refusing to bear with the infirmities of their brethren : That they wound Truth, by taking away from Christians the liberty of examining into decisions not established upon clear passages of the Holy Scripture, and which perhaps are nothing but errors : That they neglect the precepts of the Apostles, who command us to bear with the errors of our brethren, and who forbid us to judge those whose absolution or condemnation belongs to GOD alone : In short, that they cause an infinite number of Schisms and Divisions, inasmuch, as it is easy to agree in fundamental points which are clear of themselves ; so is it almost impossible, in that
prodigious

prodigious variety of tempers and understandings found in the world, to agree in every thing, and especially in things obscure and perplexed, such as are the subject of those controversies now reigning amongst the Protestants.

Thus, concludes he, if we are to separate upon questions which contain nothing fundamental in them, we shall every day see new Sects springing up; or, on the other hand, if we constrain people to profess all the Tenets which Divines shall think fit to set up, the Christian world will be filled with ignorant or hypocritical persons.

It would be to no purpose to enter into a longer detail of those reasons which the Remonstrants bring to authorize their doctrine of Toleration. The difficulty is to know whether the Socinians do not swerve from those fundamental Articles: The Remonstrants say they do not, because the Socinians believe there is an Eternal Being all good, all wise, all powerful, Creator of Heaven and Earth, &c. that all the History of JESUS CHRIST, contained in the Evangelists is true; that all that he hath said is true; that in order to be saved, we must believe in him, obey his commandments, and hope in his promises; that he is now reigning in Heaven, and shall come to raise and judge, to reward and to punish all men according to their actions. Such are the fundamental points, and no more is to be believed in order to Salvation, according to the Remonstrants; and it would, add they, be hard-hearted and running counter to the practice of JESUS CHRIST and his Apostles, to exclude from the Communion of the Faithful, or imagine to be damned, such who embrace these sentiments, and besides, live a good life. To pronounce sentence of damnation clear formal passages are necessary, importing that such shall be damned, who shall not believe such and such truths. Now there are no such in the Scripture, requiring other things than what the Socinians believe.

Biblioth.
choisie.
To. 3.

From hence we are to conclude, if we will hold with the Arminian Divinity, that the doctrines of a God in three persons; of a God incarnate and made man; of the two natures and wills of this God-man; and all the other mysteries inseparable from these doctrines, are no fundamental Articles, and that we may be saved without believing them explicitly or implicitly.

And this is Episcopius's opinion, the chief pillar of the Arminian party, and one of the ablest men of the seventeenth Century, who

have appeared in Holland. This Minister, in his Theological Institutions so boasted of by Grotius, and even by Father Mabillon, calls in question the Mysteries of the TRINITY, and Incarnation, and does not think the belief of them necessary to Salvation: Because, according to him, they are not to be found in the Scripture in a clear plain manner, no more than other opinions, which divide Christians; from whence he concludes, that there is no reason for rejecting the Socinians from the Communion.

Inst. ult.
sur le. N.
Testam.
de Tre-
voux.

It is this Toleration, as well as this distinction of fundamental, and Nonfundamental points, and the consequences which the Arminians infer from them, which has made many Catholick and Protestant Writers say, that the Remonstrants are real Socinians, and that Episcopius had done worse than Arminius. The latter, says M. Bossuet, has turned Calvinism into Pelagianism, but the former has brought the Calvinist Remonstrants over to Toleration, and by degrees into the errors of Socinus; so that to be an Arminian and a Socinian, is now-a-days almost the same thing.

Pag. 147¹.

The Minister Jurieu, in his book upon *the defence of the doctrine of the universal Church*, against the evidence which Elias Saurin says there is of the doctrines of Religion, insists that the Arminians and other Sectaries, whom he calls Latitudinarians, reason upon the doctrines commonly received and avowed by other Communion, viz. original Sin, the necessity of irresistible Grace, the Eternal Divinity of the SON of GOD and of the HOLY GHOST, their Consubstantiality with the FATHER, the TRINITY of persons in one single Essence, the Eternity of Hell-punishments, the resurrection of the same flesh, the Creation of the world made out of nothing, reason, says he, as upon points of Divinity which are neither decided, nor fundamental; that no Christian is obliged to believe them, neither under eternal nor temporal punishments, and pretend that we have entire liberty of conscience not to believe them, because, according to them, they cannot be demonstratively enough proved by passages of scripture alone, to draw an entire and full evidence from them. If Jurieu says true in what he relates of the Arminians, there is no doubt to be made but they are real Socinians, and after that there is no longer any room for surprize if the Socinians are welcome among them.

Upon

Upon these accusations, M. Le Clerc, another Remonstrant, cries out ignorance, injustice, calumny! he tells M. Bossuet, that if he had read the institutions of Episcopus, and the profession of Faith of the Remonstrants, he would have observed, that upon the Articles of the Trinity and Redemption they talk otherwise than the Socinians, and that he would have forbore imitating the Mob of the Clergy, ignorant and opiniative, who brand people with the name of Socinians, for want of better reasons, and that it is shameful to scandalize and abuse people whose sentiments we are strangers to.

In a letter the same person writ by order of his Superiors to the Minister Jurieu, upon his having accused Episcopus with two things, the one, of being a Socinian, and the other, with being an enemy to the Christian Religion, he says to that Minister, The latter Head is no more than a consequence of the former, according to your way of reasoning; so that if the first be proved to be a gross calumny, you will be convicted, according to your own principles, of accusing a man without grounds of the most detestable hypocrisy, who has always professed to believe in JESUS CHRIST, and has given shining proofs of his faith: After which he shews him, that as to the TRINITY, and the sacrifice of JESUS CHRIST, Episcopus was very far from the sentiments of the Socinians. He points out to him several of his writings, wherein he has in a very clear manner explained his opinion upon those two capital points, and refuted that of the Socinians. The first point of accusation thus confuted, he insists that the last falls upon himself, being only a consequence of the first, and that the conduct and writings of Episcopus plainly demonstrate that he was a man of virtue, conscience, and Zeal for the Christian Religion.

To these complaints and abusive words of M. Le Clerc, it may be answered, that Episcopus might probably believe in JESUS CHRIST without believing him to be the supreme GOD, as the Socinians do; or he might believe that JESUS CHRIST was the supreme GOD, without believing it to be a fundamental point: In short, that he might think and believe quite otherwise than Socinus and his disciples on the mysteries of the TRINITY, and of the Sacrifice of JESUS CHRIST, without endeavouring to oblige his Church to believe in them, as points essential to Salvation.

Stouppe, Lett. 2. That he has no reason to tax those with ignorance, who accuse the Arminians of socinianising, since they are not only particular men, such as Messieurs Nicole, Bossuet, Stouppe, Jurieu, Hubert and others of both Communions; but likewise Synods, and particularly that of Rotterdam in the year 1641, composed of the Ministers and Divines of South Holland, who in their letter to the Magistrates and Professors of Breme, concerning the dispute of universal Grace, accused those Universalists, or Universals (that is, the Arminians) of Sabellianism, Photinianism, Pelagianism, Socinianism, Sadduceaniam, and even of Atheism.

Bibl. Univ. To. 17. P. 341. To this Synod we may add the opinion, almost unanimous, of the Reformed of the low Countries, whose profession of Faith consists of a greater number of Articles than that of the Arminians. They have often reproached these with opposing the Confessions of Faith received amongst them, thereby to introduce Pyrrhonism into Religion, and their Divinity with changing every year, every month, every day, and even every hour in the day: *Theologia annua, menstrua, diurna, horaria*. It is true, the Arminians have answered those reproaches; but how? To the first reproach they have answered, that they could not do otherwise without renouncing the first principles of the Reformation, and that it would be rashness and insolence in them, who thus reproached them, after having themselves laid aside the Authority of the Fathers, the Councils, and all Antiquity. Their answer to the second reproach is this, that any System of Divinity is not at all the better for its Antiquity, and that it may happen that such a System, though of a thousand years standing, may be worse than any of the new ones. *Non Theologia vera est Theologia, quia constanter retinetur, aut diu durat: milleraria Theologia potest esse omnium pessima*: If it be so, may we add, and we be obliged, over again, and without end, to examine the belief of the Church, we may say with Tertullian, that we shall always be seeking, and never perfectly believe. Alas! When shall we give over our search, and have a fixed and settled Faith? *Semper quæremus, nunquam, omnino credemus; ubi enim erit Finis quærendi, ubi credendi?*

Simon. Answer to Defen. of Divines of Holland, p. 65 and 68. To conclude, if the Arminians take the Accusation of being Socinians so much to heart, why do they admit them into their Churches? Tell me your Company, said one of the antients, and I will tell you what you are. Why do they not act as the Churches of Geneva, of the

the Swiss Cantons of Germany, Muscovy, Sweden, Denmark, Poland, &c. who allow of no such people, but have made rigorous Laws against them, Laws which those Churches observe in the strictest manner, to hinder their living amongst them peaceably, and in the exercise of their Opinions.

C H A P. XXXIII.

Some Societies accused of SOCINIANISM tolerated in Holland, and why?

The COCCEIANS.

COCCEIUS, after having pestered the publick with a prodigious number of Books on several Subjects, and especially upon the Old and New Testament; and after many sharp contests with the Ministers and most famous Professors of the seven Provinces, was at last, he and his disciples, accused with being Socinians, and upon good grounds. To be convinced of it, we need only refer to what a noted Cocceian tells us; it is Bodaan, who takes upon him the title of Minister of the Holy Gospel, in a Book which has in it the principal opinions of the Sect, and is entitled, *The doctrine of truth, according to piety*. This Writer, after giving us Cocceius's imaginations upon the Covenants which the LORD hath made with mankind, says, that JESUS CHRIST abolished the old Testament to set up another, wherein are contained promises much more excellent. ^{Bibl. Univ. To. 1. p. 228.} This is the New Testament, which in his language, is *an immutable will to give, by way of addition, to the heirs of the Covenant of Grace,* ^{Heb. 5. v. 6.} *who should be alive after the Ascension of Jesus Christ to the end of the world, blessings and spiritual graces, instead of the benefits of this world, and of the land of Canaan.* The contracting parties are, one side, the Eternal, Amen, the Faithful, the Real; and on the other, the Elect of all Nations, and all such as shall believe in CHRIST, as well Jews as Greeks. That the condition annexed to these promises is no longer a General Faith in the Mercy of GOD, and in the promised Redeemer, without knowing him distinctly; but a precise and determinate Faith in this JESUS the SON of Mary, and of GOD who died, was raised again, and who being the true JESUS, the perfect

fect Saviour, is now the sole King, Pontif, and Sovereign Doctor of the Church, in exclusion of all Priests and Doctors of the antient people, who had only the name of Gods, which are the Principalities and Powers whom he despoiled of their authority upon the Cross.

By this, we see he thinks and talks of JESUS CHRIST in the same manner as Servetus, Socinus, and all the Socinians, that is, as of a Man, and a Creature much more excellent than all others, to whom he ascribes the title of SON of GOD, not upon account of his eternal generation, or his essence or divine person, but upon account of the extraordinary gifts he has received; gifts which make him a GOD more excellent than the Prophets, and great men of the Law, who also had the name of Gods given them: He is, I say, a greater GOD than they, because they received not the gifts of the HOLY GHOST but in parcels, but he received the fulness of them.

These are not sentiments which I ascribe to him, nor any false interpretation I make of his words. When he explains the third promise which he has framed in the Covenant, and which is conceived in these terms, *I will be their God, and they shall be my People* (that is, according to Bodaan) I will bless them, and let them see by effects in fulfilling my promises, and giving them the truth after types and figures, that I am that GOD who made a Covenant with them, he says these words must be referred to those promises made by GOD, Gen. xvii. 8. Lev. xvi. 2. And that it is the same in relation to this phrase, as to that where GOD says he had not been known to the Patriarchs under the name of *Jehovah*, because that name includes the Idea of a Being powerful and just in keeping his promises, and that the promise of giving the land of Canaan to their posterity, had not as yet been fulfilled. Thus, according to Cocceius, GOD takes the name of the GOD of the Christians, and calls them his people in a particular manner, because it is under the New Testament that he has verified the promises made by the Prophets to send the Messiah into the world. But he carries his explanation farther, and adds (and here is the Socinianism) that the Jews were governed by seventy Elders, amongst whom the spirit of Moses had been divided; that those Elders were the Guardians of the antient people, until the time determined by the FATHER, and that they were called Gods, because the word of GOD was directed to them, and because they pronounced Oracles on the Earth: But that JESUS CHRIST being come,

come, or God being manifested in the flesh, the reign of those who bore the name of GOD was at an end; they died like the rest of mankind, according to the Psalmist made by St. Paul, Heb. i. 6. who says, that GOD had commanded the *Elobim*, the Magistrates of the Jews to worship his First-born; from whence Cocceius concludes, that this Phrase, *I will be their God*, signifies, that under the Gospel the LORD should reign by himself; that JESUS CHRIST, the King of the Church, should have no Companion, and that neither in Heaven nor in Earth should there be *any other God than the Father, nor any other Lord than Jesus Christ*. Heb. xii. 25. Psal. lxxxii. 6 and 7. Psal. xcvi. 7. 1 Cor. viii. 5 and 6.

The Socinians explain themselves no otherwise in all their writings; they talk in the same manner also, and go no farther, viz. that there is no other GOD than the FATHER, and no other LORD than JESUS CHRIST. If those Gentlemen would give proofs of their Orthodoxy concerning a GOD in three persons, and the consubstantial Divinity of JESUS CHRIST, why do they not say that there is no other GOD than the FATHER, with our LORD JESUS CHRIST and the HOLY GHOST?

Cocceius, upon the fourth Benefit of the Covenant, viz. *That no man shall henceforth teach his neighbour, saying, know the Eternal, for they all shall know me, from the smallest to the greatest*, says, The Successors of Moses had the key of knowledge, they sat in the Chair; 'twas to them that application was to be made for instruction as to the sense of the law, and meaning of what was represented under so many types and figures; but as the Sufferings and Glory of the SON of GOD are the Key of all the Prophecies, the least of the Faithful have this divine Key, since they all know that JESUS CHRIST was conceived by the HOLY GHOST, and born of the Virgin Mary, &c. This is that spirit which GOD had promised to send down among his servants of all ages, sexes, and conditions; from whence he concludes, that all the Faithful who have received the Unction of the HOLY GHOST, who know all the truths necessary to salvation, and who have the word of the Gospel in their mouth, and at their heart, have no need of the instructions of a master: And that such who magisterially and tyrannically obtrude all their decisions upon men, under the penalty of anathema, bear the marks of Anti-christ. Deut. xviii. 8. Mala. ii. 72. Luke ii. 25 and 32. Joel ii. 1 John ii. 20 and 27. Rom. x. 4 and 8.

So that, in the opinion of the Cocceians, the whole knowledge of Salvation consists singly in knowing, not that JESUS CHRIST is the only

only SON of GOD, consubstantial and coeternal with the FATHER, the supreme and only GOD, but that he was conceived by the HOLY GHOST, and born of the Virgin Mary, &c. This is the favourite opinion of the Socinians; so that the HOLY GHOST, promised by the Prophets, and given to the Apostles and the Church, is not a sovereign and eternal GOD, but a knowledge which we have of the Sufferings and of the Glory of JESUS CHRIST. Nay, the Socinians go not so far; so that knowing that JESUS CHRIST was conceived of the HOLY GHOST, born of the Virgin Mary, &c. we have no farther occasion for Masters, Synods, &c. to instruct us. With this knowledge we know every thing, we have a right to prophesy and to speak every where, and all Synods and Doctors are so many Tyrants, and bear the Character of Antichrist, if they take upon them to teach us. Just Consequences of the Paradoxes of the *Cocceians*, but perfectly Socinian, and which favour a more dangerous fanaticism than any that ever appeared.

*Examinat.
and refu-
tat. of the
answ. of
Irenæus
Philale-
thes by
Philale-
thes Elie-
zer, &c.*

To these errors may be added those concerning the knowledge we can have as to GOD and his perfections: They pretend that we come not by them any otherwise than by natural light only, and that all explanation of Scripture passages contrary to this light, is a false explanation; and speaking of Sunday, they say, that we are not obliged under pain of sinning to keep it holy, which is no more than a ceremonial precept which Grace hath abolished, or a figure of the spiritual Sabbath.

All these Paradoxes are Socinian; and indeed most of the Ministers and Professors of the Seven Provinces, and particularly Mr. Demarets and Voëtius, have maintained, that the Sentiments of the *Cocceians*,
 Bibl. Univ. To. 5. P. 115. 1. Were heterodox, and favourable to the Pelagians and Socinians.
 2. That they were dangerous novelties. 3. That their explanations of the Scripture differed from the received version and explanations.
 4. That they had certain phrases and thoughts, which they were perpetually repeating in their Books and Sermons. 5. That according to them, the Christian Religion seemed to be nothing more than a distinction of *Æconomies*, of Covenants, of a Testament, of Laws given before and after the golden Afs, of Ordinances good and bad; than *Parefis*, than *Aphesis*, than *Gods named*, than Fathers in the flesh, than an addition of drunkenness to that of hunger, than mystical explanations of parables, histories, prophecies, &c.

I will

I will stop here; these expressions, which shew more of a depraved mind, and of fanaticism, than of Christian Religion, make very little or nothing to my subject; but I will say, that since the Anabaptists, the Mennonites, the Remonstrants, and the *Cocceians*, without entering into particulars concerning some other Sects, are tolerated, maintained, and countenanced in Holland, it must therefore be owned, that the Socinians have a full and entire liberty of conscience to prophesy, speak, teach, write, and perform also the exercises of their Religion.

I back my conclusion with what those persons say of Holland, who have a perfect knowledge of it.

I shall begin with what Mr. de Visé has told us of it; a man so Noel Aubert de Visé. known in the world by his many changes in Religion, a man who has been known to be a Catholick, a Protestant, a Calvinist, a stanch Socinian and Arian, and at last a Catholick again.

I say a stanch Socinian and Arian: And it is he himself who tells Antisocinian, p. 10. us so. He owns, that whilst he was within the pale of the Roman Church, he could never be satisfied in his mind upon the points of the TRINITY, and of a GOD incarnate, and that he was not sorry to have been obliged, by a storm raised against him, to quit that Church, and retire into Holland, where he could freely and publickly profess an opinion which he could neither hide nor dissemble without great pain, and many scruples of conscience. This opinion is that of the Socinians.

“ By this (they are his own words) I do not mean the error particular to Faustus Socinus; namely, that JESUS CHRIST is meer man according to his substance, and that he began to exist no other-wise than by the birth he received of Mary. It is true that I have been of this opinion, but I can affirm, that I did not long continue in it, finding it impossible to convince myself of it. By Socinianism, continues he, I mean, the Heresy of all such who at this time of day reject the mystery of the TRINITY, and cannot believe that JESUS CHRIST is the eternal SON of GOD, born of his own proper substance before all ages, and together with him and the HOLY GHOST, making but one single, and identical nature, one only and identical power, glory, and majesty.

This Heresy is that of the antient Arians; Aubert de Visé then was a true and real Arian, after having for some time been a real Socinian.

It is during that time he writ some Books against the mystery of the TRINITY, and the Divinity of JESUS CHRIST; and particularly those entitled, *The pacifick Protestant, and the tomb of Socinianism*: Books, by his own profession, prophane and dangerous to the Catholick Doctrine; and which he undertook the refutation of, as well as of the reasons he had to turn Socinian and Arian, by another Book entitled, *The Antisocinian, or a new Apology for the Catholick Faith against the Socinians*, at Paris 1692, which he composed and published by order of the Clergy of France, from whom he received a pension, in order to give the world proofs of the sincerity of his return to the Roman Church.

All his Acquaintance are not agreed as to the sincerity of this return; there are some who suspect it, and others who assure us of it. Some of a pretty general Acquaintance in the world, and who conversed with him, have affirmed to me, that he never was a good Catholick, but died at Paris, spreading abroad his Socinian Doctrines to such as would give him the hearing, and when he imagined he ran no risque by so doing: But on the other hand, others, whose sincerity and probity I cannot in the least question, and who often conversed with him, and during several years administered the Sacraments of the Church to him, and particularly the Communion at Easter, have assured me, that they never perceived any thing in him capable of making them in the least doubt, that since his conversion, which lasted at least twenty years, he ever gave into Socinianism, though they have often had disputes with him upon those points in Religion, which the Calvinists contest with us, and that he died in the parish of St. Bennet, with all the signs of a true Roman Catholick. I think we ought to hold to this latter testimony as the surer.

Antisocinian, p. 12. Aubert de Vifé, after relating his motives for retiring to Holland, in order the more freely to profess his Socinianism there, begs his Readers to consider, that such of the Protestant Churches of Holland, which the most heartily declared against Socinianism, are now-a-days full of an infinite number of persons, who openly profess to tolerate it, which has produced that party among them called Tolerants, together with that great quarrel which at present divides the Reformed: That this party seems to be a little low at present; but that the truth is, that it is the most powerful and numerous, and that if death had taken off some particular men of the contrary side, and who

who now make the most noise against Toleration, and Tolerants, and yet who are look'd upon but as passionate and seditious people, of whom the false Prophet Jurieu was the Chief, the Tolerants would be the uppermost. And we may add, that they are so; God has delivered Holland and the World from that false Prophet.

Besides this, continues he, there are large Communion of Protestants, who not only openly declare for the Toleration of Socinianism, as for example that of the Remonstrants, with which the Church of England very much sympathises, but which also make profession of Socinianism; as for example, the famous Anabaptist Congregation of the Physician Galenus, who is stiled the learned, the eloquent, and the skilful, and who openly professes Arianism; and likewise that of the Quakers, as well in Holland as England, where it is allowed to believe any thing, provided you affirm seriously and strongly that it is the spirit of God, and his inward light that illuminates you.

We need go no farther than this evidence, seeing that the Sieur Aubert had a perfect knowledge of the Churches of Holland: He was a Minister there, and had intimate friends amongst the Remonstrants, the Antiremonstrants, the Anabaptists, the Quakers, the Arians, &c. and had even the confidence of one of the most curious men of those Provinces. I mean Christopher Sandius the Son, for they both lived long enough together at the house of the Elzevirs.

However, as a stronger confirmation, I will add others who still appear to me of greater weight, and who still go farther: The first is Monsieur Baillet. After telling us that Holland has drawn upon herself the jealousy of other nations, by the merit and reputation of several learned men who have retired to her, and who have excelled in almost all parts of human knowledge, he adds, “ But if on the one “ hand we cannot without grief see the loss of so many good subjects, whom the Schism of Heresy has made obnoxious or useless “ to the Catholick Church, we cannot, on the other hand, but feel a “ resentment and indignation against Holland, which suffers with impunity, not only *Socinians*, Anabaptists, and Mennonites, to “ creep in amongst her writers, but also Deists, and even professed “ Atheists.

Jug. des
Sav. To. I.
P. 281.

This is not a particular Complaint confined to Mr. Baillet, it is almost universal. There are few who have travelled into Holland, and

conversed with their Ministers, Professors, and men of learning, who do not say the same thing.

Bibl.
choisie,
To. 24.
p. 318.

Mr. Le Clerc says enough upon this fact to convince us, that things are just as Mr. Baillet has represented them. After telling us, that Mr. Bayle did his utmost to introduce Atheism and Pyrrhonism into Holland, he adds, “ Others have endeavoured to introduce Spinosism amongst us, under the specious name of the most rigid Orthodoxy, and it is certain, that many have suffered themselves to be infected with it. And had men opposed this disguised Orthodoxy, continues Mr. Le Clerc, as Jaquelot, Bernard, and others did, perhaps the Progress of it might have been stopped. We ought therefore to conclude, that it has not been stopped; nor ought we to be surprized at it: It is thither that the principle of Toleration in matters of Religion, so well maintained and pursued in Holland and England, of necessity leads mankind, together with the Hollanders natural lightness and inconstancy of temper, who cannot long remain firm to one Belief.

Bibl.
choisie,
To. 11.

Hubert.
To. 3. re-
rum in
orbe ge-
starum,
&c.

Upon this occasion a Writer observes, that since the Entrance of the Reformation into the united Provinces, Religion has never continued upon the same foot above thirty years. Religion, says he, subsisted upon the same foot whereon it was settled by those called Leaguers, from the year 1572, to the year 1602; at which time Arminianism began to make a noise, and which took up thirty years in its growth and declension: But the disputes upon Predestination, and those points thereon depending, growing cool, the profession called Voëtianism was seen to spring up, which in its growth and declension has taken the same time. We have seen *Cocceianism* arise, which has not been in vogue any longer a time; and we may add, that whilst the greatest part of the Dutch fell into the Sects, others declared for *Socinianism*, *Bohmism*, *Labadism*, *Commenianism*, *Hobbism*, *Spinosism*, and many others called Seekers of Religion, *Latitudinarians*, *Tolerants*, &c.

Jug. des
Sav. To. 1.
p. 403.

So that it may be said, that the Religion of the Dutch is a real *Syncretism*, or *Syncratism*, that is, a confused jumble of all sorts of Religions, or an union of all the Sects separated by Schism from the Roman Church. And indeed Kempius, speaking of Holland, calls it a second Africk, teeming with fanatick monsters, where new ones every day spring up as to Religion, which ought never to change.

Charisma.
Triad. seu
Biblioth.
Angl. p.
350.

C H A P. XXXIV.

France unjustly accused of SOCINIANISM, and defended.

AS the accusations against France in regard to Socinianism are unjust, false, and groundless, and known to be such by all who have any idea of the State of this Kingdom, I shall be very brief upon this head; nor would I have entred into it at all, did it not appear by some writings, that not only the whole Kingdom in general is accused of Socinianism, but some Catholicks and Reformed Societies, and several particular persons of distinguished merit, by their writings, their faith, and their piety.

They who accuse France of Socinianism are the Protestants of Germany, deceived into it by the writings of Father Zachary de Lizicux, which they take for the plausible Truths of *Petrus Firmianus*,^{Jugem. des Savans} and upon no better grounds have published in their writings, that ^{To. 1.} France, and in particular that the City of Paris was filled with Atheists; that there were even Colleges and Academies of them; that the Assemblies of these new Doctors were held at night only, and that they already had more than fifty thousand Profelytes from the year 1653.

The Calvinists disgusted with the Conduct of the King's Council,^{Polit. du Clergé.} and of the Clergy of France, in regard to themselves, have made use of the same fictions in order to persuade the world that there was a formidable party of Deists and Socinians in France.

The same Author (it is Jurieu) in a Book he has entitled *the Spirit of Mr. Arnaud*, wherein he has set all the world together by the ears,^{Tom. 7. P. 194.} pretends that Monsieur Huet, Bishop of Avranches, had published the same thing, and that he has said in the Preface to his *De-*^{N. 2, &c.} *monstratio Evangelica*, that France was full of Deists and Libertines; that there was a great number of those unhappy Free-thinkers; that impiety was advancing, and made a great havock at Court, and throughout the kingdom, and even that it was the general Spirit of all such who pretended to shew themselves men of parts and distinction.

To these general, strained, and furious accusations, it may be answered, that the Protestants of Germany are unacquainted with^{M. Baillet Refutation.} France,

France, and have given into the wild imaginations of a man who thro' excess of Zeal, tho' without judgment, has carried things beyond all bounds; that if it has been said, and written that in 1563, there were above fifty thousand Atheists, Deists, and Libertins, this is an accusation which should rather fall upon the Reformed at that time there, than upon the Catholicks, since Calvinism bears a much nearer affinity to Socinianism and Deism than the Roman Catholick Religion. That as to Monsieur Huet, Jurieu charges him falsely in favour of the French Calvinists, whilst with his ordinary malice he endeavours to have it believed that that learned Prelate speaks only of the Court and Clergy of France, though what he says of Deists and Libertins is spoken in general of all the Kingdoms in Christendom, without any particular application.

Politique
du Clergé
de France
p. 90.

But Jurieu goes still farther with his accusations; he says there are entire Congregations of Priests, from which the Gallican Church ought to fear every thing. They profess, says he, to believe that the Roman Church is the true Church, that we ought inseparably to adhere to it, and never separate from it; and yet they have no affection for its doctrines, nor respect for its worship. Never were those people so numerous in this kingdom. There are some of them who carry their incredulity so far as to call in question the most important truths of Christianity. They are Socinians, and neither believe the TRINITY, nor Incarnation. I am acquainted with so many particulars upon this head, as to make no doubt of it; but I will not enter into them, that I may not shock you; and what is still more horrid is, that this is the Religion not only of our young Abbés, but the Divinity of several grave, wise Societies, who make a great shew of the purity of their manners, and of their Attachment to the Catholick Faith.

Apology
pour les
Cathol. p.
2. c. 4.

We may grant Jurieu this, that there may be in France, even among the Abbés, some persons so impious as not to believe in the TRINITY, or Incarnation. But we must insist, and with reason, that something more is requisite to be able to say, without being guilty of a notorious Calumny, *that it is now-a-days the Religion of our young Abbés*. One ought to be sure that there is at least a great number of them who are of no other Religion: And how could he come to the knowledge of it? Would such people be so mad to open themselves to the first comer, and thereby expose themselves to what

what they might justly apprehend from such a confession? And above all, can such a madness be so epidemical, as to entitle a man to say, without passing for an impostor, that it is the Divinity of our young Abbés: And yet he has the effrontery to suppose it a thing so well known, as to be only his prelude for countenancing a blacker calumny, viz. that some grave, sage Societies, which are very regular in their manners, and pass for Catholick, no more believe the TRINITY, nor Incarnation, than those Abbés. This is beyond all Impudence to father not only upon particular men, but upon whole Societies of men; not upon one single Society, but upon some Societies, to which he gives the greatest praises, the not believing the chief mysteries of the Christian Religion, and to suppose that such a thing can be without any of those who might put a stop to so abominable a disorder, knowing it; or knowing it, that they should suffer it; and in short, to imagine that the world should be foolish enough to believe so incredible a thing upon the single assertion of a worthless fellow, who in a book without any name to it, says, *I am acquainted with so many particulars upon this head, as to make no doubt of it, and to add with a poor pitiful evasion, but I will not enter into them, that I may not shock you.* One is surprized, and can scarce conceive that his boldness in calumniating could be carried to such an excess; but one ceases to be surprized, when one considers it is Mr. Jurieu who talks in this manner.

The last accusation I shall mention is that of an Anonymous Author, who in a small treatise entitled, *Important questions upon the Jansenists*, &c. carries his accusation still farther than Jurieu. This Writer says the Jansenists do not believe that JESUS CHRIST is GOD, and that not believing him to be GOD, they do not believe he has a power of turning his body and blood really and substantially into both the kinds of bread and wine which the Priests consecrate. He goes farther, and says, that their design is to reduce Religion to the belief of one sole GOD, without Incarnation of the Eternal Word, without Redemption of mankind, without Sacrament, Church, Pope, or invocation of Saints; in a word, without Christian Religion.

In order to prove his Charge against the Jansenists, of rejecting the Divinity of JESUS CHRIST, he begins with their * Translation of the new Testament, and endeavours to prove that the sense * ^{General-ly called} ^{the Mons} ^{transla-} ^{tion.} they

they have given to several passages of it are Socinians: As John c. x. 23. 1 Cor. c. xv. 22. Acts c. x. 34. Rom. c. ii. 11. Rom. c. v. 6. 1 Theff. c. v. 9. Coloss. c. ii. 14.

But the Translators had been so far from giving into Socinianism, by their interpretation of those passages, that all of them are explained in the same manner as the antient Versions, Fathers, and Interpreters have rendred them. And as we cannot, without doing violence to Justice and Reason, accuse those Versions, Fathers, and Interpreters, with favouring Socinianism; so neither can we the Jansenists in this Translation, by their explanation of those Texts in conformity to them.

F I N I S.





A N

I N D E X.

A.

A DEISIDAMON, a pernicious Book. Pag. 122
ADOLPH-VENATOR. Vid. *Venator.*
ALBA JULIA, Conference held there by the Unitarians and Reformed. 63
ALEXIS (Dennis) perverts King John Sigismund. 59
ALDGES, Disciples of Artemon, so called for not acknowledging the Word preached by St. John. 4
AMSTERDAM, filled with Anabaptists. 84
ANABAPTISTS, the original of the name, and their tenets, 73 to 75. their wars with the Princes of Germany, 77. are beaten by them, 79. attempt to make themselves Masters of the Swiss Cantons. Their Guides, 80. Their progress in the States of the lower Rhine, and their maxims there. 83 *and foll.*
ANABAPTISTS OF ENGLAND, their errors, 74. banished the Kingdom by Queen Elizabeth. *Ibid.*
ANTICAMERIAN, what it was. 36
ANTIEMONSTRANTS, why so called, 133. they write against an Edict commanding them to dispute with charity and moderation, 135. Grotius confutes them. *Ibid.*
ANTI TRINITARIANS, their sentiments upon the Trinity. 7
APOLOGY for the Socinians by Slichtingius against the Synods of the Seven Provinces. 126
ARIANISERS, they who amongst the Reformed first gave into the modern Arianism. 11

ARIUS, his heresy. 5
ARMINIANS, a name given to the Socinians, and why. 8
ARMINIANS of Holland, *see* Remonstrants. Authors treating of Arminianism. 140
ARMINIUS, his studies, his first works, his employments, and disputes. 132, 133. Undertakes to write a book against the Anabaptists, but does not finish it, and why. 88
ARTEMON, his heresy. 4
AUBERT de Visé (Noel) his changes in Religion. What he says of Holland in regard to the Remonstrants and Socinians. 152 *and foll.*

B.

BALTANUS (Robert) Head of the Brownists, his changes, is loaded with confusion, and hangs himself. 120
BAPTISM of Infants opposed by the Socinians. Who they were who first opposed it, and baptized over again. 42
BARNEVELT imprisoned, 135. hanged, 135
BASTA, General of the Imperial Army, having gained the victory over Szekeli, re-establishes the Jesuits at Clausenburg. 117
BATORI, Cardinal, Prince of Transylvania, killed by Shepherds. 116
BATORI (Christopher) Prince of Transylvania, favours the Jesuits. 65
BATORI (Stephen) Prince of Transylvania, his measures for uniting the Innovators to the Roman Catholick Religion, 65. is elected King of Poland. his character, 64, 94. his Catholicity, 94—97

Y

BATORI

An I N D E X.

- BATORI (Gabriel)** quits the Roman-Catholick Faith in order to be made Prince of Transilvania, 118. his death. *Ibid.*
- BERYLLUS**, Bishop of Bostra, his heresy and return to the Church. 4
- BIBLE**, translated into several languages by the Socinians, and the ill effect of those versions, 62. translated by the Jesuits into the Hungarian language, and the effects of it. 65
- BIDELLUS (John)** his errors, forms a party of Socinians, called Bidellians, and composes two Catechisms, 121. Dies in prison. *Ibid.*
- BIDELLIANS**, Disciples of Bidellus. *Ibid.*
- BINATARIANS**, name of a party, which with Farnovius maintained, that **JESUS CHRIST** existed before the Virgin Mary. 48
- BLANDRAT (George)** his opinion on the three Creeds, 29. is forced to sign the Formulary of Faith of a God in three persons, 30. Makes a fresh profession of Faith, which the Synod of Xianz despises, and some commend. Promises to be conditionally reconciled to Calvin, 31, 32. is called into Transilvania to be John Sigismund's chief Physician, and his Discourses there on Politics, 57. and on Religion, *Ibid.* gains the Friendship of F. Davidis, the use he makes of it. his Discourse in the Conference at Alba Julia, 61. Undertakes a new Translation of the Bible, 62. Advises the Transilvanians to send their Children to the Universities of Venice and Padua and to frequent the Jews there, 61, 62. Falls into the impieties of Francis Davidis. 63
- BLAWROCK**, a seditious Anabaptist, his opinion; is condemned to be whipped, and dies in a wretched condition. 82
- BONARUS** favours the Socinians, has Assemblies of them in his Castle, 36. his death gives a new turn to G. Pauli's Affairs. *Ibid.*
- BOSSUET**, Bishop of Meaux, his opinion concerning the fundamental points of the Remonstrants. 146
- BOSTKAY (Stephen)** Uncle to Sigismund Batori, takes the Government of Transilvania into his hands, quarrels with the Turk, applies to Rodolf, dies childless. 117
- BRETHREN Polish**, a name given to the Socinians, and why. 8

- BROWN (Robert)** changes his opinion. 120
- BROWN**, Minister of Nimeguen, his Apology for the Religion of the States General, and his Answer to Mr. Stouppe's Letters. 130
- BRUNSWICK (the Duke of)** gains a compleat victory over the Peasants of Germany. 79
- BURY**, his book, and the errors he therein sets up, the University of Oxford censure it. 122

C.

- CALICE**, the Emperor Ferdinand's Embassadors to the Council of Trent, demand it for the Laity. 68
- CALVIN (John)** accused of Arianism. 11, 12
- CARPOCRATES**, his heresy. 2
- CASAUBON (Paul)** condemned to be burnt for heresy. 121
- CASTALDI (John Baptist)** murders Cardinal Martinusius. 55
- CERINTHUS**, his heresy, conformable to that of the Socinians. 2
- CHARLES THE FIFTH** grants liberty of conscience to the Protestants. 63
- CHMIELNIESKI**, his rise, his wars, and the mischief he did the Socinians. 110, 111
- CHURCH OF ROME** compared to a fine Temple, which the Innovators throw down. 11
- CLENDON**, author of a Philosophical and Theological Treatise upon the TRINITY. 122
- COCCEIANS**, a name given the Socinians, and why, 8. they are accused of Socinianism, and why. 149, and *fol.*
- CRACOW**, Synods held there. 49
- CUJAVIANS**, a name given the Socinians, and why. 8
- CZAPLICIUS** fined for harbouring the Socinians. 159

D.

- DAVIDIS (Francis)** disputes with a Sacramentarian, 58. though victorious, falls in with the Sacramentarian party, 59. turns Arian, 60. his victory over the Reformed in the Conference at Great Waradin, 61. maintains, in the Synod at Torda, that we ought not to worship **JESUS CHRIST**. 66

An INDEX.

DECREE of Sarnicius against such as preached up the Preheminence of the **FATHER**, 45. of the Socinians in the Synod at Mordas, and its ill effects. 36

DECREE of the Diet of Warsaw, banishing all Socinians out of Poland, 112. not observed as to the time granted them. *Ibid.*

DEISTS, their opinion concerning the **TRINITY**. 8

DEMETRIUS, Superintendant of the Socinian Churches, exclaims much against the Jesuits. 67

DE WIT, a Dutchman, introduces Socinianism into Poland, 13. his reasoning on the **TRINITY**. 14

DIET of Warsaw in 1556. the resolutions taken in it, but to no purpose, 23. in 1587. its confusions. 97, *and foll.*

DIET of Petricovia, favourable to the Unitarians, 38. of Lublin, contrary to them. 46

DIVINITY of the **HOLY GHOST** opposed by Stator, in a Synod at Pinczow, and his reasons for it. 27

DORT, Synod held there. 136, *and foll.*

E.

E BIONITES, their heresies. 2
EDICT against the Protestants, 82. and Anabaptists. 85

EDICTS of the States General, and of Utrecht, against the Socinians. 123, 126

ELXAI, his opinions. 3

ENGLAND, how Socinianism introduced there, 119. the Metropolis of them, 121. The heretical Liberty then allowed to talk and write against **JESUS CHRIST**, *Ibid.* Several books favouring Socinianism, publicly sold there, 122

EPISCOPIUS (Simon) his behaviour in the Synod of Dort cited by that Synod, he makes a speech in it. 138

EPOCHA of the Socinians placed in 1566. 47

ERASMUS (John) driven out of Holland for publishing his *Antithesis Doctrina Christiana*. 123

F.

FARNOVIANS, the followers of Farnovius. 48

FARNOVIUS, his opinion of **JESUS CHRIST**, forms a fourth party among the Socinians in Poland. 48

FERDINAND of Austria gets chosen King of Hungary. is suspected of having caused Cardinal Martinusius to be assassinated, and being excommunicated by the Pope thereupon, justifies himself. when Emperor, favours the new Sects. 55, 56

FIRLAT, Palatin of Cracow, his Character, 90. opposes the crowning of *Henry of Valois*, unless he would confirm the *Pacta Conventa*. 91

FRANCE accused of Socinianism, but unjustly. 157, *and foll.*

FUNDAMENTAL points of Religion, according to the Remonstrants. 134

G.

GABOR (Bethlem) a Favourer of the Greeks, and Calvinists, seizes upon Transilvania. 118

GALENUS, a Physician, head of an Ari-anising Party of Anabaptists. 155

GENOLDISTS, a Sect in Transilvania, keeping holy every Saturday instead of Sunday. 60

GOMARUS, the noise he makes in the Synod of Dort. 136

GONEZ (Peter) his errors, 24 his disputes on Infant Baptism, and the **TRINITY**. 25, 26

GOSLIEKI, Bishop of Caminieck, his behaviour in the Diet of Warsaw in 1587. signs the *Recessus* of the Sborouski. 98, 99

GREBELIUS, an Anabaptist Head, his opinions. 82

GREGORIO (Pauli). Vid. Paul.

H.

HENRY Duke of Saxony defeats the Peasants of Germany. 79

HENRY DE VALOIS, Duke of Anjou, elected King of Poland. 91

HENRY NICOLAS. Vid. Nicolas.

HERMANS (Jacob) Vid. Arminius.

HERMOGENES, his heresy. 4

HOLLAND, the attempts there made not to suffer the Socinians in the United Provinces, 123. infected with Socinianism, and why, 126. grants a full liberty to all the Sects, the Roman Catholick Religion alone excepted, 129. changes her opinions in Religion every thirty years, 156. she is a jumble of all Religions. *Ibid.*

An I N D E X.

HUBMEIER (Balthazar) an Anabaptist head, his birth, and adventures, 80. disputes with Zuinglius upon Infant-Baptism, and the Consequences thereof, 81. is burnt by order of the Emperor. 81
HUTTERITES, Anabaptists, disciples of Hurter, their opinions like those of the Socinians. 68
HYMN OF GLORIA PATRI, &c. according to Gregorio Pauli, not introduced into the Church till the beginning of the fourth Century. 34

J.

JAMES I. King of England, makes the Anabaptists pass through the Executioner's hands. 121
JESUITS, Stephen Batori settles them at Clausenburg, 65. Christopher gives them a house at Great Waradin, the Innovators endeavour to drive them out of Alba Julia: They have the Education of Prince Sigismund Batori, 66. are driven out of Alba Julia, 67. cruelly treated by the Unitarians of Clausenburg, *Ibid.* re-established by Basta. 117
JURIEU, Minister of Rotterdam, his opinion of the fundamental Articles of the Remonstrants, 146. accuses the Church of France of Socinianising. 157, *and foll.*

K.

KANKOVIVS, Bishop of Vladislau, unites all the Sectaries, in order to choose Henry de Valois King of Poland, 91. as Primate, assembles the Diet in 1587, for the election of King Sigismund. 97

L.

LANDGRAVE of Hesse refutes a book of the Anabaptists. 85
LASCO, or **LASC** (John) a Protestant, and declared Enemy of the Socinians, 25. his disputes with Menno. 86
LATITUDINARIANS, a name given the Socinians, and why. 9
LEIDEN, its Divines, pass censure on the Socinian Writings of Osterode and Vaidove. 123
LIBERTY of Conscience in Religion granted in Holland by several Ordinances. 128
LIBRARY of the Polish Brethren. 129

LIMBOACH (Philip) a Remonstrant, his book, entitled *Theologia Christiana*, and his Sentiments on the Fundamental Points. 143
LISISMANIN, an apostate Cordelier. 23
LUBLIN, a city in Poland, Synods of the Reformed there. 45, 46
LUTHER accused of Arianism, 11, 12. approves the confession of Faith of the Bohemian Anabaptists. 75

M.

MANSFELD, his complete victory over the German Boors. 79
MANSIUS, an Anabaptist head, his opinion, the Magistrate of Zurich causes him to be drowned. 82
MARTINUSIUS (George) his extraction and temper, 51. is made a Counsellor of State, Grand Treasurer of Hungary, Bishop of Waradin, Regent of the Kingdom, and Guardian to young Sigismund, opposes Ferdinand, 52, 53. asks aid from Solyman II. supports the siege of Buda, is deceived by the Turk, makes peace with Ferdinand on conditions, is made Archbishop of Strigonia and Cardinal, 53, 54. accused of treason, and condemned to die by the Court of Vienna, 55. massacred by the Marquis Sforza. 56
MAURICE, Prince of Orange, his violences against the Remonstrants. 135
MAXIMILIAN II. Emperor suspected of Lutheranism, 69. accused by the Popes of favouring Heresy, and threatened with the Loss of his Dominion. *Ibid.*
MAXIMILIAN, brother to the Emperor Rodolf, elected King of Poland, 101. taken prisoner. *Ibid.*
MEGIEZ, a town near Clausenburg, where the Innovators assemble, and decree the banishment of the Jesuits, 67. consequence of that Edict. 68
MELANCTHON (Philip) desired by the Synod of Seceminia, to give his Judgment of Genez's Faith, and his prudence therein, 24. The same respect is paid him as to the disputes at Clausenburg, 58. his Character. 59
MELCHIONITES, Anabaptists, disciples of Hoffman. 85
MELCHISIDECHEANS, disciples of Artemon. 4

MENNO

An I N D E X.

MENNO (Simonis) Head of the Anabaptists of the Low Countries, his birth and actions, 84. his errors, 85. his disputes with Lask and Micronius, 86. he separates from the Anabaptists of Upper Germany, his death. 86, 87

MENNONITES, a name given to the Socinians of England and Holland, 8. the opposition they at first met with, 84, 85. much divided, 86. their errors, *Ibid.* tolerated in the United Provinces, 87, 88. their Synods. 88

MODREVIUS embraces Socinianism, and how. 15

MONARCHYMEN, a name why given the Socinians. 8

MONLUC, Bishop of Valence, Ambassador in Poland, signs the *Pacta Conventa* at the Election of Henry de Valois, but ashamed of it in the Parliament at Paris. 91

MORAVIA, Brethren of, their uniting with the Socinians. 25

MORDAS, Synod held there. 37

MOSES Szekeli. Vid. Szekeli.

MUNTZER (Thomas) an Anabaptist head, his Travels and Enterprizes, 76. Author of the Peasants War, *Ibid.* his death. 79

N.

NAKED GOSPEL, the title of an English Socinian Treatise. 122

NAMES different which the Socinians have born. 6, 7, 8, 9

NICOLAS (Henry) Head of the family of Love, 120. his Character, Opinions, and Writings. *Ibid.*

NOBILITY, most of the Reformed declare for Socinianism. 37

NOETIUS, his heresy. 45

O.

OLESNIESKI, his Character, his Attachment to the new Sects, declares for the Pinczwians. 21, 22

ORANGE (William and Maurice Princes of) favourers of the Mennonites. 87, 88

OSIUS (Cardinal) exhorts Sigismund Augustus to forbid the Conferences which the Socinians desired with the Reformed, 38. goes out of the Diet of Petricovia. 39

OSSOLINSKI (Jerom) condemns Blandrat for speaking disrespectfully of the three Creeds. 29

OXFORD (University of) condemns Blandrat's book. 122

P.

PEASANTS, their war in Germany, which Luther partly approves, 77, 78. they gather together to the number of forty-thousand, are beaten, they encrease, and at last all perish. 79

PEASANTS of Poland make a cruel war on the Socinians, 111

PATINGHAM (Patrick) burnt for Arianism. 119

PAUL of Samosata, his heresy. 5

PAUL (Gregorio) Superintendant of the Reformed Churches of the lesser Poland, forbids all the Ministers under him to call upon the TRINITY, 32. accused of Arianism, his sentiments concerning the purity of the Church, 33. and on the Superiority of the FATHER, 34. Sarmicius goes on to accuse him, *Ibid.* he is deposed, and turned out of Cracow, 37. his speech in the Diet of Petricovia, 39. he flies away, and why. 46

PETRICOVIA, Diet held there in 1665, allows a Conference between the Reformed and the Unitarians, what passed at it. 38

PETRICOWITZ, Governor of Transylvania, favours the new Sects. 59

PEIFFER, an Apostate Monk, and Anabaptist Chief, taken and condemned to be beheaded, dies obstinate. 9

PHILIP, Landgrave of Hesse, defeats the Peasants of Germany. 79

PHILIPPOVIUS condemned to lose his head, 45. is pardoned and made President of the Synod of Serinia, 46. he there sets up Toleration. 48

PHOTINUS, his heresy. 5

PIERAC causes the crowning of Henry of Valois to be compleated, notwithstanding the opposition made against it. 92

PICTURES representing Luther, Calvin, Servetus &c. pulling a temple down to the ground. 10, 11

PINCZOW. a town in Poland, Diets held there. Vid. Synods.

POINTS Fundamental, and Nonfundamental of the Remonstrants. 134

POLAND infected with the new Heresies, state of it during the reign of Sigismund Augustus, 15—20. after that King's

An I N D E X.

King's death, 90. During the reign of
Batori, 92—97. and of Sigismund III.

97-105

P O R T - R O Y A L, it's writers accused of
Socinianism. 158

P R A X E U S, his heresy. 5

P R I S C I L L I A N I S T S, their heresies. 6

Q.

Q U E S T I O N S I M P O R T A N T C O N -
C E R N I N G T H E J A N S E N I S T S,
title of a Book which accuses the Mons
Translators with not believing the Di-
vinity of J E S U S C H R I S T. 159

R.

R A C O V I A, the Socinians driven out
of it, and why. 108

R A C O V I A N S, a name given to the So-
cinians, and why. 8

R A D Z I V I L (Barba) her quality, her
passion for King Sigismund Augustus,
her marriage, and the consequences of
it. 17, 18

R A G O T S K I (Sigismund) made Prince of
Transilvania, and abdicates. 118

R E C E S S U S, a Convention of the Sbo-
rouski. 98, 99

R E M O N S T R A N C E S of the Synods of
the United Provinces to the States of the
Province of Holland against the Soci-
nians. 124

R E M O N S T R A N T S, disciples of Armi-
nius, why so called, 133. their do-
ctrine reduced to five Articles, 134. the
consequence of it, they present a re-
monstrance to the Synod of Dort, 135.
protest against the Synod. Their senti-
ments concerning Toleration, 144, 145.
their fundamental points, 134. are really
Socinians, and their sentiments accord-
ing to Jurieu, 146. their variations, 148.
their vain replies to the accusations a-
gainst them. *Ibid.*

R H I N S B U R G, a Village. the place of
Assembly of the Mennonites and Soci-
nians. 87

R I G H T S O F T H E C H R I S T I A N
C H U R C H, a pernicious book. 122

R I T T E R U S, his sentiments concerning
J E S U S C H R I S T, 120. refuted. *Ibid.*

R O G O W, a Synod held there. 33

R U P N O V I U S (Joachim) after his death
condemned as infamous, and his Church
fined. 109

S.

S A B B A T A R I A N S, a Sect which cele-
brated Saturday instead of Sunday. 60

S A E L L I U S, his heresy. 5

S A M O S I S K I, his qualities, employ-
ments, virtues. 101, 102

S A N D O M I R I A N S, a name given to the
Socinians, and why. 8

S A R N I C I U S, his temper, his zeal a-
gainst the Socinians, 23. longs for Greg.
Pauli's Superintendence, 33, 36. obtains
it, and makes a decree against such Mi-
nisters as should preach the Superiority
of the F A T H E R. 37

S B O R O U S K I (Andrew) Grand Marshal
of Poland, notwithstanding his banish-
ment, appears at the Diet in 1587, en-
deavours to govern it, 98. the violent
proceedings of this family at that Diet. 99

S B O R O U S K I (John) his bold answer to
the Parliament of Paris. 97

S B O R O U S K I (Samuel) beheaded, and
why. 97

S C H L I C T I N G I U S (Jonas) his Apolo-
gy for the Socinians. 126

S E C E M I N I A, Synod held there, and Go-
nez's impieties in it. 24—48

S E K E L I (Moses) General of the Prince
of Transilvania, grants the Unitarians
full liberty to treat the Jesuits with all
sorts of indignity. 116

S E R I N I A, Synod held there. 48

S I G I S M U N D I. King of Poland, his
qualities. 13

S I G I S M U N D II. or Augustus, his good
and ill qualities, 15, 16. his amours
with Madam de Radzivil, 17. his speech
to the Nobility to gain their consent
to his marriage with her, 17. permits
the Socinians publickly to dispute up-
on their errors, 38. favours the Soci-
nians, 46. his death. 50

S I G I S M U N D (John) King of Hungary,
and Prince of Transilvania, grows wa-
vering in the Roman Catholick Faith,
58, 59. turns Lutheran, 59. Calvinist, A-
rian, his character, 59—61. decides in
favour of the Socinians, 62. dies an
Arian. 64

S I G I S M U N D (John) King of Sweden,
elected King of Poland, 101. his com-
plaisance to the Socinians. 101, 102

S I G I S -

AN INDEX

- STOISMUS**, Son of Christopher Batori, Prince of Transilvania, his conduct, 415. his marriage with Christina of Austria, *Ibid.* his inconstancy and misfortunes. 116
- SIMON**, an Apothecary, looked upon as an Esdras by the Socinians, and why. 50
- SOCINIANISM**, its motive, 9. is brought into Italy, and by whom, 11. in Poland, 13. its great progress in Poland, 38, 39. in Transilvania and Hungary, 51—67. 115—118. in America, 71—73. in Holland, 70—90—123. in England, 119—123. in Austria, 68—71. its declension in Poland, 106—114. State of it in Transilvania from the beginning of the reign of John Sigismund Batori, 58—64. and of its followers. *Ibid.*
- SOCINIANS** pride themselves in being the successors of the ancient Hereticks, 1—61. have different names, and why, 6. why called Socinians, 8. acknowledge their new system owing to Luther and Calvin, and why, 1. the opinions they set up at Vicenza, 12. the great number of them in Poland in Sigismund the First's time, 13. many of the nobility declare for them in the reign of Sigismund III. 62. their Synods, *Vid.* Synods. their advantages from the Synod of Pinczow, 32. the Reformed grant them liberty, 33. refuse to allow the Fathers and Councils as proofs of Tradition, 34. yield in the Diet of Petricovia, 41. triumph over the Reformed, 60. they who declared against Infant-baptism, 42. instruct Adult Persons before they baptize them, 43. divide into several Sects, 48. their disgraces in the Diet of Lublin, 46. dare not appear at the Diets, 47. make themselves formidable by their great number, 50. driven out of Lublin, 107. and Racovia, 108. their grand misfortune, 108—111. banished out of Poland, 111—114. why kindly received in the Assemblies of the Mennonites of Holland, 87. the Socinians of Poland always took care to have their liberty of conscience stipulated in the *Pacta Conventa*, confirmed 97—102. violate the Decree of the Diet of Warsaw, and a new one made against them thereupon. 112, 113
- SOCINUS** (Faustus) comes to Poland, and undertakes to unite above thirty sorts of Arian Communion, and accomplishes it, his opinions. 105—105
- SOLIKOVUS** sent to Stephen Batori, his prudence, and liberty in the discourse he made to this new King, 95. obtains the Archbishoprick of Leopold, his steadiness. 98
- STANCAR**, his turbulent disposition, 21. his opinion concerning JESUS CHRIST as Mediator. 23
- STATES GENERAL** forbid all persons to spread any of the writings or opinions of Socinus, in the United Provinces. 125
- STATOR**. *Vid.* *Steinski*.
- STOINSKI** or **STATOR** (Peter) his arguments against the Divinity of the HOLY GHOST, 27. his behaviour in the Synod of Pinczow, 28, 29. the troubles he fell into. 108
- STORCK** (Nicholas) an Anabaptist Head in Germany, his opinions, 77. dies in an Hospital. 80
- STOUPPE**, what he says of the Socinians of Holland. 130
- STUCKY** (Nathaniel) Bidellus's disciple, translates his Master's catechisms, with additions. 121
- SYNODS** of the Socinians, 22, 24, 25, 26, 27, 30, 32, 36, 43, 45, 46, 49, 61.
- T.
- THEODORE** (Philip) one of the Mennonite Heads. 84
- THEODOTUS** of Byzantium, first Patron of the Socinians, his character, apostacy, and heresy. 3
- THUNDER** fallen upon the Church dedicated to the TRINITY, the occasion of driving the Socinians out of Lublin. 107
- TISCOVICIUS** (John) a Socinian, refuses to swear by a God in three persons, 106. put to death. 107
- TOLAND**, Author of two Treatises entitled *Adeisdæmon*, and *Origo Judaica*. 122
- TOLERANTS**, a name given to the Socinians, and why. 9
- TOLERATION** in Religion settled in the Synod of Serinia, 49. in England, 121. in Holland, 129. the Arminians demand it, and their Arguments for it. granted to the Mennonites of the United Provinces. 87, 88

TOR-

An INDEX.

TORMENTUM THRONO TRINITATIS DETURBANS, the title of a book ascribed to the Socinians. 109, 125

TRANSILVANIA, the progress of the Socinians there after the Conference at Great Waradin, 62. State of it after Christ. Batori's death, 115—118. The Unitarians there tolerated by Edicts, *Ibid.* In the year 1555, an Edict made there banishing all Religions but the Roman Catholick, which had no effect. 58

TRINITARIANS, antient, their opinion concerning the TRINITY. 7

TRINITY great and small, according to the Socinians. 41

TRITHEISTS, their Errors. 7

TWARDOCHLEBIUS, a Socinian Minister, declared infamous after his death. 109

V.

VALENTIN, Curate of Krzeconovia, marries in a publick manner. 22

VALENTINIANS, their Heresy. 3

UZZO, one of the Mennonite Heads. 84

VEHANIUS, Bishop of Gnesna, his Character. 90

VENATOR (Adolphus) a Minister banished for writing a Socinian Book. 124

VENICE issues out a Decree against the Socinians assembled at Vicenza; the effect of it. 12, 13

VERSIONS of the Bible into several languages by the Unitarians, 62. Hungarian by the Jesuits, 65. that of Mons, 159

VICENZA, the first Academy of the Socinians, 11. the tenets there set up, the persons composing it, and the Senate of Venice's prosecutions of them, 12, 13

VILLEGAGNON (Nicolas Durand de) Commander of Malta, makes a Voyage to America, in order to settle the Reformed Religion there. 71—73

VIRET (Christopher) an English Arian. 119

UKOWALLES, head of a party of Mennonites, his opinions and character; he is excommunicated by a party that opposed him, and banished by the Magistrate. 89

UNITARIANS, their notions of the TRINITY, 7. of Transylvania. Vid. Socinians.

VOËT denies Poland ever to have granted any toleration to the Socinians, 124. his sentiments of the Cocceians. 152

UTRECHT, the Catholicks enjoy liberty of conscience there by the treaty of Union of the Year 1579. 129

W.

WALDHUT, a town in Germany; its Inhabitants declare for the Anabaptists, and drive out the Catholicks, but are at last served in the same way. 80

WARADIN (Great) a Conference held there. 61

WENGROVIA, a Synod upon Infant-Baptism, held there by the Socinians. 43

WICLOPOLSKI (John) receives Wiso-watz with honour, and entertains him at his own table every day, during a Conference between the Catholicks and Sectaries. 112

WIESMOWISKI (Jeremy) loses 600,000 livres a year by the war of the Colacks. 111, 112

WIGAND, Bishop of Pomerania, confutes Ritter. 120

WIGHTMAN (Edward) condemned to be burnt for heresy. 121

WISSOWATS (Andrew) the only Socinian that appeared at the Conference granted the Socinians for explaining themselves on the subject of their banishment. 112

WORK OF THE RE-ESTABLISHMENT, the title of a book written by the Anabaptists in defence of their errors, and the doctrine therein set forth. 83

X.

XIANX, Synods held there. 27, 31

Z.

ZAPOLKA (John) Vaivode of Transylvania, obtains the Crown of Hungary, 52. demands assistance of Solyman II. concludes a Peace with Ferdinand, loads the Monk Martinusius with honours. *Ibid.*

ZEBRIDOVIVS, Bishop of Cracow, endeavours to disperse the Synod of Pinczow, but in vain. 23

ZUINGLIUS confounds the Anabaptist Hubmeier, 81. disputes with other Anabaptist Heads. 82

ZURICH, molested by the Anabaptists. the precautions there taken against them. 82

F I N I S.





